

To the PRINCE.



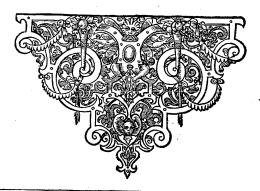
Auing ended this taske of Observations, and according to your gratious pleasure & command, supplied such parts as were wanting to make up the Totall of these Commentaries: it doth return again, by the lowest steps of humblenesse, to implore the high patronage of your Princely favour; Emboldened specially because it carieth Cæsar and his Fortunes, as they come related from the same Author: which, in the deepe sudgement of his most excellent Maiesty, is preferd aboue all of ther profane histories; and so, commended, by his sacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maisser-peece of the Art of warre. And herein, your admired wisedome, may happely the rather deeme it capable of freer passage, in that it is not altogether unproper for these happie dayes; as knowing, that Warre is never

fo well handled, as when it is made an Argument of difcourfein times of sweete and plentious peace. The blefsings whereof, may euer crowne your yeares; as the soueraigne good of this temporarie life, and the chiefest Ornaments of Princely condition.

The humblest

of your Highnesse servants,

CLEMENT EDMONDES.



In Clementis Edmondi de re militari ad Iul. Cælaris Commentarios Observationes.

Vr creperos mossus, & aperto pralia Marte
Edmondus nobs pace vigente refert?
Cus fenfus mente foue Ducum simatus, & effert?
Difert êque Anglos bellica multa docet?
Scilicet, vos media medit etur pralia pace,
Anglia bellipotens, nec moriasus honos.
Prouidus hac certe patria depromit in vifus,
Vt patrue pacem qui cippit, arma parat,

Guil. Camdenus, Cl.

Tomy friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

The thus extracts, with more then Chymique Art, The fipirit of Bookes, shewes the true way to finde The fibre to the content our leaden Parts conuart Into the golden Metall of the Minde. Who thus observes in such materiall kinde The certaine Motions of hie Prachies, Knowes on what Center th Actions of Mankinde Turne in their course, and sees their fatalnes, And hee that can make these observances, Must be about his Booke, more then his Pen, For, were may be assured, hee men can ghesse, That thus doth Code SAR, knowe; the Man of men, Whose Work, improved there to our greater gaine, Makes Code SAR more then Code SAR to containe.

Sam. Danyell.

To his worthy friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

Bícruing well what Thou haft well Objeru d.

In C & S A R S Worker, his Warres, and Difcipline;
Whether His Pen hath earn'd more Praife, or Thine,
My thallow Cenfure doubtfully hath fivery'd.

If strange it were, it wonder it defery d.
That what He wrought fo faire, Hee wrote fo fine;
Me thinkes, It's stranger, that Thy learned Line
Should out best Leader's lead, not having feru'd.

But hereby (Clement) hast Thou made thee knowne
Able to counfaile, aprest to recorde
The Conquests of a C & SAR, of our owne;
HENRT, thy Patron, and my Princely Lord.
Whom(O)! Heav in prosper, and protect from harmes,
In glorious Peace, and in victorious Armes,

IOSVAH SYLVESTER.

TO MY FRIEND, MAISTER CLEMENT EDMONDES.

Epigramme.

I or Cefars deedes; Nor. all his honors wonne In these West-parts; Nor, when that warre was done, The name of Pomper for an Enemie; Cate to boote; Rome, and her libertie; All yeelding to his fortune: Nor, the while,

To haue mgravd these Acts with his owne stile; And that so strong, and deepe, as might be thought He wrote with the same lipsit that hee fought; Nor that his Worke liv'd, in the hands of foes, Vn-argu'd then: and (yet) hath same from those; Nor all these, Edmonders, or what essentially the solution of peake Cesar, as thy Labors doo.

For, where his person hiv disease one instage, And that midstemy and Parts; then, fell by rage; His deedes too dying, saue in bookes: (whose good How sew haue read! how sewer vnderstood!)

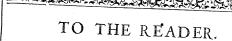
Thy learned hand, and true Promethean Art, As by a new creation, part by part, In eueric councell, stratageme, designe, Action, or Engine, worth a note of thine, Tall sture time, not only doth restore His Life; but makes, that hee can dye no more.

Ben. Ionfon.

Another of the same.

Ho, Edmondes, reades thy booke, and doth not fee What th antique Souldiers were, the moderne be? What th antique Souldiers were, the moderne be? Wherein thou thew it, how much the latter are Beholden, to this Mafter of the Warie:
And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
More then to varie what our Elders knew.
Which all, but ignorant Captaines, will confelle:
Nor to gine Caefar this, makes ours the leffe.
Yet thou, perhaps, fhalt meete forie tongues, will grutch
That to the world thou shouldst reueale so mutch;
And, thence, depraue thee, and thy Worke: To those
Caefar stands up, as from his vrne late rose
By thy great Art: and doth proclame, by mee,
They murder himagaine, that enuie thee.

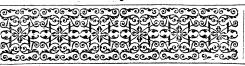
Ben. Ionfon.



Robin Hood that neuer shot in his bow. But it must be vinderstood, that as well incompetent judges as impersingly discoursers, are within this compasse.

Such Martialists as are acquainted with the discipline of warre, or know what is fitting the cariage of an Armie, are they to whom the judgement belongeth, that must either approoue or disallow these labours. Amongst whom, the former part of this work, hath alreadie found that passage, as by their good fauor, may happely serue to drawe the sequele into the like fortune. Howsoever, my desire is, that such as shall be pleased to view these Essayes, will accept the same with that minde as f offer them, having bent my indeuor to gratiste such as fauour the reading of this Historie: without either attribute to mine owne, or prejudice to any other mans judgement. Farewell.





READING AND DISCOVRSE, ARE REQUISITE TO MAKE A SOVL-

dier perfect in the Arte militarie, how great soes uer his knowledge may be, which long experience and much practife of Armes bath gayned.



HEN I confider the weaknesse of mans indegment in censuring things best knowne vnto it selfe, and the disability of his discourse in discouring the nature of vnacquanted objectes; choosing rather to hold any sensible impression, which custome hath by long practice inverted, then to hearten to some other more reasonable perswassion: I do not maruell that such soldiers, whose knowledge groweth only from experience and consistent in the rules of their owne practice; are hardly perswaded, that history and speculative learning are of any vse in

perfecting of their Arte, being so different in nature from the principles of their cunning, and of fo fmall affinity with the life of action; wherein the vie of Armes and archieuments of war feeme to have their chiefest being. But those puter spirits embilished with learning, and enriched with the knowledge of other mens fortunes; wherein variety of accidents affordeth variety of inftructions, and the mutuall conference of thinges happened, begetteth both similitudes and differences, contrary natures, but yet jointly concurring to feafon our judgment with discretion, and to enstall wisedome in the government of the minde: These men I say, mounting alost with the winges of contemplation, doe easily discouer the ignorance of such Martialistes, as are only trained vp in the schoole of practise, and taught their rudiments under a sewe yeares experience, which ferueth to interpret no other author but it felfe, nor can approue his maximes, but by his own authority; and are rather moued to pittie their hard fortune, having learned onely to be ignorant, then to enuic their skill in matter of war, when they oppose themselues against so manifest a truth as this: that a meere practicall knowledge cannot make a perfect foldier.

Which proposition that I may the better confirme, give me leave to reason a little of the groundes of learning, and dispute from the habitude of Arts and sciences, which are then said to be perfectly attained, when their particular parts are in fuch fort apprehended, that from the variety of that individuality, the intellectuall power frameth generall notions and maximes of rule, vniting tearms of the fame nature in one head, and diffinguishing diversities by differences of properties, aptely dividing the whole body into his greatest and smallest branches, and fitting each part with his descriptions, duties, cautions and exceptions: for vnleffe the vnderstanding be in this fort qualified and able by logisticall discourse, to ascend, by way of composition, from singularitie to catholike conceptions; and returne agains the same wais, to the lowest order of his partitions, the minde cannot be faide to have the perfection of that Arte, nor instructed in the true vse of that knowledge: but guiding her selfe by fome broken preceptes, feeleth more want by that shee hath not then benefite by that flee hath. Whereby it followeth, that a science denided into manie braunches, and confifting in the multiplicitie of divers members, being all fo interested in the Bulke, that a Mayme of the smallest part causeth either debilitie or deformitie in the bodie, cannot be saide to bee throughlie attayned, nor conceined with fuch a profiting apprehenfion as steeleth the minde with true judgement, and maketh the scholler maister in his Arte, valeffe the nature of these particularities bee first had and obtained.

And for as much as no one science or faculty whatsoeuer, in multitude and pluralitie of partes, may anie waie be comparable to the Arte militarie, wherein enery small and vnrespected circumstance quite altereth the nature of the Action, and breedeth such disparitie and difference, that the resemblance of their equall participating properties is blemished with the diffimilitude of their difagreeing partes; it cannot be denied, but he that is acquainted with most of these particular occurrences, and best knoweth the varietie of chances in the course of warre, must needes be thought a more perfect souldier, and descrueth a title of greater dignity in the profession of Armes, then such as content themfelues with a fewe common precepts and ouer-worne rules: withour which as they cannot be faid at all to be fouldiers, fo with them and no more, they no way deferue the name of skilfull and perfect men of war. Now whether meere experience, or experience joyned with reading and discourse, doe feast the minde with more variety and choise of matter, or entertaine knowledge with greater plentie of nouelties, incident to expeditions and vie of Armes, I will vse no other reason to determine of this question, then that which Franciscus Patricius alleadgeth in his parallely, where he handleth this argument which I intreat of.

He that followeth a warre (faith he) doth fee either the course of the whole, or but a part onely. If his knowledge extend no farther then a part he hath learned less then he that sawe the whole: but admit he hath seene and learned the instructions of one whole warre, he hath notwithstanding learned less then he that hath seene the proceeding of two such warres. And hee againe hath not feene

feene fo much as another that hath ferued in three feuerall warres; and fo by degrees, a fouldier that hath ferued ten yeares; must needes knowe more then one that hath not ferued fo long. And to conclude, he that hath received 22 yeares stipend (which was the just time of service amongst the Romans, before a fouldier could be dismist) hath greater meanes of experience than another that hath not fo long a time followed the campe, and cannot challenge a difcharge by order and cultome: And hence it confequently followeth, that if in one or more or all these warres, there have happened few or no actions of sernice, which might teach a fouldier the practife of Armes; that then his learning doth not counteruaile his labour. And if the warre through the negligence, or ignorance of the chiefe commanders have beene ill caried, he can boaft of no knowledge, but that which acquainted him with the corruptions of militarie difcipline; if the part which he followed were defeated and ouerthrowne, he knoweth by experience howe to loofe, but not how to gaine: And therefore it is not onely experience and practice which maketh a fouldier worthie of his name, but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which rife from the variety of humane actions, wherein reason and error, like merchants in trafficke, enterchange contrarie enentes of fortune, giving fometime copper for filuer, and balme for poylon, and repaying againe the like commoditie as time and circumstances doe answere their directions. And this knowledge is onely to be learned in the regilters of antiquitie and in hiltories, recording the motions of former ages. Caius Iulius Cæsar (whose actions are the subject of these discourses) after

his famous victories in France, and that he had gotten the proninces of Spaine, broken the strength of the Romaine Empire at Pharfalia, was held a fouldier furmounting emile and all her exceptions; and yet notwithstanding all this, the battell he had with Pharnaces king of Pontus, was like to haue buried the glorie of his former conquestes, in the dishonourable memorie of a wilfull overthrow for having possest himselfe of a hill of great advantage, he began to encampe himselfe in the toppe thereof. Which Pharnaces perceining, (being lodged likewife with his campe upon a mountaine confronting, the Romaines) imbattelled his men, marched down from his campe into the valley, and mounted his forces up the hill, where the Romaines were busied about their intrenchments, to give them battel. All which, Cæfar tooke but for a brauado: and meafuring the enemie by himfelfe, could not be perfwaded that any fuch foole-hardines could carrie men headlong into fo dangerous an aduenture, vntill they were come to necre, that he had fcarce any time to call the legions from their worke, and to gitte order for the battell which to amazed the Romaines, that vnlesse, as Caefar himselfe faith, the advantage of the place and the benignitie of the gods had greatly fauoured them; Phamaces had at that time revenged the ouerthrow of Pompei and the Senat, and reftored the Romaine Empire to libertie. Which maie learne vs how necessary it is (besides experience, which in Cæfar was infinit) to perfect our knowlege with variety of chances; and to meditate upon the effectes of other mens aduentures, that their harmes maie be our warnings, and their happie proceedings our formulate directions.

nn warnings, and their happie proceedings our fortunate directions. a.v. o.m. i And albeit among to manie decades of Hiftorie, which pregnant with have A. ii. prefented presented to these latter ages, we seldome or neuer meete with any one accident which impeth in all pointes with an other of the like nature, that shall happen to fall out in managing a warre, or setting forth of an armie; and so doe seeme to reape little benefit by that we reade, and make small vie of our great trauell. Yet we must vnderstand that in the Audit of Reason, there are many of some which through the sourcine power of the discoursue faculty, receive

trauell. Yet we must vinderstand that in the Audit of Reason, there are many offices, which through the sourraigne power of the discoursine faculty, receive great commodities by whatsoever falleth vinder their iurisliction, and suffer no action to passe without due triall of his nature, and examination of his state; that so the judgment maie not be defrauded of her reuenues, nor the minde of her learning; for notwithstanding disagreeing circumstances, and differences of formes, which seems to cut off the priviledge of imitation, and frustrate the

formes, which teems to cut our the printinges of infination, and intuitate the knowledge we have obtained by reading, the intellectuall facultie hath authoritie to examine the vie, and looke into the inconveniences of these wants and diuersities, and by the helpe of reason to turne it to her advantage; or so to counterposite the defect, that in triall and execution it shall not appeare anie disadvantage. For as in all other sciences, and namely in geometric, of certaine bare elements, and common sentences, which sense admitted to the appre-

hension, the powers of the foule frame admirable Theoremes and Problemes of infinit vie, proceeding with certaintic of demonstration, from proposition to proposition, and from conclusion to conclusion, and still make new wonders as they go, besides the strangenesse of their Architecture, that vpon such plaine and easie foundations, they should erect such curious and beautifull buildings so in the Arte Military, these examples, which are taken from histories, are but plaine kinde of principles, on which the minde worketh to her best aduantage, and wheth reason with such dexterity, that of inequalities she concludes that equality, and of dissimilitudes most sweeter resemblances; and so the worketh out her owne perfection by discourse, and in time groweth so absolute in know-

ledge, that her fufficiency needeth no further directions: but as Lomazzo the Milinele, in that excellent worke which he writ of picturing, faith of a skilfull painter, that being to drawe a portraiture of gracefull lineaments, will neuer thand to take the fymmetry by feale, nor marke it out according to rule; but having his indgment habituated by knowledge, and perfected with the variety of shapes and proportions; his knowledge guideth his eie, and his eie directeth his hand, and his hand followeth both with such facilitie of cunning, that each of them ferue for a rule wherby the true measures of nature are exactly expressed. The like may I say of a skilfull Souldier, or any Artizan in his faculty, when knowledge hath once purified his judgment, and tuned it to the key of true apportention.

And although there are many that will easily admit a reconciliation of this disagreement, in the resemblace of accidents being referred to the arbitrement of a well tempered spirit; yet they will by no meanes acknowledge, that those monstrous and inimitable exaples of valour & magnanimity (whereof antiquity is prodigall, & spendeth as though time should never want such treasure) can anie way availe the maners of these daies, which if they were as they ought to be; would appeare but contense it to the luster of a golden age, nor yet compara-

ble to filner or braffe, or the strength of yron, but deserue no better title then earth or clay, whereof the frame of this age confifteth. For what refemblance (fay they) is betweene the customs of our times, & the actions of those ancient Heroes? They observed equity as well in warre as in peace: for vertue rather flourished by the naturall disposition of men, then by lawe and authority; the tenure of their Empire was valour in warre and concord in peace; the greatest treasure which they esteemed, were the deedes of armes which they had at. chieued for their countrey, adorning the temples of their gods with pietie, and their private houses with glory, pardoning rather then prosecuting a wrong, and taking nothing from the vanquished but ability of doing injury : But the course of our times hath another bias, for couetousnesse hath subuerted both faith and equity, and our valour affecteth nothing but ambition, pride and cruelty tyrannize in our thoughtes, and subtilty teacheth vs to carrie rather a faire countenance, then a good nature; our meanes of getting are by fraud & extortion, and our manner of spending is by wast and prodigality; not esteeming what we have of our owne, but coueting that which is not ours; men effeminated and women impudent, vling ritches as feruants to wickednesse, and preuenting natures appetite with wanton luxurity; supplanting vertue with trecherie. and vling victory with fuch impiery, as though iniuriam facers, were imperio vti: and therefore the exemplarie patternes of former times wherein true honour is expressed; may serue to be gazed upon, but no way to be imitated by this age, being too fubtile to deale with honefty, and wanting courage to incounter valour. I must needes confesse, that he that compareth the history of Linie with that of Guichardine shall finde great difference in the subjects which they fran-

dle; for Liuie triumpheth in the conquestes of vertue; and in enery page erecteth trophes vinto valour, making his discourse like Cleanthes table, wherein vertue is described in her entire maiestie; and so sweetned with the presence & feruice of the graces, that all they which behold her are rape with admiration of her excellencie, and charmed with the loue of her perfection; but Guichardine hath more then Theseus taske to performe, being to winde through the labyrinches of subtilty, and discouer the quaint practices of politicians, wherein publike and open dessignes are oftentines but shadowes of more secret projectes, and these agains serue as folles to more eminent intentions; being also discoured with diffimulation, and so infinated in the sleightes of subtilty, that when you looke for war, you shall sinde peace; and expecting peace, you shall

these mysteries.

But to answere this objection in a word j and so to proceede to that which followeth, I say those immortall memories of vertue which former time recordeth, are more necessary to be knowne, then any strategems of subtlet agest for equitie and valour being truely apprehended so season the motions of the soulle; that albeit in so corrupt a course, they cannot peraduenture stir vp imitation; yet they often immes hinder many malicious practices, and diuelish deuices, when entill is reproued by the knowledge of good, and condemned by the

fal into troubles, diffentions and wars: So crabbed and crocked is his argument

in respect of Livies fortune, and such are is required to vasolide the truth of

A iii.

L16. 2.

authority of better ages. And it we will needs follow those steppes which the present course of the world hath traced, and place the Cretian with the Cretian; this objection hindereth nothing, but that historie, especiallie these of latter times, affordeth sufficient, instructions to make a souldier perfect in that

Let not therefore anie man despise the found instructions which learning affordeth, nor refuse the helpes that historie doth offer to perfect the weaknesse of a short experience, especially when no worth can counteruaile the waight of so great a bulinesse: for I take the office of a chiefe commander, to be a subject capable of the greatest wisedome that may be apprehended by naturall meanes, being to manage a multitude of difagreeing mindes, as a fit instrument to execute a deffigne of much confequence and great expectation, and to qualifie both their affections and apprehensions according to the accidentes which rife in the course of his directions; besides the true judgement, which he ought to have of fuch circumstances as are most important to a fortunate end, wherein our prouidence cannot have enough either from learning or experience, to prevent disaduantages, or to take holde of opportunities. Neither can it be denied, but as this knowledge addeth perfection to our judgment, fo it ferueth alto as a four to glory, and increafeth the defire of honour in fuch as beholde the archieuments of vertue, commended to a perpetuall posteritie, having themfelues the like meanes to confecrate their memorie to fucceeding ages, wherein they may ferue for examples of valour, and reape the reward of true honour. Or to conclude, if we thirst after the knowledge of our owne fortune, and long to forefee the ende of that race which we have taken, which is the chiefest matter of confequence in the vse of Armes; what better conjecture can be made, then to looke into the course of former times, which have proceeded from like beginnings, and were continued with like meanes, and therefore not valikely to fort vnto like endes? nord blad dibates. -And now if it be demanded whether reading or practice have the first place in this Arte, and ferueth as a foundation to the rest of the building? Let Mari-Saluft . de us answere this question, who enuying at the nobilitie of Rome, faith thus. Qui bello Ingur. postquam consules facti sunt, acta Maiorum & Gracorum militaria pracepta legere caperint : homines praposteri, nam legere quam fieri, tempore posterius, re & vsu priss eft. Whereas (faith he) reading ought to go before practife (although it follow it in course of time, for there is no reading, but of some thing practised before;) these preposterous men, after they are made Consuls and placed at the helme of gouernment, begin to reade, when they should practife that which they had read; and so bewray their insufficiencie of knowledge by vsing out of time that, which in time is most necessarie. This testimonie gaue Marius of reading & booke learning being himselfe an enemy to the same for as much as

all his knowledge came by meere experience. But howfocuer his judgment was good in this point; for fince that all motion and action proceedeth from the fonle, and cannot well be produced, until the Idea thereof be first imprinted in the minde, according to which patterne the outward being and fensible refemblance is duely fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well expresshall best agree with the occurrentes of such natures, as are necessarily interesfed both in the meanes and in the end thereof? And therfore speculative knowledge as the Tramontane, to direct the course of all practise is first to bee respected. But that I may not seeme partiall in this controuersie, but carrie an equall hand betweene two so necessarie yoakefellowes, give me leave to conclude in a word, the benefite of practile, and define the good which commeth from experience; that so nothing that hath beene spoken may seeme to come from affection, or proceede from the forge of vniust partiality. And first it cannot bee denied, but that practife giueth boldnesse and assurance in action, and maketh men expert in such things they take in hand, for no man can rest vpon such certainty, through the theorike of knowledge, as he that hath feene his learning verified by practife, and acknowledged by the teltimony of affured proofe: Befides, there are many other accoplements gotten only by practile, which grace

learne the vse and aduantage of the armes which we beare; secondly, by frequent aspect and familiarity of dangers, and accidents of terrour, to learne to feare nothing but dishonour, to make no difference betweene heate and cold, sommer and winter, to fleepe in all places as on a bed, and at the fame time to take paines and fuffer penury, with many other difficulties which custome maketh easie, and cannot be gotten but by vie and practise.

the prefence of knowledge, & gine credit to that which we have read; as first to

And thus at length, I have brought a shallow discourse to an abrupt end, wishing with greater zeale of affection then I am able with manifest proofe of reafon, to demonstrate the necessity, that both these partes were by our souldiers so regarded, that neither practife might march in oblimate blindnesse without learned knowledge; nor this againe be entertained with an idle apprehension without practife: but that both of them may be respected, as necessarie partes to make a compleat nature; wherein knowledge as the intellectuall part giueth life and spirit to the action, and practise as the materiall substance maketh it of a fenfible being, and like a skilfull workman expresseth the excellency, which knowledge hath fore conceined: withing no man to despaire of effecting that by practife which the Theorike of knowledge commendeth. For Cur desperes nunc poße fieri, quod iam toties factum est?



THE

THE SVMME OF THE FIRST

BOOKE OF CESARS COMMENTARIES; WITH OBSERVATIONS VPON THE

fame, discouering the excellencie of Cafars Militia.

THE ARGVMENT.

N this first booke, are contained the specialities of two great warres, begun and ended both in a Summer: the first, between Cæsar & the Heluetijnhe second, between him & Ariouistus, king of the Germans. The history of

the Heluctians, may be reduced to three principall heads: vnder the first, are the reasons that moued the Heluctians to entertaine so desperate an expedition, & the preparation which they made for the same. The second, containeth their deseat by Cæsar: and the third, their returne into their Country. That of Ariouistus, diu deth it selfe into two parts: the first giveth the causes that induced Cæsar to vndertake that war: the second, intreateth of the war it selfe, and particularly describeth Ariouistus ouerthrow.

CHAP. I.

Gallia described: the Heluetians dislike their natiue seate, and propound to themselues larger territories in the Continent of Gallia. Orgetorix feedeth
this humour, for his owne ad-



ALLIA is all divided into three parts; whereof the Belges do inhabite one, the Aquitanes another, & those which they call Celtes, & we, Galles, a third: all thefe do differ each from other in maners, language, & in lawes. The river Garun doth separate the Galles from the Aquitans, and Marne & Seine doe bound them from the

Belges: of these the Belges are most warlike; as furthest off the civilitie & politure of the Province, & lesse fre-

queted with Merchats, or acquainted with such things as are by the imported to effeminate mensminds: as likewise being syted next to the Germans beyond the Rhene, with who they have continuall wars. For which cause also the Heluctians

doe excell the rest of the Galles in deeds of Armes, being in daily conflicts worth the Germaines, for defence of their owne territories, or by inuading theirs. The part inhabited by the Galles, beginneth at the river Rhone, and is bounded with Garun, the Ocean, and the confines of the Belges; and reaching also to the Rhene. as a Linet from the Sequans & Heluetians, it stretcheth northward. The Belges take their beginning at the extreame confines of Gallia, and inhabit the Country which lieth along the lower part of the Rhene, trindling to the North, and to the East. Aquitania spreadeth it self between the river Garun & the Pyrenean hils. and but teth voon the Spanish Ocean between the West and the North.

Among St the Heluctians, Orgetorix did far exceed all others, both for noble discent and store of treasure : @ when M. Messala and M. Piso were Consuls, being stirred up with the desire of a kingdom, he mooned the Nobilitie to a commotion: per [wading the State to goe out of their confines with their whole power: as an easie matter for them, that excelled all other in valour & promess, to seize vpon the Empire of all Gallia. To which he did the rather perswade the, for that the Heluctians were on every side shut up, by the strength & nature of the place wherein they dwelt; on the one side, with the depth and breadth of the river Rhene, which divideth their Country frothe Germaines; on the other fide with the high ridge of the hill Iura, which runneth between them & the Sequans: & on the third part, they overe flanked with the lake Lemanus, the river Rhone, parting their territories from our Province.

Hence it happened, that being thus straightened, they could not easily enlarge them(elues, or make war vpon the bordering Countries: and thereupon, beeing men wholly bent to Armes and war were much grieved, as having too little elbow-roome for their multitude of people, and the renowne they had got of their valor; their whole country cotaining but 211 miles in length, @ 180 in breadth. Spurred on with these inducements, and mooned specially with the authority of Orgetorix, they resolued to make prouision of such things as overe requisite for their expedition; bought great number of Carres, and horfes, for cariages; forwed much tillage, that they might have plentie of Corne in their iourney; made peace and amity with the confining Countries. For the perfiting and supply of which things, they tooke a yeers to be sufficient; and in the third, enacted their setting forward by a solemne Law, assigning Orgetorix to give order for that which re-

iis populis vt bax intervicinos populos cola

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



E that will examine this expedition of the Heluctians, by the transmigrations and slittings of other Nations, shall find some vnexampled particularities in the course of their proceeding: for, first it hath neuer beene heard, that any people veterly abandoned that Country which Nature or prouidence had allotted

the voles they were driven thervoto by a generall calamity, as the infection of the aire, the cruelty & oppression of a neighbor nation, as were the Sucuians, who thought it great honor to fuffer no man to border vpon their confines sor

COMMENTARIES, LIB. I. fome other univerfall, which made the place inhabitable, and the people willing to undertake a voluntarie exile. But oftentimes we read, that when the inhabitants of a Countrey were so multiplied, that the place was ouer-charged with multitudes of ofspring; and like a poore father, had more children then it was able to fultaine, the abounding furplus was fent out to feek new fortunes in forraine Countries, and to possesse themselves of a resting seate; which might recompence the wants of their native Country, with a plentious revenue of necessary supplements. And in this fort, wee read that Rome sent out many Colonies into divers parts of her Empire. And in this manner the ancient Galles disburdened themselues of their superfluitie, and sent them into Afia. The Gothes came from the Ilands of the Baltick fea, & in Sulla his time, swarmed ouer Germanie: besides many other Nations, whose transmigrations are particularly described by Lazius. But amongst all these, we find none that so forsooke their Country, but there remained some behind to inhabit the same; from whence, as from a fountaine, succeeding ages might deriue the fireame of that over-flowing multitude, and by them take notice of the causes, which mooued them vnto it. For, their manner was in all fuch expeditions, and fending out of Colonies, to divide themselves into two or three parts, equall both in equalitie and number: for, after they had parted their common people into euen companies, they divided their Nobility with as great equalitie as they could, among the former partitions: & then casting lots, that part which went out to feeke new aduentures, left their lands & possessions to the rest that remained at home; and so by industrie, they supplied that defect which continuance of time had drawne vpon them. And this was the meanes, which the first inhabitants of the earth found out after the floud, to people the vnhabited places, and to keepe off the inconveniences of scarcitie and famine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



E that would prognofficate by the course of these severall proceedings, whether of the two betokened better fuccesse, hath greater reason to foretell happinesse to these which I last spake of, then to the Heluctians; vnlette their varous well ter, and quitted all difficulties which hatred and enuic would

cast upon them: for, an action which sauoureth of necessitie (which was alwaies vnderstood in sending out a Colonie) hath a more plausible pasport amongst men, then that which proceedeth from a proud voluntarie motion. For, as men can bee content to tolerate the one, if it concerne not their particular; fo on the other fide, they count it gaine to punish pride with shame, and to oppose themselves against the other.

B 2.

THE

Rgetorix, thirsting after princely dignitie, discouereth the humour of vaine-glorie. For, not contented with the fubftance of shonour, beeing alreadie of greatest power amongst the Heluetians, & ordering the affaires of the State by his owne direction, thought it nothing without the marks and title of dignitie, vnto

which the inconveniences of Maiestie are annexed: not considering that the best honor, sitteth not alwaies in imperial thrones, nor weareth the Diadems of Princes; but oftentimes refleth it selse in meaner places, and shineth better with obscurer titles.

For proofe whereof, to omit antiquitie, take the familie of the Medices in Florence, and particularlie, Cosimo and Lorenzo, whose vertue raised them to that height of honour, that they were nothing inferiour to the greatest Pocentates of their time, beeing themselves but private Gentlemen in that State, and bearing their proper names as their greatest titles. But howsocuer; the opportunitie of changing their foile, was well observed by Orgetorix, as the fittest meanes to attempt an innouation: but the successe depended much upon the fortunate proceeding of their expedition.

For, as a multitude of that nature, can bee content to attribute a great part of their happinesse, wherein every man thinketh himselse particularly intereffed, to an eminent Leader; & in that vniuerfall extafie of ioy, will eafilie admit an alteration of their State: fo, if the iffue be in any respect vnfortunate, no man will acknowledge himfelfe faultie; but, every one defiring to discharge his passion upon some object, a chiefe director is likeliest to be the mark, at which the darts of their discontent will be throwne; and then he will find it hard to effect what he intenderh.

CHAP, II.

Orgetorix practices are discouered: his death. The Heluctians continue the resolution of their expedition, and prepare themselues accordingly.

Cafar.



Rectorix, thereupon, undertook imploiment to the adioyning States and first perswaded Castieus, the sonne of Catamantalides a Sequan (wwhose father had for many yeeres raigned in that place, and was by the Senate and people of Rome, stiled with the title of a Friend) to possesse himselfe of the Signiorie of that State which his Father formerly inioyed: and in like manner, dealt with Dumnorix the Heduan, Divitiacus brother (who at that time was the onely man of that Prouince, & verie well beloved of

the Commons) to indeauour the like there; and withall, gaue him his daughter in mariage: shewing them by lively reasons, that it was an easie matter to effect their designes; for that he being sure of the souer aigntie of his State, there was no doubt but the Heluctians would doe much throughout all Gallia, and so made no questian to settle them in those kingdoms, with his power and forces. Drawne on with thefe inducements, they gave faith and oath each to other, hoping with the support of the souer aigntie of three mightie Nations, to possesse themselves of all Gallia.

This thing beeing discoursed, the Heluctians (according to their customes) caused Orgetorix to aunswere the matter in Durance: whose punishment upon the Attaint, was to be burned aline. Against the day of triall, Orgetorix had got together all his Family, to the number of ten thousand men, besides divers followers, and others far indebted, which were many; by whose meanes hee escaped a sudiciall hearing. The people, there opon, being much incensed, agreed, the Magistrate (hould execute their lawes with force of Armes, and to that end, (hould raise the Country: but in the meane time, Orgetorix was found dead; not without suspicion (as was conceined) that he himselfe was guilty thereof.

Notwithstanding his death, the Heluctians did pursue their former designe of leaving their Countrey: and when they thought themselves readie prepared. they (et fire on all their Townes (which were in number 12) together with foure hundred Villages, besides private houses, and burnt likewise all the Corne, save that they carried with them; that al hope of returne being taken away, they might be the readier to undergoe all hazards: And commanded that every man should

carie so much Meale with him, as would serue for three Months. Moreover also, they perswaded the Rauraci, the Tulingiand Latobrigi, their neighbour borderers, that putting on the same resolution, they would set fire on all their habitations, and goe along with them. And likewise tooke unto them the Boy, which had dwelt beyond the Rheine, but were now seated in the Territories of the Norici, and had taken the capitall towne of that Countrey. There were onely two waies which gaue them passage out of their Countrey: the one through the Sequans, very narrow and difficult, betweene the Hill Iura, & the River Rhone, by which a single Cart could scarce passe; and had a high hill hanging ouer, that a small force might easily hinder them. The other, was through our Prouince, farre easier and readier; for a smuch as the river Rhone, running betweene the Heluctians and the * Allobroges (who were lately brought in obedi. * Sauvyens.

ence to the people of Rome) did give passage in divers places by Foordes. The vimost towne belonging to the Allobroges, that bordereth vpon the Heluetians, is Geneua; wherevento adiogneth a bridge leading to the Heluctians; who doubted not but to perswade the Allobroges (that seemed as yet to cary no great affection to the people of Rome) or at least, to force them to give them pas-Sage. Things beeing now ready for their iourney, they assigned a day wohen all Should meete together upon the banks of Rhone: which day was the first of the Calends of Aprill, in the Confulfhip of Lu. Pifo, and A. Gabinius.

OBSER-

OBSERVATION.

The omission in the Helue tian expedition.



S these proussoes were all requisite; so one thing was omitted, which might have surthered their good fortune more then any thing thought of: which was, to have concealed by all meanes the time of their departure. For, all the beasts of the wood must needs stand at gaze, when such Lions roused themselves out of their dennes; and be then very watchfull of their safetie when

they knew the instant of time, when some of their spoiles must needs bee offered to appeale their furie. Or at the least, it behooued them so to haue dealt by hostages and treatie, that such as were likeliest, and best able to crosse their designements, might haue been no hinderance of their proceedings: considering there were but two waies out of their Countrey by which they might goe; the one narrow and difficult, betweene the hilf sura and the river Rhone, by the Countrey of the Sequani: the other through Provence, far easier and shorter, but not to be taken but by the permission of the Romaines. But how-so-ener; their errour-was, that after two yeeres provision to goe, and having made an exterminating decree which inioyned them to goe, when they came to the point, they knew not what way to goe.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar denieth the Heluetians passage through the Romane Province: he fortisteth the passage betweene the hill Iura, and the lake of Geneua.

Cesar. *Rome.



S some as Casar was advertised, that their purpose was to passe the rough our Province, he hasted to leave the *Cittie, & possing by great iourneys into the further Gallia, he came to Geneua. And involling great forces throughout all the Province, for that there was but one legion in those parts, he brake downe the bridge at Geneua.

The Heluctians, having intelligence of Cafars arrivall, they fent divers of the best of their Nobility, Embassadours onto him, whereof Numeius & Veredoctius overe the chiefe; to give him notice, that they had a purpose to passe peaceably through the Province, having no other way to goe: & therein to pray his sufferance and permission.

Cafar, well remembring how Lu. Cafsius the Confull was laine, his Armie beaten, and the fouldiers put vnder theyoke, did not hold it conuenient to grant their request. Neither did hee thinke that men fo ill affected, could forbeare to offer wrongs & infolencies, if leaue were giuen them as was required. Howbeit, for the better gaining of time, and getting such forces together as vvere caused to be inrolled, be an swered the Commissioners that he would take a time of deliberation; and to that end, willed them to returne againe by the Ides of Aprill. And, in the meane time, with that legion he had ready, and the souldiers that eame out of the Prouince, he made a ditch, and a wall of sixteene foot in height, from the lake Lemanus, which runheth into the Rhone, to the hill sura, that dimideth the Sequans from the Eleluetians, beeing in length nineteene miles; and disposed guarizons and fortresses along the worke, the better to impeach them, if happely they went about to breake out by force.

At the day appointed, when the Embassadours returned, for a resolution, he veterly denied to give any leave to passe through the Province; having neither customenor president from the people of Rome, to warrant him in that kind. And if they should endeavour it by force of Armes, he would oppugne them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

His manner of prolonging of time, to renforce the troupes or get forme other aduantage, as it was then of great vie to Cæsar, and hath of tentimes been practised to good purpose; so doth it discouer to a circumspect enemie, by the directions in the meane time (which

circumpect enemie, by the directions in the meane time (which cannot eafily be shadowed) the drift of that delay; and so invited him with greater courage, to take the opportunitie of that present advantage; especially if tract of time may strengthen the one, and not further the other: which is easily discerned by the circumstances of the action.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

He request of the Heluctians seemed to deserve a facile answer; being in effect no more then Nature had given to the river Rhone: which was to passe through the Province, with as much speed & as little hurt as they could. But Cæsar, looking further into the mat-

little hurt as they could. But Cæfar, looking further into the matter, and comparing things already paft, with occurrences that were to follow after, found the maiettle of the Romane Empire to be intereffed in the answer; beeing either to maintaine her greatnes, by resisting her enemies, or to degenerate from ancient vertue, by gratifying such as sought her ruine: which in matter of State, are things of great consequence. And further, hee knew it to be an wnsafe course, to suffer an enemie to have meanes of doing hurt; considering that the nature of man is alwaies prone to loade him with further wrongs whom hee hath once injuried: not but that he could peraduenture be content to end the quarrell vpon that advantage; but fearing the other, whom he wronged, to expect but an opportunitie of reuenge, he gets what advantage he can before hand, and so ceaseth not, vntill he have added a bloody end to an injurious beginning.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



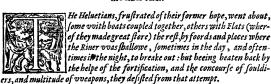
Oncerning this maruellous fortification, between the hill & the lake, how feruiceable fuch works were vnto him in all his wars; in what fore, and in how fmall a time they were made; I will deferre the treatife of them untill I come to the height of Alefia. where he gaue some ground of that hyperbolicall speech : An me deleto, non animaduer tebatis decem habere lect as quidem legiones populum

Romanum, quanon (olum vobis obsistere sed etiam calum diruere possent?

CHAP. IIII.

The Heluctians, failing to passe the Rhone, take the way through the Countrey of the Sequani. Cafar hasteth into Italie, and there inrolleth more legions; and returning, ouer-throweth part of them at the river Arar.

Cafar.



There was onely another way left, through the Sequans, which they could not take by reason of the narrownesse therof, but by the fauour of the Country. And for a much, as of them selves they were able to prevaile little therein, they sent Messengers to Dumnorix the Heduan, that by his mediation, they might obtaine so much of the Sequans. Dumnorix, what through favour and bountious carriage, was of great power in his Country, much affecting the Heluetians, by reason of his mariage with Orgetorix daughter: & drawne on with a desire of a kingdome, gaue his mind to new proiects; labouring to gratifie many States, to tie them the rather to fauour his courfes. And there-vpon, undertaking the businesse, got the Sequans to give the Heluetians leave to passe through their Confines; giving each other Pledges, that the Sequans should not interrupt the Heluetians in their journey: nor they, offer any injury to the Country.

It was told Cafar, that the Heluetians overe determined to paffe through the Territories of the Sequans and Heduans, on the confines of the Santons, who are not farre from the borders of the Tholesans, a people of the Prouince : which if they did, he forefaw how dangerous it would be, to have a warlike Nation, and fuch as were enemies to the people of Rome, to come fo neere them; and to have the aduantage of an open and plentious Country.

For which causes, he left T. Labienus a Legat, to commaund those works, and he himselfe made great iourneis to get into Italy; where he involled two legions, and tooke 3 more out of their wintering Camps, neer about Aquileia: and with with these five legions, went the next way over the Alps, into the further Gallia. Where, by the way, the Centrons, Garocles, and Caturiges, taking advantage of the open ground, did seek to keep the Army from passage: but, being beaten and put off by many skirmages, they came in seauen daies from Ocellum, a towne in the furthest parts of the neerer Province, into the confines of the Voconti, a people of the further Prouince: from whence he led them into the territories of the Allobroges; and so unto the Sabusians, that are the first beyond the Rhene, bordering upon the Prouince.

By that time, the Heluctians had caried their forces through the straights, and frontiers of the Sequans, into the Dominions of the Hedwans, and began to forrage & pillage their Country. Who finding them felues vnable to make refiftance, fent Messengers to Casur, to require aide; shewing their deserts to be such from time to time of the people of Rome, that might challenge a greater respect, then to have their Country spoiled, their children led into captinity, their townes afsaulted and taken, as it were in the sight of the Romaine Army. At the same inflant likewise, the Ambarri, that had dependancy of alliance with the Heduans, aduertifed Cafar, that their Country was otterly wasted, and they scarce able to keep the Enemy from entering their townes. In like manner also, the Allobroges, that had farmes and possessions beyond the Rhone, fled directly to Casar, complayning that there was nothing left them but the foile of their Country.

With which advertisements, Casar was so mooned, that he thought it not conuenient to linger further, or expect ontill the fortunes of their Allies were all vvafted, and that the Heluetians overe come unto the Zantones. The * river Arar, that runneth through the confines of the Heduans and Sequans, into the * Soane. Rhone, passeth away with such a slilness, that by view of the eye, it can hardly be discerned which way the water taketh. This river did the Heluetians passe ouer, by Flotes, & bridges of boats. When Cafar was advertised by his Disconerers, that three parts of their forces were already past the water, and that the fourth was left behind on this side the river; about the third watch of the night he vvent out of the Camp vvith three legions, and surprising that part vvhich was not as yet gotte over the river, flew a great part of them: the rest fled into

the next vvoods.

This part weas the Tigurine Canton: and the Heluctians beeing all parted into foure divisions, this Canton alone, in the memory of our fathers, slew L. Cassius the Confull, and put his Army under the Yoke. So, whether it were by chaunce, or the providence of the Gods, that part of the Heluctian State, which gave fo great a blowe to the Romaine people, was the first that did penance for the same. Wherin, Casar tooke revenge not onely of the publique but of his particular loss; for a smuch as the Tigurines, had in that battell, with Cassius, slaine L. Piso, the Grandfather of L. Pifo, his father in law.

Zuricke.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

His defeat beeing chiefely a fernice of execution, ypon fuch as were taken at a dangerous disaduantage, which men call vnaware, containeth these two adultoes. First, not to neglect that aduantage which Sertorius by the haires of his horse taile hath product to bee very important; that beginning with a part, it is a matter of no difficultie to outercome the whole. Secondly, it may ferue for a caueat, so to transport an Armie ouer a water, where the enemic is within a reasonable march, that no part may be so seurce from the bodie of the Armie, that aduantage may thereby be taken to cut them off altogether, and separate them from themselues. The safeth and most honourable way, to transport an Armie ouer a river, is by a bridge, placing at each end sufficient troopes of horse and foot, to defend the Armie from suddaine assaults, as they passe ouer the water; and thus wem Casarouer the Rhene into Germanie, two severals times.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The manner of their watch. Oncerning the circumstance of time, when Cæsar went out of his Campe, which is noted to be in the third watch, we must vnderstand, that the Romans diuided the whole night into 4 vvatches, euery watch containing three houres: and these vvatches were distinguished by severall notes and sound of Cornets or

Trumpets; that by the diffinction and dinerfitie thereof, it might eatily bee knowne what watch was founded. The charge and office of founding the watches, belonged to the chiefest Centurion of a legion, whom they called Primipilus, or Primus Centurio; at whose paulion the Trumpetters attended, to be directed by his houre-glasse.

The first watch began alwaies at sunne-setting, and continued three houres (I vnderstand such houres as the night contained, beeing divided into twelve: for, the Romaines divided their night as well as their day into twelve equall spaces, which they called houres): the second watch cotinued vntill midnight; and then the third watch began, & contained likewise three houres; the sourth was equall to the rest, and continued vntill sunne-rising. So that by this phrase detertia vigilia, we vnderstand, that Cæsar went out of his Campe in the third watch; which was after midnight: and so we must conceive of the rest of the watches, as often as we shall find them mentioned in historie.

CHAP

CHAP. V.

Cæsar passeth ouer the river Arar: his horsemen incountred with the Heluetians, and were put to the worse.



Eter this ouerthrowe, he caused a bridge to be made over the river Arar, and caried over his Army, to pursue the rest of the Heluctian forces. The Heluctians, much daunted at his suddaine comming, that had gotte over the river in one day, which they could scarce doe in twentie, sent Embassadours vnto him, of whom Dinico was chiefe, that commaunded

The Heluerians in the warre against Cassius: who dealt with Cesar to this effect; That if the people of Rome would make peace with the Heluetians; they would go into any part which Cesar should appoint them: but, if otherwise he would prosecute warre, that he should remember the ouer throwe which the people of Rome received by their valour; and not to attribute it to their owne woorth, that they had surprized at vnawares a part of their Army, when such as had passed the river could not come to succour them. They had learned of their fore-fathers, to contend rather by valour, then by crast and devices; and therefore, let him beware, that the place wherein they now were, did not get a Name, er carie the marke to all sutare ages, of an eminent calamity to the people of Rome, & of the vetter desiruction of his Army.

To this, Casar answered; That he made the lesse doubt of the successe of these businesses, in that he well remembred and knew those things, which the Heluetian Commissioners had related: and was so much the rather grieved thereat. because it happened without any cause or desert of the people of Rome; who if he were guiltie of any wrong done onto them, it overea matter of no difficultie to beware of their practices: but therein was his errour, that he could thinke of nothing which he had committed, that might cause him to feare: neither could he feare without occasion. And, if he would let passe former insolencies, could hee forget those late & freshiniuries? in that they had attempted to pass through the Province by force of Armes, sacked and pillaged the Heduans, Ambars, & Allobrogians? that did foinfolently vaunt of their victorie, admiring that thefe iniuries were suffered so long time to rest unreuenged; came all in the end to one passe. For the immortall Gods overevont sometimes to give happinesse and long impunitie to men; that by the greater alteration of things, the punishment should be the more grieuous for their offences. Howbeit , if they would give Hostages for the performance of those things which were to be agreed upon, and satisfie the Heduans and Allobrogians, together with their Allies, for the injuries they had done unto them, he would be content to make peace with them.

Dinico replied, that they were taught by their Ancessors, to take Hoslages, rather then to give them, whereof the people of Rome were witnesses, and there-

upon

vpon departed. The next day they remouned the Campe, and the like aid Cafar, fending all his horfe before, to the number of four ethousand (which he had raifed in the Pronince, and drawne from the Hedwans, & there Associates) to vnders shand which way the Enemy tooke: vvho, prosecuting the reare-ward overhotly, were forced to undertake the Heluetian Canalry, in a place of disaduauntage; and thereby lost some sew of their Company.

The Enemy, made proud with that encounter having with five hundred borfe beaten so great a multitude, did afterwards make head woith more assurance; and sometimes stuck not to sally out of the Reareward, and assault our Partie. Casar kept backe his men from sighting; and held it enough for the present, to keepe the Enemy from spoiling and harrying the Country: and went on for sisteen daies together, in such manner, as there were but five or sixe miles between the first troopes of our Armie, and the Rearward of theirs.

OBSERVATION.

His example of the Heluctians, may leffon a Commaunder, not to wexe infolent vpon every over-throwe which the enemie taketh, but duely to weigh the true causes of a victorie gotten, or an over-throwe taken; that apprehending the right current of the action, he may neither vaunt of a blind victorie, nor be dismaied at a casual mishap.

And heerein, let a heedfull warinesse so moderate the sequells of victorie in a triumphing spirit, that the care and iealousse to keep still that sweet sounding same on soote, may as sarre surpasse the industrie which he first vsed to obtaine it, as the continuance of happinesse doth exceede the beginning of good fortunes. For, such is the nature of our soule, that although from her infancie, euen to the manhood of her age, the neuer sound want of that which sheel used after: yet when shee meeteth with a counterbusse to check her appetite, and restraine her affections from their satisfaction; shee is as much troubled in that want, as is thee had neuer received any contentment at all: for, our will to euerie object which it seeketh after, begetteth alwaies a new appetite: which is not satisfied with a former quittance; but either seeketh present paiment, or returneth discontentment who the mind.

And, as our foule is of an euerlatting beeing, and cannot thinke of an end, to her beginning; to thee feeketh a perpetuall continuance of fuch things which thee lufteth after: which hee that meaneth to hold Fortune his friend, will endequour to maintaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar sendeth to get the advantage of a hill, and so to give the Heluetians battell: but was put off by salse intelligence. The opportunitie beeing lost, beeintendeth promision of



Nthe meane time, Casar pressed the Heduans from day to day to bring in Corne, according to their promise; for, by reason of the cold temperature of Gallia, which lieth to the Northward, it happened not onely that the Corne was farre fro beeing ripe; but also, that there was sarre forrage for the horses. And, the provisions which were brought along the river Arar, shood him in small steed at that time, for as much as the Heluetians had tooke their iourney cleane from the River, and that he would by no meanes for lake them.

The Heduans, putting it off from one day to another, gaue out fill it was vpon comming. But, when Casar found the matter so long delaied, that the day
of meting out Corne to the souldiers was at hand, calling before him the chiefest Princes of the Heduans, of whom he had great numbers in his Campe, and amongit them, Dinitiacus and Liscus, who for that time were the sourceigne
Magistrates (which they call Vergobrer, being yeerely created. So having power
of sife & death) he did greatly blame them, that he was not supplied with Corne
from them, the Enemy beeing so neere, and in so needfull a time, that it could
neither be bought for money, nor had out of the fields: especially, when for their
sake, and at their request, he had wndertooke that warre. Whereat hee was the
rather grieued, because he found himselfe for saken of them.

At length, Liscus, mooned with Cesars speech, discourred (which before hee had kept scoret) that there were some of great authority amongst the Commons, and could doe more being private persons, then they could do being Magistrates. These by sedicious and bad speeches, did defer the people from bringing Corne: sbewing it better for them, sith they could not attaine to the Empire of Gallia, to undergoe the sourcingtie of the Galles, then the Romaines: for, they over enot to doubt, but if the Romaines vanquished the Heluetians, they overlad bereaue the Heduans of their libertie, with therest of all Gallia. By these men are our deliberations and counsells, or what source les is done in the Campe, made knowne to the Enemy: neither overethey able to keepe them in obedience; but things; which was the cause he had kept them from him so long.

Cafar, perceived that Damnorix, Dinitiacus brother, was shot at by this speech

of Liscus: but, for a much as hee would not have those things handled in the pre-Sence of so manie, hee speedilie brake off the Councell, and retaining Liscus, asked privatly after those things which he had delinered in the Assembly swherunto he spake more freely and boldly then before. And inquiring secretize of others, he found it to be true, that Dumnorix was of great courage, and singularly favoured for his liberalitie of the Common people: Desirous of novelties and changes, and for many yeeres, had kept at a lowe rate, the Taxes and Impositions of the Heduans, for a smuch as no man durst cotradict what he would have done, By which courses, he had increased his private estate, and got great meanes to be liberall: for, a great number of horsemen, did onely line upon his entertainement, and were continually about him, beeing not onely powerfull at home, but abroad also, among st divers of the neighbour States. And for this cause, had maried his Mother to a great Richman, and of a Noble house, in the Country of the Bituriges : himselfe had tooke a wife of the Heluetians, had matched his fifter by his Mother, and others of his kinne, into other States. For that affinity, hee fauoured and wished well to the Reluctions: and on the other side, hated the Romaines, and specially Casar, of all others; for that by their comming into Gallia, his power was weakened, and Dinitiacus his brother restored to his auncient honour and dignitie. If any miscasualtie happened to the Romaines, his hope was to obtaine the Principalitie by the fauour of the Heluetians: where-as the soueraigntie of the Romaines, made him not onely despaire of the kingdome, but also of the fauour, or what other thing seeuer he now injoyed. And Casar had found out by inquirie, that the beginning of the flight, when the Canalrie was routed, came from Dumnorix, and his horsemen: for, hee commaunded those troopes which the Heduans had sent to aide Casar, and out of that disorder, the rest of the Caualrie tooke a fright.

Which things beeing discovered, for a much as these suspicions were seconded with matters of certaintie, in that hee had brought the Heluctians through the confines of the Sequans, had caused hostages to be given on either side, and done all those things, not onely without ovarrant from the State, but without acquainting them there-with. And lastly in that he was accused by the Magistrate of the Heduans, kee thought it cause sufficient for him to punish him, or to commaund the State to doe instice upon him. One thing there was which might seem to oppugne all this; the singular affection of Dinitiacus, his brother, to the people of Rome; the great love he bare particularly to Cafar; his loyaltie, inflice & temperancie: and therefore he feared, least his punishment might any way alienate or offend Dinitiacus sincere affection. And therefore, before hee did anie thing, hee called Dinitiacus, and putting aside the ordinarie Interpreters, hee spake to him by M. Valerius Procillus, one of the principall men of the Prouince of Gallia, his familiar friend, and whom hee specially trusted in matters of importance, and tooke notice what Dumnorix had ottered in his presence, at a Councell of the Galles, shewing also what informations hee had privately receiued concerning him: and therefore, by way of aduice, defired, that without any offence to him, either hee himfelfe might call him in question, or the State take some cour se in the same.

Diniti-

Dinitiacus, imbracing Cafar, with many teares befought him, not to take anie seuere course with his brother; hee knew well that all those things were true, neither was there any man more grieved thereat then himfelfe. For wheras he had credit and reputation, both at home and amongst other States of Gallia, and his brother beeing of small power by reason of his youth, was by his aide and assistance, growne into fauour and authoritie, hee vsed those meanes as an aduantage, not onely to weaken his authoritie, but to bring him to raine: And yet neuerthelesse, he found himselfe ouer-ruled through brotherly affection, and the opinion of the common people. And if Casar should take any strict account of these offences, there was no man but would thinke, it was done with his prinitie, considering the place he held in his fauour; woherevpon, would consequently follow, on his behalfe, a generall altenation, and distaste of all Gallia.

As hee ottered thefe things, with many other ovords, accompanied with teares, Cafar, taking his right hand, comforted him, and defired him to intreat no further: for, such was the respect he had onto him, that for his sake, and at his request, he forgaue both the inturie done to the Common-wealth, and the displeasure which he had instly conceived for the same. And therupon called Dumnorix before him, and in the presence of his brother, shewed him wherein he had deserved much blame and reproofe; told him what he had understood, what the State complained on; aduised him to avoide all occasions of mislike for the future; that which was past, hee had forginen him, at Dinitiacus his brothers intreatie. Howbeit, he set espialls voon him, to observe his cour (es, that he might be informed what he did, and with whom he conversed.

The same day, understanding by the Discouerers, that the Enemie was lodged under a Hill, about eight miles from his Campe, he sent some to take a viewe of the Hill, and of the ascent from about the same. Which was found, and accordingly reported onto him to be very easie. In the third woatch of the night, bee sent avvay T. Labienus the Legat, with two legions, and those Guides that knew the way; commaunding him to possesse himselfe of the toppe of that Hill. Himselfe, about the fourth watch, marched on after the Enemie, the same way they had gone, sending all his horsmen before.

P. Causidius, that was held for a great souldier, first, in the Army of L. Sylla, and afterwards with M. Crassus, was sent before, with the Discouerers. At the breaking of the day, when Labienus had gotte the toppe of the hill, and himselfe was come within a mile and a halfe of the Heluctian Campe, without any notice to the Enemie, either of his or Labienus approach (as was afterwards found by the Captines) Causidius came running as fast as his horse could drive, and told him, that the Hill which Labienus sould have taken, was held by the Galles; which hee perceived plainelie by the Armes and Ensignes of the Heluctians. Whereupon, Cafar drew his forces to the next Hill, and imbatteled the Armie.

Labienus (according to the directions bee had from Cafar, not to fight, vnlesse hee saw his forces neere the Enemies Campe, that they might both at the same time assault them from divers parts at once) when he had tooke the Hill, kept his men from battell, expecting our Armie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Affirme, that Nothing will fooner carrie our iudgement out of her proper feate, then the paffion of feare: and that amongst fouldiers them flelues, whom custome hath made familiarlie acquainted with horror and death, it is able to turne a flock of sheepe into a squadron of Corfelets, &c a few canes or Offers, into Pikes and Lanciers. Which may serue to aduice a discreet Generall, not easily to credit a relation of that nature, when a man of reputation, in so perfit a discipline, and so experienced in the seruice of three samous Chiefes, was so surprised with seare, that hee could not discerne his friends from his enemies: but I will speake more of this passion, in she war with Arionissus.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

N cuery relation throughout the whole course of this historie, the first words are commonly these, Refrumentaria comparata; as the foundation & strength of euery expedition, without which no man Art Mintary; but must be forced to relieue that inconvenience, with the losse of many other advantages of great consequence. Which gaue occasion to Gaspard de Coligni, that samous Admirall of France, amongst other Oracles of truth, wherewith his mind was maruellously inriched, often to vie this faying; that Hethat will shape that beast (meaning war) must beginne with the belly. And this rule was diligently observed by Cæsar, who best knew how to express the true portraiture of that beast, in due proportion & lively resemblance.

The order of the Romans was, at the day of measuring, to giue corneto euery particular fouldier, for a certain time, which was comonly defined by circumliances: and by the measure which was giuen the, they knew the day of the
next painment; for, euery footman receiued after the rate of a bushell a weeke,
which was thought fufficient for him and his scruant: for, if they had paied the
their whole slipend in money, it might haue beene wasted in vnnecessarie expenses: but by this meanes they were sure of prouision for the time determined; & the sequell of the war, was prouidently cared for by the Generall.

The Corne being deliuered out, was husbanded, ground with hand-milles, which they caried alwaies with them, & made into hafty cakes, dainty enough for a fouldiers mouth, by no other but themfelnes and their feruaunts. Neither could they fell it or exchange it for bread; for; Saluft reckoneth this vp amongft other dishonours of the discipline corrupted, that the souldiers sold away their corne, which was given the by the Treasurer, & bought their bread by the day. And this maner of prouision had many speciall comodities, which are not incident to our custome of victualing for it is impossible, that victualers

should

At length, when it was farre in the day, Cafar under flood by the Difcouerers, that the Hill was possessed by his Party; as also, that the enemy was dislodged, on that Causidius was so associated with feare, that he reported to have seene that which he saw not. The same day, he followed the Enemy, at the dissance hee had formerly used, and incamped himselfe three miles from them. The day following, for some that he Army was to be paid in Corne within two daies next after, or that he vuss but eighteene miles dissant from Bibrast, a great and opulent Citty of the Heduans, hee turned aside from the Heluetians, and made towards Bibrast.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Places of aduantage in she Romaine warres. He getting of this hill, as a place of aduantage, was maruellous important to the happy fuccesse of the battell: for, the aduantage of the place is not onely noted as an especiall cause of easie victorie, throughout this historie; but in all their warres, from the very cradle of their Empire, it cleared their Armies spo all difficulties, to what extremities soeuer they were put. The first reason may bee in regard of

of their Darts & Slings, and especally their Piles; which being a heauly deadly weapon, could not any way bee so an alleable, beeing cast countermont or in a plaine leuell, as when the declinitie and downefall of a swelling banke, did naturally second their violent impression. Neither can the shock at handy-blowes bee any thing so furious (which was a point of great respect in their battels) when the souldiers spent their strength in franchising the initire of a rising Mountaine, as when the place by a naturall inclination did further their course.

And to conclude, if the battell fucceeded not according to their defire, the fauour of the place afforded them meanes of a fitting retreit, in the highest part wheteof, they had commonly their Camps well fenced, and fortified against all chaunces. If it be demaunded, whether the vpper ground be of like vie, in regard of our weapons: I answere, that in a skitmish of shotte, I take the aduantage to lie in the lower ground rather then on the hill; for, the pieces being has filly charged, as commonly they are after the first volley, if the bullet chance to lie loofe, when the nose of the peece is lower then the breech, it must needes slie at randome, and be altogether vneffectuall; but when the nose shall be raifed vpward to the side of a hill, the bullet beeing rammed in with his owne waight, shall slie with greater certaintie and surie; considering the nature of the powder to be such, that the more it is stopt and shutin, the more it seketh to enlarge his roome, and breaketh forth with greater violence and sury.

Concerning other weapons, I take the upper ground in the shocke and incounter, to be aduantageous, as well for the sword as the pike, and would deserve as great respect, if the controuersie were decided by these weapons, as says fill dome times it is.

THE

should follow an Armie vpon a seruice, in the Enemies Countrey, twentie or thirtie daies together, with sufficient proudion for an Armie: And by that meanes, the Generall cannot attend advantages & fittest opportunities, which in tract of time are often offered; but is forced either to hazard the whole, vpon vnequall tearmes, or to found an vnwilling retreit.

And whereas the Victualers are for the most part voluntarie, respecting nothing but their gaine; and the fouldiers on the other fide, careleffe of the morrow, and prodigall of the prefent in that turbulent mar-market, where the feller hath an eye onely to his particular, & the buyer respecteth neither the publique good, nor his private commoditie, there is nothing to be looked for but famine and confusion: Where-as the Romains, by their manner of provision, imposed the generall care of the publique good vpon the chiefe Commaunder, whose dutie it was to prouide store of Corne for his Armie; and the patticular care vpon enery prinate fouldier, whom it especially concerned to see, that the allowance which the Common-weale had in plentifull manner given him, for his maintenance, might not bee walted through negligence or prodigalitie: which excellent order, the nature of our victuals will no way admir. Their Prouinces, & the next confederate States, furnished their Armies continually with Corne; as it appeareth by this place, that for provision of graine, he depended altogether you the Hedui: and, when they were in the Enemies Countrey, in the time of haruest, the souldiers went out to reape and gather Corne, and deliuered it threshed and cleansed to the Treasurer, that it might be kept vntill the day of paiment.

But, to leave this frugall and provident manner of provision, as ynpossible to be imitated by this age, let vs returne to our historie, and see how the Heluetians were ledde, by a probable errour, to their last ouerthrowe.

CHAP. VII.

The Heluetians follow after Cæsar, and ouertake the Rereward. He imbattaileth his legions vponthe fide of a hill: and given order for the Battaile.

Cafar.



Hereof the Enemy beeing advertised, by certaine fugitines of the troope of horse, commaunded by L.E. milius, presently; whether it overe that they thought the Romaines did turne away for feare (and the rather, for-that the day before, having the advantage of the upper ground they refused to fight) or whether

they thought to cut them off from provision of Corne, they altered their purpose, and turning back againe, beganne to attack our men in the Reare. Which Cafar perceiving, hee drew his forces to the next hill, and sent the Canalrie to sustaine the charge of the Enemy: and in the meane time, in the midst of the hill, made a triple battell, of four elegions of old souldiers; and vpon the highest ridge therof, he placed the two legions which he had lately inrolled, in the hither Gallia, together with the associate forces; filling the whole front of the hill with men, and stowing the cariages in one place : which he commaunded to be fenced & guarded by those that were in the oppermost battalions.

The Heluetians, on the other side, consaied their cariages and impediments into one place; and having beaten back Cafars hor femen, with a thick-thronged Squadron, they put themselues into a Phalanx, & so pressed under the first battell of the Romaine legions.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Oncerning the true fense of this triple battell, which Casfar The manner made upon the fide of the hill, I understand it according to the of their imancient custome of the Romaines; who in the infarcie of their battelling. Militarie discipline, divided their Armie into three sorts of souldiers, Hastati, Principes, and Triary: for, I omit the Velites, as

no part of their standing battels; and of these they made three seuerall battels, from front to back. In the first battell were the Hastati, and they possessed the whole from of the Armie, and were called Acies prima. Behind thele, in a con- By triplex uenient distance, stood the Principes, in like fort and order disposed, and were called Acies Jecunda: and lattly, in a like correspondent distance, were the Triarij imbattelled, and made Aciem tertiam.

Their legion confilted of tenne Companies, which they called cohorts, and euerie cohort confifted of three small Companies, which they named Manipuli: a maniple of the Hastati, a maniple of the Principes, and another of the Triary, as I will more particularly fet downe in the second booke. And as these three kinds of fouldiers were separated by distance of place from front to backe: so was enery battell divided into his maniples; and these were divided by little allies and waies, one from another, which were vied to this purpole: The Hastati, beeing in front, did euer begin the battell: & if they found themfelues too weake to repell the enemy, or were happely forced to a retreit, they drew themselves through these allies or distances, which were in the second battell, betweene the maniples of the Principes, into the space which was betweene the Principes and the Triarij; and there they rested themselues, whil'st the Princes tooke their place, and charged the Enemie. Or otherwise, if the Commaunders found it needfull, they fild up those distances of the Principes: and fo, vnited with them into one body, they charged the enemy all in groffe; and then, if they prenailed not, they retired into the spaces between the Triarij, and so they gaue the last affault, all the three bodies being joyned all into one.

Now, if we examine by the current of the history, whether Cæsar observed the same order and divisions in his warres, we shal find little or no alteration at all: for, first, this triplex Acies heere mentioned, was no other thing but the

division of the Hastati, Principes and Triarij, according to the manner of the first institution. And least any man should dreame of that ordinary division, which is likewife threefold, the two cornets and the battell, and in that fense he might fav to have made triplicem Aciem, let him understand, that the circumstances of the division have no coherence with that division: for, in that hee faith of the Heluetians, successerunt Aciem primam, pressed neere the first bartell or Vangard, hee maketh it cleare that the Armie was divided into a triple battell from frontto backe: for, otherwise, hee would have said, successerint dextrumant sinistrum cornu, aut mediam Aciem: for so were the partes of that division tearmed. Againe, in the retrait which the Heluetians made to the hill, when he faith that the first and second battell followed close vpon the enemy, and the third opposed it felfe against the Boy and Tulingi, & stood readie at the foote of the hill, to charge the legions in the flanke and on the back; It is manifest, that no other division can so fitly be applied to this circustance, as that from front to back.

But that place in the first of the Civill warres taketh away all scruple of conttouersie, wherehe vieth the verie same tearmes of prima, secunda, and tertia Acies: for, beeing to incampe himselfe neere vnto Afranius, and fearing least his fouldiers should be interrupted in their work, he caused the first and second battell to fland in Armes, & keepe their diffance, to the end they might shroud & couer the third battell (which was imploied in making a ditch behind them) from the view of the enemy; and this kind of imbattelling, Cæfar obserued in most of his fights: by which it appeareth, that he vseth the very same order and discipline for imbattailing, as was instituted by the old Romaines.

Concerning the auncient names of Hastati, Principes, and Triary, which Ramus in his Militia Iulij Cæfaris, vrgeth to be omitted throughout the whole historie, I grant they are fildome vied in these Commentaries, in the sense of their first institution: for, the Hastati, when the discipline was first erected, were the youngest and poorest of the legionarie souldiers. The Principes, were the luftie and able bodied men: and the Triary the eldeft, and best experienced. But in Cæsars Campe, there was little or no difference either of valour or yeeres, betweene the Hastati, Principes or Triary; which hee nameth, Prima, Secunda, and Tertia Acies: and therefore, were neuer tearmed by those names, in respect of that difference.

Notwithstanding, in regard of order and degrees of discipline, that vertue might be rewarded with honour, and that time might challenge the priviledge of a more worthy place, the faid diffinctions and tearmes were religiously obferued: for, in the battell with Petreius at Ilerda in Spaine, hee mentionorth the death of Q. Fulginius, ex primo Hastato legionis quarta decima: and in the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, he faith, that The Eagle-bearer being grieuoully wounded, commended the fafetie of his Enfigne to the horsemen, all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, prater principem Priorem. And for the Triary, there is no tearme more frequent in Cafar, then Primipilus; which name, by the rules of the ancient discipline, but to the chiefest Centurion of the first maniple of the Triary : whereby it appeareth, that the mani-

Lib.1.de bello Lib.z.debel

Ciuili.

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ples kept the same names in regard of a necessary distinction, although peraduenture the Hastati were as good souldiers, as either the Principes or the Tria-

As touching the spaces betweene the maniples, whereinto the first battaile did retire it selfe if occasion viged them, I never found any mention of them in Cæfar. Excepting once heere in England, where, in a skirmish the Brittaines fo viged the court of guard, which kept watch before the Romaine Camp, that Cæfar sent out two other Cohorts to succour them; who making distance betweene them as they flood, the court of guard retired it felfe in fafetie, through that space into the Campe: otherwise, we never find that the first battell made any retreit into the allies, between the maniples of the second battell; but when it failed in any part, the fecond and third went prefently to fecond them: as appeareth in the battell following with Ariouistus and in diuers others.

Concerning the vie of this trip'e battell, what can be faid more then Lipfius Lib. 5. demihath done? where he laieth open the particular commedities thereof, as fatre litia Romana forth as a speculatine indgement can decerne of things so far remote from the vse of this age, which neuer imitateth this triple battell, but onely in a march: for, then commonly they make three companies; a vangard, a battell, and a rereward: but in imbattelling, they draw these three Companies all in ront, making two cornets and the battell, without any other troops to fecond them. But let this suffice concerning Cæsar his manner of imbattelling, and his triplex Acies, vntill I come to the second booke; where I will handle more particularly the parts of a legion, and the commoditie of their small battalions.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

He Macedonian Phalanx, is described by Polybius, to bee a square A Phalanx battell of Pikemen, confitting of fixteene in flanke, and five hundred described. infront; the fouldiers standing so close together, that the pikes of

the fift ranke, were extended three foote beyond the front of the battell: the rest, whose pikes were not serviceable, by reason of their distance from the front, couched them vpon the shoulders of those that stood before them; and so locking them in together in file, pressed forward, to hold up the sway or giving backe of the former ranks, and so to make the affault more violent and vnresistable.

The Grecians were very skilfull in this part of the Art Militarie, which containeth order and disposition in imbattelling: for they maintained publique professors, whom they called Tactici, to teach & instruct their youth the practile and Art of all formes convenient for that purpose. And these Tactici, found by experience, that fixteene in flanke, fo ordered as they were in a Phalanx, were able to be are any shock, how violent so ener it charged upon them: which number of fixteene, they made to confift of foure doubles: as first vnitte maketh no order, for order confifteth in number & pluralitie; but vnitie doubled, maketh two, the least of all orders, and this is the double: which doubled

againe,

they gaue

againe, maketh the second order, of foure souldiers in a file, which doubled the third time, maketh eight, and this doubled, maketh 16, which is the fourth doubling from a vnite; and in it they stated, as in an absolute number and square, whose roote is source the Quadruple, in regard of both the extreames: for every one of these places, the Tattici had severall names, by which they were diftinctly knowne. But the particular description requireth a larger discourse, then can be comprehended in these short observations. Hee that desireth further knowledge of them, may read Elianus, that lived in the time of Adrian the Emperour: and Arianus in his historie of Alexander the great: with Mauritius, and Leo, Imperator; where he shall have the divisions of Tetraphalangia diphalangia, Phalangia voto avnite, with all the discipline of the Grecians. The chiefest thing to be observed, is, that the Grecians, having such skil in imbattelling, preferd a Phalanx before all other formes whatfoeuer; either because the figure in it selfe was very strong; or otherwise, in regard that it fitted besttheir weapons, which were long pikes and sargers. But, whether Cælar tearmed the battell of the Heluctians a Phalanx, in regard of their thicke manner of imbattailing onely, or otherwise, for as much as besides the forme, they yfed the naturall weapon of a Phalanx, which was the pike, it remaineth doubtfull. Brancatio, in his discourses vpon this place, maketh it no cotrouersie, but that every fouldier caried a pike and a target. The target is particularly named in this historie: but it cannot so easily be gathered by the same, that their offenfine weapons were pikes. In the fight at the baggage it is faid, that manie of the legionarie fouldiers were wounded through the cart-wheeles, with tragulas and materas, which are commonly interpreted Speares and Iauelins: and I take them to be weapons longer then common darts; but whether they were folong as the Sarissas of the Macedonians, I cannot tell. Howsoeuer; this is cerraine, that the Heluctians haue euer been reputed for the true Thalangita, next unto the Macedonians; and that in their thicke and close imbattailing, they failed not at this time of the forme of a Phalanx: for they roofed it fo thick with targets, that Casar faith they were fore troubled, because manie of their targets were fattened and tied together, with piles darted through the. Which argueth, that their Phalanx was very thicke thronged, whatfocuer their vycapon was.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæfar sendeth away al the horses of ease; exhorteth bis men; and beginneth the battell.



Aefar, to take away all hope of safety by flight, first caused his own G then all the private horses of ease to be carried out of sight; and If o ving some motiues of courage began the battell. The souldiers cassing their Piles with the advantage of the hill, did easily breake the Heluctians Phalanx, O then with their swords betook them-

selues to a ferious close.

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THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He ancient Sages found it necessary, to a faithfull and serious exe- Speeches of

cution of fuch an action, to prepare the minds of their men with words of encouragement, and to take away all scruple out of their

conceits, either of the volawfulnelle of the caule, or disaduantage against the Enemie: for, if at any time that saying be true, that Oratio plus potest quam pecunia, it is here more powerfull and of greater effect. For, a donative or liberanca, can but procure a mercenarie indeauour, euer yielding to a better offer, and doe oftentimes breed a fuspicion of wrong, euen amongst those that are willingly inriched with them; and so maketh them flack to discharge their feruice with loyaltie : yea, oftentimes of friends to become enemies. But inalmuch as speech discloseth the secrets of the soule, and discouereth the intent and drift of enery action, a few good words laying open the infutie which is offered to innocencie, how equity is controlled with wrong, and inflice controlled by iniquitie (for, it is necessary that a Comander approve his Cause, and fettle an opinion of right in the mind of his fouldiers, as it is easie to make that feeme probable which to many offer to defend with their bload; when indeed enery man relieth vpon anothers knowledge, and respecteth nothing lesse the right) a few good words I fay, will fo ftirre up their minds in the feruentneffe of the cause, that cuery man will take himselfe particularly ingaged in the action by the title of Equitie; and the rather, for that it import with the necessity of

their condition. For, men are willing to doe well, when well-dooing agreeth

with that they would doe: otherwise, the Act may formerly be effected, but the

mind neuer approucth it by affent.

And this manner of exhortation or speech of incouragement, was never omitted by Cæfar in any conflict mentioned in this hiftorie: but hee still vsed it as a necessary instrument to set vertue on foote, and the onely meanes to stir vp alacritie. Or if it happened that his men were at any time discouraged by Lib.7.debeldisaster or crosse accident, as they were at Gergobia, & at the two ouerthrowes for Gallico. he had at Dyrrachium; he neuer would aduenture to give battell, vntill he had incouraged them againe, and confirmed their minds in valour and refolution. But this age hath put on fo fcornefull a humor, that it cannot heare a focech in this key, found it never fo gravely, without fooffing and derifion; and on the other fide discontinuance of so necessarie a part, hath bred at length such an inutilem pudorem in our chiese Commanders, that they had rather lose the gaine of a great aduantage, then buy it with words to be deliuered in publique.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



RN this Chapter we may further observe the violence of the Romane pile, which being a heauie deadly weapon, could hardly be frustrated with any relitance, and in that respect was very proper and effectuall against a Phalanx, or any other thicke and close battell, or

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THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

He last thing which I observe in this specialitie, is, that the legionarie fouldiers had no other offensiue weapon, but one pile or two at the most, and their swords. By which it may bee gathered, that all their victories came by buckling at handy-blowes; for, they came

alwaies to neere before they cast their pile, that they left themselves no more timethen might conveniently ferue them to draw their fwords: neither would their Armes of defence, which was compleat, befides a large target which they caried on their left arme, fuffer them to make any long purfoit, or continued chase, when soeuer a light armed enemy did make any speedie retrait; as will more plainly appeare by that which followeth.

CHAP. IX.

The Heluctians, fainting in the battell, retire to a Hill: the Romans follow after, and the battell is continued.

T voas agreat hinderance to the Galles in their fight, that ther with one fall of a pile: for foit happened, that it could neither be pulled out he reason as a

could they ofe their left hand for the defence of themselves. Whereby it fell out, that many of them (after a vvearisome

toile) did saft away their targets, and fought naked, and vnarmed. At length, fainting with wounds, they began to give place, and retraited to a Hill a mile

The Hill beeing taken, and the Legions following on to drive them fro thence, the Boy and Tulings, to the number of fifteene thousand, beeing in the Reare of the Enemy, to guard the lagge of their Army, fetting on our men, as they overe in pursuit of the rest, did charge them upon the open side, and beganne to inclose them about: which, the Heluctians, that had got the Hill, perceiving, beganne againe to fal opon our men, or renewed the battell. The Romaines dividing themselues, turned their Ensignes two vvaies; the first and second Armie fought against the Heluctians that returned from the Hill, and the third battell tooke charge of them that stood ready to inclose them about. And heere the fight was doubtfull and furious for a long time; untill at length they were no longer able to indure the violence of the legionarie fouldiers: and so one part betooke themselues as at the first, to the Hill; and the other, to the place where their Carts and baggage were lodged.

And

the cafter: for in such incounters, it so galled the enemy, that they were neither able to keep their order, nor answere the assault with a resisting counterbuffe. By which it appeareth, that the onely remedie against the Pile was, to make the ranks thinne; allowing to every fouldiour a large podifine or place to stand in, that fo the stroke might of it selfe fall without hurr, or by fore-fight bee preuented; as it shall plainely appeare by the sequell of this historie, which I will not omit to note, as the places shal offer themselues to the examination of this

discourse. But as touching the Pile, which is so often mentioned in the Romaine historie, Polybius describeth it in this maner; A Pile, faith he, is a casting weapon, the staffe whereof is almost three cubites long, and it hath palmarem diametrum, a hand breadth in thickness. The staues were armed with a head of iron, equall in length to the staffe it selfe: But in that fort, that halfe the head was fastened up to the middle of the staffe, with plates of iron, like the head of a Halbert; and the other halfe flucke out at the end of the staffe, like a pike, contayning a fingers breadth in thicknelle, and so decreasing lesse and lesse, vnto the point, which was barbed. This head was fo flender toward the point, that the waight of the staffe would bend it as it stucke, as appeareth in this battell of the Heluctians. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and was called Pilum,

as Varro noteth of Pilum a Pestell, quod Hostes feriret vt pilum. Lipsius, finding that Palmarem diametrum, was too great a thickneffe to be managed by any mans hand, interpreteth it to be foure inches in circuit, if the staffe were either round or iquare, for they had of both forts, and it hee maketh it very manageable; but nothing answerable to the description, given by Polybius, ei-

Lib. c.

ther in forme or waight. Patricius, in his Paralleli, maketh thestaffe to haue palmarem diametrum in the butte end, but the rest of the staffe he maketh to decrease taper-wise, vnto the head of iron, where it hath the thickneffe of a mans finger; and fo it answereth both in forme and waight to a Pestell, as may be seene by the figure, and I take it to bee the meaning of Polybius. Patricius in that place feiteth downe foure discommodities of the Pile. First, a furious and hot spirited enemie will eafily prevent the darting of the Pile, with a nimble and speedy close: And so wee read, that in the battell which Cæfar had with Ariouistus, the Germaines came to violently upon them, that the fouldiers cast away their piles, and betooke them to their fwords. And likewife, in that woorthy battell betweene Cateline and Marcus Petreius, they cast away their piles on either part. The

fecond difcommoditie was, that the piles being so heavie, could not be cast a-

nie distance; but were onely seruiceable at hand. Thirdly, they could not bee

cast with any aime, or as they say, point blanke. And lastly, the souldiers were

to take advantage of ground backward when they threw them: which might

eafily diforder their troopes, if they were not very well experienced.

Salust.

THE

And hitherto there was not one man seene to have turned his backe in all this conflict; although the fight continued from the seauenth houre untill the evening.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Ensignes of the Romaines. Oncerning the Enlignes of the Romaines; wee are to understand that the chiefest Enligne of enery Legion, was an Eagle: which alwaies attended upon the Primipile or chiefe Centurion of the said Legion. The Enligne of a Maniple was, either a Hand or a Dra-

gon, a Woolfe or a Sphinx; as it appeareth (besides the testimonie of historie) by the Columne of Traiane in Rome, wherein the Ensignes are figured, with such purtraitures: so that these Ensignes, resembling the proportions of lining creatures, had their fore-parts alwaies caried that way which the legions were to march, or where they were to sight. And therefore in this history, by the affect and carying of the Ensignes, the front of the Armie was commonly noted: as in this place it is said, that the Ensignes of the first and second battell, were caried towards the hill, whither the Heluetians had made their retrait; & the Ensignes of the third battell looked another way, towards the Boij and Talingi, which stood on the source of the hill. By which is signified, how the legions were divided to resist the brunt of the double incounter.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The dinision of their day.

Oncerning the time of the day: wee are to understand, that the Romaines ysed not the same dissificancy the day as we commonlie doe: for, they dissided their artificial! (which is the space betweene sunne rising and setting) into twelue equall parts, which the Astronomers called unequall or planetarie houres. The sirst

houre of the day beganne alwaies at funne rifing; the fixt houre was alwaies high noone; and the twelfth houre was funne fetting. And, as the day wexed longer or thorter, so these houres were either greater or lesse; neither did they agree with equall or equinoctial houres, such as are now yeed, but onely at the Aequinoctium: so that by this manner of reckoning, ab hora septima ad vesperum, is meant, the battell beganne about one of the clocke, according to our Computation, & continued until the euening. The like we must vnderstand, throughout this whole historie, as often as there is mention made of the circums ance of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Heluetians continue their fight at the cariages: but at length they left the field, and marched towards Langiers.

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N like manner, the fight was kept on foote at the cariages, wntill it was farrein the night; the place beeing fortified with Cartes in fleed of a Rampier: and the Enemy calling their vocapens from the upper ground, and with darts and lauelins, wader the waggons, and from between the wheeles, did

tins, unar ine vaggone, une, ofter a long conflict, our fouldiers tooke their cariages and their campe: volorein Orgetorix daughter, and one of his sonnes were taken. There were saud out of that battell, about one hundred and thirtie thousand persons; who marching continually all that night, and making no stay in any place, came the south day into the confines of the Lingones: for, by reason of the souldiers hurts, and the buriall of the slaine, wherein there was spent three daies, there was no pursuit made after them.

Langres.

Cefar.

OBSERVATION.

F we consider the nature of the action, and looke into the true cause of their ouerthrow, as farre as the right fense of the historic shall direct our judgement, wee(hall find valour not to be wanting in the Heluctians, but rather superlatively abounding in the Romans. For, that vehement opinion of their valiancie and manhood, which caried them out of the streights of the Country, to seek larger fortunes in other kingdoms, was not so abated with the losse of the fourth part of their Host at the river Atar; nor with the terrible furie of those veteran legions : but it yielded this effect, which Cæfar in his estimate of valour thought memorable, that for fine houres space or more, there was not one man scene to have turned his backe. Their maner of imbattailing, had not the Romaines been the enemie, was vnrefistable. For, beeing cast into a Phalanx, which in the Plaines of Asia had made Alexander the great and the Macedonians famous, they did as farre furpasse any other forme of imbattelling (supposing that the conveniencie of the place did fit that disposition) wherein the strength of the whole is divided into many particulars, as the violence of a great body exceedeth the force & motion of his parts, when it is divided into smaller cantons. For, as in a phalanx, many particular fouldiers are by a close & copact order incorporated into one entire body: for their fenerall vertues are gathered into one head, & are as parts vnited into one general force; which eafily fwaloweth up the ability of many other lefquantities, into which a greater strength is equally divided.

The advantage of the place which they got by retrait, & the double charge wherewith they ingaged the Romaines, both in front and flank, was able in an indifferent conflict, to have made Fortune fugitive, and beare armes on their fide : or at the least, so to have steemed the swelling tide of victorie, which carried the Romaines fo violently in the chafe, that they might have beene equall tharers in the honor of the day; had it not followed from an Ocean of valour, whose course could not be hindered with any stops and oppositions, vntill it came to that height, which true valour and vnexampled resolution affected. And yet the height of this courage, could not fo allay the heat of the Heluetians furie; but it brake forth into dangerous flames, when it came to the place where their cariages were laid, and cost much bloud and many mens lives before they quitted the place: for, they fought with that spirit and industrie, as though they meant to make triall, whether their fortune would proue no better in the night then it had done in the day.

The ouenhrowe of the Tigurine Canton at the river Arar . proceeded rather from want of good directions (which is the leffe to be maruelled at, confidering they had no chiefe Commaunder as wee read of) then from any defect of valour: for, the rules of Militarie gouernment, require especiall care in pasfing ouer a water; for, then especially, an Armie is in greatest danger, when it is disordered and divided. And therefore the Romaines atchived this victorie by the horrible vigilancy (as Tully calleth it) of their Comander: who alwaies watched opportunitates rei bene gerenda, as necessary and speedy meanes to ouercome in all his warres.

CHAP. XI.

Cæfar, after three daies respite, followeth after the Heluetians: he taketh them to mercy, and fendeth them backe againe to the Countrey.

> Aefar fent Letters and Messengers to the Lingones , forbid-ding to supply them, either with Corne, or any other thing ; which if they did, hee would esteeme of them as of the Hel-uctians. Himselfe, after three daies respite, followed after with all his forces. The Heluctians, pressed with the want of all necessarie provisions, sent Commissioners unto him, to

Cafer.

treat of their reddition. Who, meeting him on the way, cast themselves at his feete; and with humble words and teares, defired Peace, Beeing commaunded to attend in the place they then were, they accordingly obased. Cafar, being come up unto them, required hostages, together with their Armes and servants; as also the fugitiues that overe fledde onto them. While

While those things were sought out, and brought, in the night time, six thoufand men or there-abouts, of the Canton, called Verbigene, whether mooned through feare of beeing executed, after their Armes were given up, or induced with hope of escaping (as thinking that among st such a multitude of people, that were there to be rendred, their flight (bould not be missed, or at least would be concealed) did in the beginning of the night, leave the Heluetian Camp, & made towards the Rhene, and the confines of the Germaines.

Cafar, understanding through whose territories they passed, commaunded them to seeke them out, and bring them back againe, if they would be blamelesse in that behalfe: And being brought back, dealt with them as enemies. All the reft, after Hoftages, Armes and fugitiues were ginen in , hee received to mercie; and commaunded the Heluctians, Tulinges, and Latobrigs, to returne into their Country from whence they came. And fora (much, as having lost all their proviseen of Corne, there remained nothing at home to satisfie hunger, hee gave order to the Allobroges to supply them with Corne; and willed the Heluetians to reedifie their Townes and Citties, that they had before destroied & for (aken, Which he did specially for this cause; that the Germaines inhabiting beyond the Rhene, might not be inuited with the richnesse of that soile, to seate themselves so neer neighbours to the Province of Gallia, and the Allobroges. The Boy, at the mediation of the Heduans, as knowing them to be men of great valour, were permitted to dwell in their Country; to whom they gave lands and possessions, and received them into the same liberties and immunities, as they themselves inioyed.

In the Heluetian Campe was found a List, or Register, worit in Greeke, and brought to Cafar, containing by pole, the wohole number that left their Country how many of them were able to beare Armes : O in like maner, the boies old men and women were inrolled apart by them selues. The summary wherof was. that the whole number of the Heluetians, amounted to 263 thousand, the Tulinges to 36 thousand, the Latobriges to 14, the Rauracks to 23, the Boij to 32. Of these there were that bare Armes, 192 thousand. The totall of all, overe 368 thousand. A view being taken by Casars appointment, of those that returned home, there were found 110 thou fand.

OBSERVATION.

He directions concerning their rendry & returne, were very found, and of good confequence. For first, in that he comanded them to attend his comming, in the place where they were, hee tooke away all motions of new trouble, which often remoues might have caused,

by the opportunity of fome accident which might have happened: affuring himselfe, that their aboad in that place would increase their miseries, and confequently ripen that defire of peace which they made shew of; cosidering that the Lingones, in whose territories they were, durst not for feare of Cæsars displeafure, furnish them with any necessaries in that extremitie. Touching the securitie; which the Romaines required, of the loyaltie of such people as they conquered; their maner was to take as hoftages, a fufficient number of the men

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

children of the chiefest men of that Nation: whose liues depended upon their Parents sidelitie, and ended with the first suspicion of their rebellion. Which custome, besides the present good, promised the like or better securitie to the next age; when as those children by conuersation and acquaintance should be so affected to the Romaine Empire, that returning to their own country, their actions might rather tend to the aduauncement thereof, then any way be presideficiall to the same. And, least the loue of libertie and freedome, should prevaile more with them, then that affection which Nature had inioyned them to beare to their children; he did what hee could to take away the meanes and instruments of their rebellion, by causing them to deliver up such Armes & weapons as were there present; and so to become suitable to that petition of peace which they had made.

The summe of all is this; he corrected the insolencie of a surious people, and reduced them to a seeling of their owne madnesse. He kept them from facking the possessions of many thousands, in the continent of Gallia; and sent them backe against to continue their name and Nation, in the place where they sirst inhabited; which continueth who this day. And thus we see, that there is no humour to head-strong, nor so backt with strength of circumstances, but it may meete with a remedie to qualifie the insolencie thereof, and make it sub-

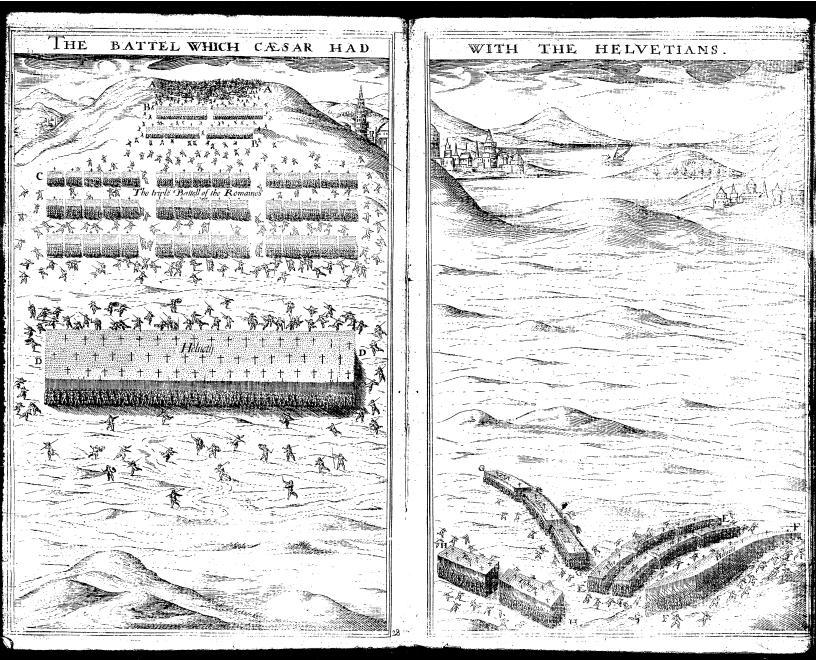
iest to correction and controlement.

CHAP. XII.

The States of Gallia congratulate Cæsars victorie: they call a councell, and disouer their inward griese, concerning Ariouistus and his sorces.

Cafar.

chiefe men of all the States of Gallia, a came to Cafar, to congratulate the happine of this victorie; informeth as they would winder flood, that albeit the people of Rome, had they would winder flood, that albeit the people of Rome, had by the courfe of this warre reunged the inituries which heere-to-fore they had done unto them: yet neuerthe-leffe, the iffue thereof did redound no leffe profitable to the peace of Gallia, then to the Romaine Empire; for a fmuch as the Hellutians, left their howses and Country, abounding with all plenty and prosperitie, for no other purpose, but to inuade the wohole Country of Gallia, to to bring it in subjection to themselves; and chusing out of that large Continent, some fitte, and fruitefull place of habitation, to make the rest of the States their Tributaries: And required further, that with his good leave they might call a general assembly at a day prefixed, of all the States of Gallia, for a smuch as they had matters of great importance to be handled, which they desired (with a common consent)



to preferre to his confideration. Which beeing graunted and the day of meeting appointed, they bound them selues by oath, not to reueale the causes of their affembly, but to such as should be designed by common Councell.

The Parlement beeing broken up, the same Princes returned to Gasar, and defired that they might in secret treat with him, of the safety of themselves, all the rest which beeing granted saft themselves in lamentable manner at his sect, contending with as great earnestness, that those things which they delivered, might not be reucaled, as they did to have their petition graunted; forasmuch as they saw, that the discoverie of such declarations as they propounded,

would necessarily pull opon them most grieuous assistions.

Dinitiacus the steduan, in the name of the rest, deliuered; that Gallia was diuided into two factions: the Hedus were the head of the one, and the Auerni of
the other. These two States contending many yeeres for the principalitie, the Auerni, with the Sequans their Clients, hired the Germaines to take their part;
of whom, at first, there passed over the Rhene some sisteen thousand; but after-

wards, the se barbarous people, having tasted the plentie & civilistic of the Galles, drew-over many more, that now there were no lesse then one hundred & twentie thousand. With the set the due to their Clients, had once or oftener fought; but the successes of their owne calamitie, & the witer over throwe of their Nobilitie and Senate: with which losses, they were so broken and decaied, that where as heer to sore, as well by their owne credit, as by the savour of the people of Rome, they strong know, as well by their owne all Gallia, they were now driven to deliver the chiefes of their State, as pledges to the Sequans, and to binde

themselues by oath, neuer to seeke their release or freedome, nor to implore the aide of the people of Rome, nor to seeke meanes to free themselues from their sourcing nervignty; anely himselfe, of all the Heduans, could not be brought to take that oath, or to give his children as hostages: for which cause he fled to Rome, and befought helpe of the Senate, beeing no way obliged to the contrary, either by oath or hostages.

But it so fell out, that the victoric became more grieuous to the Sequans then to the Heduans; for that Ariouistus, king of the Germaines, was planted in their territories: and beeing alreadie possels of a third part of their Country, which was the best part of all Gallia, did now require the Sequans to forgoe another third part, for that a few months before, there were come unto him twentie-foure thousand Harudes, to whom lands and possessing were to be eallotted. Whereby it would come to passe within a few yeeres, that all the Galles would

wherever it voodia come to paffe within a few seeres, that all the Galles voould be driven out of their dwellings, and all the Germaines voould come over the Rhene; for there was no comparifon betweene Gallia and Germanie, either in richnesse of soile or fashion of life.

Concerning Ariouistus, after he had once defeated the Galles in a battell, neer

Amagetobrig, he caried himfelfe very cruelly, and infolently, requiring the children of all the Nobility for hostages, & shewing strange examples of torture vpon them. If any thing were done, not according to his commaund or desire, hee would easilie shew himselfe to be a barbarous, sierce and hasty man; whose tyrannie they could no longer indure: and vnlesse there were help to be found in Cafar

and the people of Rome, all the Galles must as the tieluctians did, for take their Countrey, and seeke new houses, and seates of habitation, farre remote from the Germaines, and try their fortunes, what-euer befell them. If these things should happely be discouered to Arionistus, he would doubtlesse take a senere revenge of

all the pledges in his custodie. Casar might by his owne authority or the presence of his Armie, or by the renowne of his late victory, or by the countenaunce of the people of Rome, keepe the Germaines from transporting any more Colonies into Gallia, and defend it from the iniuries of Ariouistus. This speech beeing deliuered by Dinitiacus, all that were present, with much weeping befought Casar to

giue them reliefe.

Cafar observed, that onely the Sequans of all the rest, did no such matter, or were so affected as the others overe; but with their heads hanging downe looked mournefully vponthe ground: and wondering at it, asked them the cause thereof. To which they made no reply but stood silent, with the same countenaunce of forom. And having oftentimes iterated his demaund, without gaining any word of aunswere; Dinitiacus the Heduan, replied, that the state of the Sequans, was heerein more miserable and grieuous then the rest; that they of all others, durst not complaine, or implore aide, although it were in (ccret: as having before their eyes the crueltie of Ariouistus being absent, no lesse then if he were present. And the rather, for that other menhad (afe meanes of flying away: but the Sequans, having received Ariovistus into their Country, and made him Maister of their townes, were necessarily to undergoe all miseries.

Thefe things being knowne, Cafar incouraged the Galles with good words. and promsed them to have a care of that matter, as having great hope, that by his meanes and power, Ariouistus should bee forced to offer no further iniuries. And thereupon dismissed the Councell.

OBSERVATIONS.

N this relation, there are divers points woorthily recommended to the differetion of fuch, as are willing to bee directed by other mens missources. As first, into what extremities ambition doth driue her thirsty sauourites, by suppressing the better faculties of the soule, and fetting such vnbridled motions on foote, as cary men headlong into most desperate attempts. For, as it had deserved commendation in either faction, so to have caried their emulation, that by their owne meanes & strength applied to the rule of good government, their authoritie might wholly have Iwaied the inclination of the weaker states: so was it most odious in the Sequani, to call in forraine forces, to fatisfie the appetite of their vntempered humor; and in the end, were accordingly rewarded.

Secondly, it appeareth how dangerous athing it is, to make a stranger a stickler in a quarrell which civill diffension hath broched, when the partie that called him in, shall not be as able to refuse his assistance upon occasion, as he was willing to entertaine it for advantage. Lastly, the often discontents of COMMENTARIES, LIB. I.

the e States shew the force of a present enill, which possesses for vehementlie the powers of the foule, that any other calamitie, either already past, or yet to

come, how great foeuer, feemeth tolerable and easie, in regard of that smart which the present griefe inflicteth.

So the Sequani, chose rather to captinate their libertie to the Barbarisme of a fauage Nation, then to indure the Hedui to take the hand of them. And againe, to make themselues vassalls to the Romans, rather then indure the vsurping crueltie of the Germaines. And finally (as the fequell of the hiltorie will discouer) to hazard the losse of life and Country, then to suffer the taxes & impositions of the Romans: So predominant is the present euill in mens affections, and fo it prevaileth at the feate of our judgement.

CHAP. XIII.

The reasons that mooued Casar to vndertake this warre.



Any overe the inducements which mooned him to take that businesse to hart; As first that the Heduans, who were oftentimes stiled by the Senate with the title of Bretheren, Cosins and Allies, were in the seruitude and thraldome of the Germaines, and that their hostages overe with Ariouistus and the Sequans: which in fo great a fourraigntie of the people of Rome, he tooke to be very dishonourable, both to himfelfe

and the Common-weale; as also, for that hee saw it very dangerous for the Romaine Empire, that the Germaines should accustome, by little and little, to flocke in such multitudes into Gallia. Neither did he thinke he could moderate or restraine such sierce & barbarous people; but, that having possessed all the Continent of Gallia, they would, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, breake out into the Prouince, and so into Italy : especially the Sequans ; beeing divided from the Prouince but with the river Rhone.

These things he thought fitte with all speede to preuent: and the rather, forthat Ariouistus was growne to that pride and arrogancie, as was not to be suffered. For which respect, he thought it expedient to send Embassadours wnto him, to appoint some indifferent place for parlee; for that he had to treat with him, concerning publique affaires, and some matters that did much import both of them.

OBSERVATIONS.



May heere take an occasion, to speake somewhat concerning the authoritie of the Roman Generals, which we fee to be very large; con- tie of the Rofidering that Cæfar of himfelfe, without any further leave of the Se- ma Generals. nate & people of Rome (for what may be gathered by this historie)

Wherein we are to understand, that when the state of Rome did allotte the gonernment of any Prouince to a Proconfull, they did likewife recommend vnto him, the carefull managing of fuch accidents, as might any way concerne the good of that regiment. For, confidering that fuch causes as may trouble a well ordered government, are as well externall and forraine, as internall, and bred within the bounds of that Empire: it had been to fmall purpose, to have giuen him onely authoritie, to maintaine a course of wholesome gouernment at home; and no meanes to take away fuch oppositions, which for raine accident might fet vp against him. And so we see, that Cæsar vndertooke the Heluetian warre, in regard of the fafetic of the Prouince; and this againe with A-

riouistus, least the Germans should so multiply in Gallia, that the Pronince it selfe might at length bee indangered. Neither had their Generals authoritie onely to undertake these warres; but the absolute disposition also of the whole course thereof, whether it were to meat, capitulate, compound, or whatels they thought convenient for the advancement of the Common-weale, did wholly rest upon their direction; repub, bene gesta, beeing the stile of the warrant for all their actions. Neither may we thinke, that any subordinate or depending authoritie, can be so powerfull in the course of businesses, as that which absolutely commaun-

deth without controlement, and proceedeth according to the opportunitie of

time and occasion, further then either prescription or limitation can direct it. And therefore, whenfocuer the Romaine affaires were diffressed, and driven to an exigent, they created a Dictator, that had regiam potestatem, such an absolute commaund, that what locuer power reflecteither in the Confuls, or in the Tribunes, in the Senate, or in the people, it gaue way to the greatnesse of that Magistrate; that there might bee no let or retracting power to weaken that courfe, which nothing but an absolute comaund could establish, for the good of the Common-weale. And yet notwithstanding this absolute government, they attributed fuch power to the course of humane actions, that by the punishment which they inflicted upon dissolute and unfortunate Leaders, they feemed to acknowledge, that no man, how circumfpect focuer, could promife more then likelihoods or probabilities of good fortune, as farre foorth as his meanes and industry could atchieue it. For, old M. Fabius, pleading for the Linie lib.8. life of his gallant fonne, and opposing the rigour of Papyrius the Dictaior, with examples of antiquitie, faith: Populi quidem, penes quem potestas omnium rerum esset, ne iram quidem unquam atrociorem fuisse in cos qui temeritate atque inscitia exercitus amisissent, quam ot pecunia eos multaret : capite an-

> greater displeasure against such, as had lost an Armie, either by rashnesse or vnskilfulnesse, then imposing a fine upon them: but, to bring the life of a Generall in question for failing in his indeauours, was neuer heard of to that day. The condition of the inferiour Officers of their Campe, was farre otherwife

> quisitum ob remmale gestam de imperatore nullum ad eam diem esse. The peo-

ple, faith he, in whom the foueraigne power of things confifteth, neuer shewed

in regard of Militarie discipline: for, prescription guided them in all their seruices, and the chiefest part of their ductie was obedience; although they faw e. uident reason to the contrarie, and found their directions unperfect in that behalfe: and therefore Cæfar faith vpon that occasion: Alia funt legati partes at- Lib.3, de belque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad prascriptum, alter libere ad summam re- lo Civili. rum consulere debet. The office of a Legate or Lieutenant, differeth from that of a Generall: the one doing all things by prescription; & the other freely deliberating of whatfoener may concerne the cause. And this course the Romans

CHAP. XIIII.

held, concerning the authoritie of their Generals.

Ariouistus his answere: a second Embassage, with the successe thereof.



O that Embassage, Ariouistus answered; That if his occasions had required Cafars afsistance, he would have furthered them with his owne presence: and hee thought it as rea-somable, that if it overe in his meanes to pleasure the Ro-

mans, Cafar ought not to thinke much of the like labour. For his owne part, hee durst not come into those parts of Gallia which Cafar poffeffed, without an Armie; nor could draw an Armie to a head without great trouble & expence. The thing that he most wondered at was that the Romaines, or Cafar, had to doe in that part of Gallia, which the law of Armes had made his inheritance. Vpon the returne of this aunswere, Casar framed a second Embassage; the

purport vuhereof was: For a much as he thus requited the honour vuherewith the people of Rome had beautified his best dignity (for, in Casars Consulship, the authoritie of their Empire had vouch afed to esteeme of him, as a King in his dominions, & as a friend onto their State) & that he disdained to admit of a Parlee, concerning the comon good; let him knowe, that thefe overe the things that he required to be performed by him : First , that hee should not suffer any more troopes of Germaines to be transported over the Rhène into Gallia. Secondlie, that he (hould deliner up those Hostages which hee had of the Heduans and Sequans; & should cease to molest them further with war or other injuries. These things if he did performe, Cafar voould assure him of a gratefull acceptance on the behalfe of the people of Rome: otherwise, for a much as in the Consulhips of M. Messala, and L. Piso, the Senate had decreed. That he that should obtaine the government of the Province, should as neere as it would stand with the good of the Common-vveale, indeauour the defence of their Associates and Friends: therefore he would not neglect the injuries done onto the Heduans.

To these Mandates, Arionistus replied: The law of Armes kept this tenure a-

the course of their government, by another mans prescript, but by their own ar-

bitrement: and, as he had not directed the Romans, so ought not they to meddle

COMMENTARIES, LIB. I.

The Treuiri bring newes of one hundred towneships of the Sweui, that were come to the Rhene. Cafar taketh in Besanson: his souldiers are surprised with an extreame feare of the

Germaines.

T the same time, as this answere was returned to Calar, there came likewise Embassadours from the Heduans and Treurres. The Heduans complained, that the Harudes lately transported into Gallia, did depopulate and waste their borders, and that they could not buy their peace of Arionistus,

with giving of Hostages for their alleageance. The Ireuires brought newes of one hundred towneships of the Sweui, that were come to the river Rhene, to seeke a passage into Gallia, conducted by Nasua and Cimberius, two bretheren. Whereat, Cafar beeing exceedingly mooned, thought his best meanes of prevention to confift in celeritie, least the difficulty of relifting should growe greater, when those new forces of the Sweui, were isyned with the power which was already with Arioniflus. And therefore having provided Corne. hee made haste to seeke the Germaines. And having gone three daies tourney on his way, he had intelligence, that Arionistus with all his forces, was gone to take in Besanson, the greatest towns of the Sequans; and that hee was three daies

iourney on his way already. Cafar, knowing how much it imported him to prevent that disadvantage (for a smuch as the Towne abounded with all necessarie provisions for warre,

and was so sited, that hee that commaunded it, might prolong the warre at his owne pleasure: beeing incircled with the river Alduabis; excepting a small space of fixe hundred foote, which was fortified with an exceeding high Hill, the foote whereof did at each end joyne onto the River, and the Hill strengthened with a wall, and so ionned to the towne) made all the haste hee could to take the towne, and there left a guarizon. And as heerested there a few daies, to make prouision of Corne, and other necessaries, the Romaines inquiring of the Galles and Marchants, concerning the qualitie of the Germaines; under food that they were men of a huge stature, of courage invincible, and of great practice and experience in feates of Armes; vohereof the Galles had oftentimes made triall: For, when they incountered them, they overe not able to indure so much as the sternenesse of their countenaunce, or the stercenesse of their lookes. The whole Armie conceined such a feare thereat, that all mens minds were wonderfullie appalled. This feare beganne first among st the Tribunes and Commaunders of horse, and such others as for friendship sake followed Casar from Rome, & had small or no skill in matter of war. These men, faining some one excuse, & some another, of very earnest business, which called the home, desired leave to depart. Some others, who shame would not suffer to for sake the Campe, bewraied the like

CHAP. XV.

with his proceedings. The Heduans, having tried the fortune of ovarre, overe by right become his Stipendaries; wherin Cafar offered great wrong, for that his comming this her. bad made their tribute much leffe onto him then before. Touching their Hostages; his purpose was still to retaine them. Neither would hee make any uniust warre upon any of their Associates, if they observed the Articles of agreement, and paid their yeerely tribute: but if they failed in that the fraternity of the Romaines would come too late to their succour. If Casar would needs undertake their quarrell; Hee was to let himknowe, that no man ever contended with Ariouistus, but to his owne destruction. Try when he would, he should find what valour consisted in the Germaines, that for foureteeneyeeres space, were never

OBSERVATION



concred with other roofe then the Heavens.

Nd thus farre proceeded Cæfar with Ariouistus, in debating the wrongs and agricuances of the Hedui. Wherein appeareth the difference betweene a matter handled according to morall civilitie, in tearmes of mildnesse and pleasing accent, and that which is rudely deliuered, & dependeth rather vpon the plainnesse of the project, then suted with words sitte for perswasion.

For, that which Ariouistus alleadged, to make good his interest in Gallia, was as confonant to reason, as any thing to the contrary viged by Cæsar.

But as the Lacedemonian faid of one, That hee spake the truth otherwise then it should be spoken: so it may be said of Ariouistus aunswere, that it wanted that sweeting humanitie which giueth credit to veritie it selfe; forasmuch as it proceedeth from a well tempered spirit, wherin no turbulent passion seemeth to cottoll the force of reason, nor hinder the sentence of true judgement; but rather, feafoning her conceptions with humilitie, doth conertly complaine of open wrong, and strengthen her affertions with a pleasing deliuerie. And therefore, how great focuer the controuerfie be, that partie which exceedeth nor the boundes of modeltie, but maketh mildnesse his chiefest aduocate, will fo prevaile in any auditorie, that albeit equitie doth difallow her title; yet the manner of his carriage will cleare him from offering wrong, in that he vieth the sequels of innocencie, to proue his interest in that which he demaundeth. But to leave this circumstance, as onely to be noted, let vs proceed to the yvarie it felfe, which I made the second part of this historie.

CHAP.

Cefar.

le doux.

passion in their countenances & haulour: for, hiding themselves in their Tents, they either bewailed their destanie secretly to the selves, or otherwise, with their acquaintance and familiar friends. They lamented the danger they were all like to fall into; so that throughout the wohole Campe, there was nothing but making and signing of Testaments. And through the talke and seart experience in the men, the old souldiers and Centurions, and such as had great experience in the Campe, beganne by little and little to apprehend the terrour wher-with the rest were amazed: and those that would seeme to be lesse fearefull, said, they seared not the enemy, but the narrownesse of the waies, & the greatnesse of the woods, that were between them and Arionistus; or otherwise they cast doubts where they might have prouision of Corne. And many suck not to tell Casar, that when some the sould give communicatements march forward, or advance the Standarts, the souldiers wouldresuse to see it.

OBSERVATION

Herein, for that we find a strange alteration, no way answerable to that courage, which a late gotten victorie doth vitially breed in noble spirits; it shall not bee amisse, a little to infist upon the in noble spaces, and to gather such breefe instructions from their weakenesse, as may best serue to qualifie the amasement of horrour, and mittigate the frensie of so violent a passion. And albeit my ignorance in the works of Nature, cannot promile any fuch learning, as may discouer the true meanes and secret motions, whereby a fore conceiued feare doth trouble the fenfes, and aftonish the mind; yet fith the history offereth it to our scanning, give me leave onely to note the strangenesse of the circumstance, and rudely to delinear the purtraiture of a beast oftener seene then wel knowne, vling the vnwieldie pile for my penfile, and futing my speech to a warlike auditorie. I knowe not how it happeneth, but thus it may happen, that when the fenfes receive intelligence of an eminent enill, which may either difpossessive the soule of this earthly mansion, or trouble the quiet wherein shee refteth; the spirits (as it seemeth) by the direction of their sourraigne Mistresse, retire themselves into the inner cabiners and secreter paullions of the body, where the chiefest part of the soule is most resident: & so they leave the frontier quarters of her kingdome, naked and unguarizoned, the better to ftrengthen that capitall Cittie of the heart, out of which the life cannot flie, butto the vtter ruine and destruction of the whole bodie. For, seare is not onelie a perturbation of the foule, proceeding from the opinion it hath of fome euill to come : but it is also a contraction, and closing up of the hart, when the blood and the spirits are recalled from the outward partes, to affift that place which giveth life and motion to all the rest. In this Chaos and confufion of humours and spirits, when the multiplicitie of faculties (which otherwife require an ordinate diffinction in their feruice, and by the order of nature, should bee disposed into scuerall instruments, and be dilated throughout the

body) are thus blended confusedly together, the conceptions of the mind, which presently rise from these advertisements, are suddenly choaked with the disordered mixture of so many seuerall properties, and are stifled as it were in the throng, before they can be transported to our judgement, or examined by reason, for want of that ordinate uniformitie of place which nature requireth in the powers of the mind. And hence proceedeth that amazednesse and astonishment, which so daunteth the harts of men, when they are taken with this passion, that because the soule giveth no counsell, the body can afford no motion, but standeth frozen through the extremitie of the perturbation, benummed in fense, and for sken of the spirits. So we read, that Theophilus the Emperour, in an ouerthrowe which he had given him by the Hagerans, was strooken with such an excessive feare, that hee could not betake himselfe to flight (Adeo pauor etiam auxilia formidat) untill one of his chiefe Commanders shaking him by the shoulder, as though he were to awake him out of a deep sleep, threatned him with present death, if he would not present the raine of the Empire, by vsing that meanes which was onely left for his safetie.

Againe, it in that turbulent confiftory, the spirits chance distinctly to receive any apprehension proceeding from the forging facultie of the soule, they carie it presently to execution, before it be examined by reason, and follow the action with such vehemencie, that they leave no place for better advice and reknowledgement. And this is the cause, that oftentimes through extreamtice of seare, to avoid one enill, we run headlong into a worse, and find a greater danger in the meanes wee vie to avoid a lesse; because reason did not first trie the apprehension, before it was delivered to externall Agents. And so we find in the battell betweene Germanicus and the Almaines, that two grosse troopes of souldiers were driven into sitch an extasse of seare, that taking contrarie courses to avoid one and the same danger, they either of them sledde to that place, which the other had quitted: neither could they bee aduised by each others slight, that the places which they sought after, afforded them no remedie.

And, albeit reason be called to counsell, whe a parlee is summoned of composition, yet it beareth so small a sway in the consultation, that the will of it felfe concludeth to betray vertue to dishonour; and so to purchase peace, with the losse of the soules chiefest treasure: which ought euer to bee estimated at a higher rate, then any other happinesse which can betide the mind. For among all the sensible things of this world, there is no creature that hath such a confused seare, or is more amazed therewith, then man is : neither is there any miferie greater, or any bondage more shamefull, seruile, or vile, then this, which maketh men very abjects of all other creatures, to redeeme the cuill which the danger threatneth; and then doth shame follow after so base a part, and aggrauate the burthen of the sinne with lothforme difgrace, and penitent discontentment; adding oftentimes Aloesto Wormswood, and making the end grieuouser then the beginning. And thus doth danger breed seare, and seare yieldeth to dishonour, and dishonour bringeth shame, and shame beeing alwaies mingled with wrath & anger, reuengeth it selfevpon it selfe, & bringeth more perrill then the first danger could threaten.

Whereby it appeareth, that as the affections of the mind are bred one of another: fo, on the contrarie part, some are bridled and restrained by others; for, as enuie, hatred, & anger, rife oftentimes of loue, so is joy lessened with griefe, enuie with mercie, and feare with shame.

But, foralmuch as all fuch perturbations, proceede of ignorance and inconfideratenesse, whereby we thinke that the cuill is greater then indeede it is; let vs confider what disposition of our judgement, belt moderateth the violent heat of these affections. And first, touching the pallages, whereby the soule receiueth her aduertisments, as they are of diners natures, the chiefest whereof are the eye and the eare: fo are their auisos different in qualitie, and require a seuerall confideration to be rightlie discerned. The intelligence by the eye, is more certaine then that which commeth by the way of hearing; for a fmuch as the eie is a wirnelle it felfe of enery action, whereof it taketh notice; neither is it deceiued in her proper object: and therefore, the judgement is not much troubled. to determine definitively how great or how small the danger is, when the relations carie alwaies that certaintie. And, albeit the eare in like manner bee not deceined in her proper objects for it faithfully giveth up that fenfe, which found hath deliuered vnto it: yet, forasmuch as the fantasie hath greater scope to coine her vaine conceptions, in regard of the ablence of the action, it is necesfarie, that the discoursing facultie, bee called for an affistant, before the indgement can truly determine: and then it will appeare, that the truth doth not alwaies aunswere the report which is made thereof; inasmuch as diseased spirits, will not flick to dilate or qualifie relations, according to the key wherein they themselves are tuned. And therefore, this first commeth to be considered of in all fuch violent commotions, by which of thefe two fenfes the first intelligence was received. But concerning the judgement it felfe, this is most certaine, that the more it is infected with the corruptions of the flesh, the more violent are the affections of the foule. And againe, the purer the judgement is, & the higher it is lifted up from earthly natures, being no further intereffed therein, then to hold a resolution of well dooing; the fewer and lighter are the affections, which trouble and molest it: for, then it better discerneth the truth and falschood, good or cuill that is in things.

To redresse this inconvenience, Cæsar betooke himselfe to the fittest & most proper remedie: which was by the authoritie of his speech, to restore reason to her former dignitie, and by discourse, which feare had interrupted in them, to put downe a viurping passion, which had so troubled the gouernment of the foule; recalling it to the meane of true resolution, which was to moderate audacitie with warinesse, but not to choake valour with beastly cowardice: for, these Oratorie inducing perswasions, were not the least point of their discipline; confidering how they framed the inward habite of the mind (beeing the fountaine and beginning of all motion) to give life and force to those actions, which the feueritie of outward discipline commanded. For, as lawes and constitutions of men, inforce obedience of the bodie: so reason, and perswasions, must winne the soules consent: according to that saying; Homines dues volunt,

CHAP.

non cogi.

40.

CHAP. XVI. Cæsar his speech to the Armie, concerning

Æsar being informed of these things, he called a Councell of ovarre, admitting all the Centurions, of what degrees or orders (oeuer, onto the same : And beeing thus assembled, he greatly blamed them; First, that any man should be so inquisitine, as to imagine to himselfe, whither, and open what feruice they overe caried. Concerning Arionistus, he had in

the time of Casars Consulhippe, most earnestly sued for the friendship of the people of Rome : and why then (bould any man misseeme, that he should so wnaduifedly goe back from his duetie? For his owne part, he was verily perswaded that if Ariouistus once knew his demaunds, & understood the reasonable offers that he would make him, he would not easily reject his friendship, or the fauour of the people of Rome. But if he were so madde, as to make warre upon them, why Should they feare him? or why should they despaire, either of their own promess, or of Casars diligence? For, if it came to that point, the enemie that they were to incounter, had beene tried what he could doe twice before; first, in the memorie of their fathers, when the Cimbri and Teutoni were vanquished by Marius, at what time the Army merited no leffe honour then the Generall: and now of late againe, in Italie, at the insurrection of the bondmen; who were not a little furthered through the practice and discipline they had learned of the Romaines. Whereby it might be discerned, how good a thing it is to be constant of resolute; inasmuch, as whom for a time they feared without cause, beeing naked and vnarmed, the same men afterwards (although well armed, and Conquerers withall) they nobly ouercame. And to be short, these overe no other Germaines. then those whom the Heluetians had vanquished in divers conslicts; and not onely in their owne Country, where the Heluctians dwelt themselues, but also even at home at their own doores: and yet the same Heluetians were not able to make their party good against our Armies.

If any man vvere mooned at the flight and overthrowe of the Galles, vponinquirie he should find, that being wearied with continuall warres (after that Ariouistus had for many monthes together kept himselse within his Campe, in a boggie and fenny Country) and despairing of any occasion of battell, he suddenly fet upon them as they were dispersed, and so overcame them, rather by policie then by force. Which, although it tooke place against sauage and vnskilfull people, yet was not Ariouistus so simple, as to thinke that hee could infnare our Armies with the like subtilties. As for those that fained the cause of their feare, to bee the difficultie of provision of Corne, and the dangerousnesse of the way, they seemed very arrogant in their conceits, in presuming to direct their Generall, as if he had not knowne what pertained to his dutie. The Sequans and Lingons, had undertooke that charge; besides that, Corne was almost ripe every where in the fields: and what the waies were flould flortly be feene.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

He first motine which he vieth to recall their exited indgement, difcouered their breach of discipline: for, contrarie to the course of Militarie gouernment, they had prefumed not onely to make inquirie, but to giue out, whether, and voon what fernice they were caried; which in the rigour of Camp-policie, could not passe without due punishment : for, what can more contradict the fortunate successe of an expedition, then to fuffer to bee measured with the vulgar conceit? or weighed in the ballance of fuch falle judgments? especially, when those weake Censors are to be Actors, and Executioners of the deffigne: for, then, every man will fute the nature of the action according to his owne humour; although his humour be led with blindnesse, & haue no other direction, then an vncertaine apprehenfion of profit, or diladuantage.

And in this case, there cannot be a better president then Nature bath prescribed: for, as natural Agents, whilst they concur to produce a worke of abto line perfection, neither know what they do, nor can discerne the things they look vpon; but yield themselues to be guided by a Moderator of infinite knowledge: fo ought a multitude to fubmit their ability to the direction of some wise and prudent Captaine, that beholdeth the action in true honour; and balanceth the loffe of many particulars, with the health and safetie of the publique good. For, if euery man should prescribe; who should obay? Tam nefeire quadam milites, quam scire oportet, faith Otho in Tacitus, vpon the like disorder : and againe, Parendo potius quam imperia ducum scissitando, res militares continentur. Which proueth, that the greatest vertue which is required in a souldier, is obedience; as a thing wherein the force of all discipline consistesh.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

N the reason which he vseth to proue their disparitie of valour, in re-Whether men gard of the Romans, being superiour to the Heluerians, that had ofhane greater tentimes ouerthrowne the Germans; hee threngtheneth the argutheir owne or

ment with the advantage of the place; and faith, that the Heluctiin a strangers ans had put them to the worst; not onely where the Heluctians dwelt them-Country. felues, but even in their owne Country, and at home at their owne doores : as though an enemie were charged with greater furie in the presence of a mans owne Country and dearest friends, then in a strange & vnkriowne land.

This question was handled in the Romaine Senate, by Fabius Maximus, & Scipio, furnamed Africanus, when they fate in councell how to ridde their Country of that subtile Carthaginian, that for fixteene yeeres space, had fretted like a canker the beautie of Italie, wasted the land, and brought it to desolation, sacked their confederates, or alienated them from their dutie, ouerthrowne their Armies, flaine their Confuls, and threatned their imperiall Cittie with ruine and destruction. Fabius, vpon the motion to make warre in A-

if an Army refused to be obedient to their Generall, it was either because he was thought to be unfortunate in his enterprises; or else, for that he was notoriously connicted of Anarice: but the vokole course of his life, should witnesse his innocencie; and the overthrowe of the Heluetians, his happinesse. And therefore, that which he was minded to have put off for a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hand; for the night following, at the fourth watch, hee would distodge fro thence : that without further delay, he might under stand, whether shame, and respect of their dutie, would prevaile more with them, then feare or cowardise. And though he wist that no man else would follow him; yet notwithstanding he would goe with the tenth legion alone, of whom he had no doubt or suspicion, and would take them as a guard to his person. Casar had chiefely fauoured this legion, and put much trust in them for their valour. Vpon the making of this speech, the minds of all men were wonderfully chan-

ged; for, it bredde in every one a great alacritie and desire to fight: weither did the tenth legion forget to give him thanks by their Tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them; affuring him of their readinesse to set forward to the warre, And then likewise, the rest of the legions made meanes, by the Tribunes of the fouldiers and Centurions of the first Orders, to give Cafar fatisfaction; protesting, they neither doubted nor feared, nor gave any censure of the issue of that warre, but alwaies left it to the wisedome of the Generall.

Their satisfaction beeing taken, and a view beeing made of the waies by Dinitiacus (whom, of all the Galles, he best trusted) and report being by him made, that in fetching a compasse of fiftie miles, bee might carte his Armie in open and champaine Countries; in the fourth watch of the night, according to his former saying, he set forward.

N the speech it selfe, are presented many specialities, both concerning their discipline and Militarie in the selfence. ning their discipline and Multarie interactions, which is mination; amongst which I note, first, the extraordinarie number admitted to the Councell; Omnium or dinum adid concilium adhi-

bitis Centurionibus: Where as there were viually no more admitted to their councell of warre, but the Legates, Questor, Tribunes, and the Centurions of the first Orders; which I understand to be the first Hastate, the first Princeps, and the first Pilum of enery legion. And this is manifestly prooued out of the fift Commentarie, where Cicero was befreged by Ambiorix: in which, amongst other, there were two valiant Centurions, Pulsio, and Varenus; betweene whom, there was enery yeere great emulation for place of preferment: Giam primis ordinibus appropinquabant, faith Cæsar, that is, they had passed by degrees, through the lower orders of the legion, and were very neere the dignitie of the first cohort; wherein, as in all the rest, there were three maniples, and in euery maniple, two orders.

THE

ourage in

frick, thought it agreeable to nature, first to defend that which was their owne, before they atte impred other mens possessions; when peace was established in Italy, then let war be set on soote in Africk; and first let them be without seare themselues, before they went about to terrifie others: for, those forces afforded little hope of victorie in another kingdom, that were not able to free their owne Country from so dangerous an enemie. Alcibiades onerthrew the Athenian Common-weale with the like counsell: and concerning Hanniball, let them be sure of this, that they should find him a forer enemy in his own Country, then in another kingdome.

Scipio, on the other fide, caried on with the honour of fo glorious an enterprife, wanted neither reasons nor examples to impugne Fabus his authoritie: for, he shewed that Agathocles, the Syracusian king, beeing a long time afflicted with the Punick warre, anerted the Carthaginean from Cicily, by transporting his forces into Africk: but how powerfull it was to take away feare, by retorting danger upon the Oppressor, could there bee a presenter example then Hanniball? There was great difference in the nature of the action, between the spoile and waste of a strangers Country, and to see their owne nature Country wasted with sword and destruction: Plus animi est inspenti periculum, quaim propulsanti. For, he that inuadeth anothers kingdome, cassly discouereth both the aduantage which may be taken against the enemy, and the strength wher-upon he resteth. And amongst the variable euents of war, many unexpected occasions arise, which present victorie to him that is ready to take it; and many strange chances so alter the course of things, that no foresight can discerne what may happen.

With these, and the like remonstrances, this question of no lesse doubt then importance, was handled by two famous & woorthy Captaines, whose minds (as it feemed) were intangled with fuch particular affections for the prefent, as might rather draw them to wrest reason to their owne humour, then to determine in finceritie of judgement, vpon what specialities the truth was grounded, in the contrarietie of their positions. But, to leaue other commodities or difaduantages, which are annexed vnto either part, I will onely fet down some reasons, to proue how valour and courage may either grow or be abated, by the accidents which rife in a warre of that nature. And first, this cannot be denied, the testimonic of an vnfallible truth beeing grounded upon the propertie of mans nature; that as aduantage bringeth hope of victory, and hope conceiteth fuch spirits as vsually follow, when the thing which is hoped for, is effected; and thereby the courage becommeth hardie and resolute in victorie: fo on the other fide, disaduantage and danger breed feare, and feare so checketh valour, and controlleth the spirits, that vertue and honour giue place to distrust, and yield up their interest to such directors, as can afford nothing but diffidencie and irrefolution.

Neither can it be denied, but he that fetteth vpo an enemy in a strange countrey, and so preuenteth such attempts as might be made vpon his owne territories, hath that aduantage which giveth life vnto action, and steeleth his enterprise with resolution. For, besides the commoditie of leaving when he list, and

proceeding as farre foorth as hee shall find his meanes able to fortunate his attempts; he knoweth that the strife & controuers is not for his natiue Country, which he quietly enjoyeth, & is restrued at all times to entertaine him, how-focuer Fortune shall sauour his dessignes; but, for a Strangers kingdom, which his ambition thirsteth after, wherein; foras much as the riches and wealth of that State, are laid beforethem, as the recompence of their labour, besides the honour which is atchieued thereby, euery mans valour soareth at a high pitch, and their courage is increased, without any trouble or dissurbance of the other faculties of the mind. But, when a Prince shall be affaulted in his owne kingdome, and in the sight of his subjects have his land consumed with ruine and destruction; the danger will so dissurbe the powers of the soule, that through the turbulent disorder of the weaker parts; the better faculties will lose their prerogatiue of adulting how the enemy may bee best resisted; when as euerie man shall apprehend the terrour of the danger, and sew or none conceine the strue meanes to anoide it.

And albeit the presence of such things as are dearest to his soule, as the pietie and respect of aged parents, the tender affection towards wise and children, are sufficient to raise valour to the highest point of resolution; yet the motiues are of such weight, as will rather make them diffident of their owne worth, as valusticient to maintaine so great a cause, then hold them in that key which true honour affecteth: forasmuch as the terrour and seare of so great a danger, will present a greater measure of woes to their mind, then the hope of victorie can afford them joy.

Hence therefore groweth the difference, between him that seeketh to maintaine that estate which he hath in possession by force of Armes; and an other, that seeketh to increase his meanes by valour. For the former is presented with the danger of losing all his estate; which affirighteth and troubleth, having no other reward propounded vnto him; and the other looketh vpon the advantage which hee gaineth by ouercomming; which much increaseth his valour, without any losse or disadvantage, if hee chance to beep ut to the worst. And therefore, there is alwaies great odds betweene him that hath already loss this goods, and is by that meanes become desperate, having nothing further to lose, and another, that yet keepeth his substance, but is in danger to lose it: for, feare will so dismay his mind, that he will rather distrust his owne abilitie, then entertaine a resolution of valour.

To prooue this, wee neede not seeke other examples, then those imperiall Citties, in whose causethis controuersie was first mooued. For, when Hanniball was come into Italie, and had defeated Sempronius the Confull at Trebeas, the Romaines were driuen into such an extasse of terrour, that they belieued verily, that the enemie was then comming to assault the Citty; neither had they any hope or aide in themselues, to keep or defend the same. On the other side, Scipio was no sooner landed in Africk, but there was such a turnult in Carthage, as though the Cittie had beene alreadie taken; neither could the opinion of victorie, which Hanniball by a conquering Atmie in Italie had confirmed for sixteen yeeres together, prenaile in the apprehension of so immi-

nent a danger. And then that which Fabius borrowed of Nature to teach the Romans (that first men ought to defend their owne, before they seeke other mens poffessions) was carefully followed by the Carthaginians: for, with all fpeed they fent for Hanniball out of Italy, to be their Champion against young Scipio. If therefore other things bee correspondent (as there are many other particularities concerning the power and strength of either Nation to be confidered) I take it much better for a Prince to inuade an enemy in his own country, then to attend him at home in his owne kingdome.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

He last circumstance which I note in this speech, was the trust which he reposed in the tenth legion, being in it selfe peraduenture as faultie as any other; wherin he shewed great Art and singular Wisdom.

For, he that hath once offended, & is both burdened with the guilt

of confcience, and upbraided with the reproache of men, can hardly be perfwaded that his fault can be purged with any fatisfaction. And although the punishment be remitted, yet the memorie of the fact will neuer be blotted out with any vertuous action; but still remaineth, to cast dishonour upon the of-

fender, and to accuse him of disloialtie.

And therefore, it oftentimes happeneth, that an errour beeing once rashlie committed, through despaire of remission, admitteth no true penitencie, but either draweth on more grieuous crimes, confirming that of the Poet, Scelere scelus luendum est; or maintaineth his errour by wilfull obstinacie: as it is said of the Lion, that beeing found by Hunters in a Caue, will rather die in the place then quit it, for shame that he was found in so base a place of refuge; and therefore his propertie is thus expressed, ingrediendo cacus, exeundo protervas. This did Cæsar wisely preuent, by cleering the tenth legion of that, which he accused the rest of the Armie; which made them the more earnest to answer his expectation, inalmuch as they were witness to themselves of a common errour: and the other legions, enuying at their fortune, resolued to shew as great alacritie in the sequell of the warre, and to deserue more then the judgement of the Emperour had imputed to their fellowes.

CHAP. XVII.

The treatie betweene Cæfar and Ariouistus.



Cafar.

He seauenth day, as hec continued on his march, his Espialls brought him word, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was within twentie foure miles of that place: who as soone as he understood of Cafars comming, fent Embassadours unto him; Declaring that forasmuch as hee was come some-vuhat neerer, and that he might doe it without danger, he was content to admit of a parlee. Cafar refused not the offer; thinking now to find him reasonable, in that he offered of his owne accord, what he had formerly denied at Cesars request: and thereby was in good hope, that understanding what was required, he would in the end, confider of the many fauours he had received fro the people of Rome, and desigt from such wilful courses.

The fift day following was appointed for the Treaty. In the meane time, there passed often Messages reciprocally betweene them. Arionistus required, that Cafar would not bring any footmen to the parlee, for that hee feared to be circumuented by treacherie; and therefore thought fitte, that either partie should come onely with their Canalrie : otherwise he would not give meeting.

Cafar, not willing to put off the Treatie for any such cause, nor yet daring to put himself e in trust to the French horse, thought it most convenient to leave the French Riders behind him; and to set the souldiers of the tenth legion (whom he best trusted) upon their horses: that if he stood in need, he might have a faithfull guard of his friends about him. Wherevoon, one of the fouldiers faid pressily, that Cafar had doone more for them then he had promifed; for, hee had faid before, he would make the tenth legion as a guard to his person, and now he had inrolled them all for hor femen.

There was a great and open Plaine, and in the midst thereof a rifing Mount. which was almost in the mid-way, betweene both the Campes : and thither, according to the agreement, they came to parlee. The legion which Cafar had brought with him on horsebacke, hee placed two hundred pases from the said Mount : and likewise the horsemen of Ariouisus, stood in the same distance. Ariouistus requested, they might talke on horseback, and bring each of them tenne persons to the conference. At their meeting, Casar beganne his speech with a commemoration of the favours and benefites the Senate had done vnto him; in that hee was by their authoritie, intituled by the name of a King and a Friend: & ther upon, had received great gifts. Which favour fell but unto a few; and was by the Romaines given onely to men of great defert : Whereas hee, without anie occasion of accesse unto them, or other just cause on his behalfe, had obtained those honours, through his curtesie, and the bountie of the Senate.

Hee shewed him further, what ancient and reasonable causes of amitie, tied them so firme to the Heduans: What Decrees & orders of Senate, had oftentimes been made in their fauour and behoofe: That from all antiquity, the Heduans had held the principalitie of Gallia; and that, long before they overe in amitie with the Romaines. The people of Rome had alwaies this custome, not onelie to indeauour that their Allies and Confederates (bould not lofe any thing of their proper; but also that they might increase in dignitie and reputation: and therfore, who could indure to see that forced from them, which they quietly posses-

sed, when they entered league with the Romaines?

In like manner, he required the performance of fuch things, which he had formerly given in charge to his Embassadours; that hee should not make warre, either upon the Heduans, or their Associates. That he should restore their hostages: and if hee could not returne any part of the Germaines backe againe ouer the Rhene, yet he should forbeare to bring any more into that Country.

Ariouistus

Ariousstus made little aunswere to Casars demaunds, but spake much of his owne vertues and valour; That he was come ouer the Rhene, not out of his owne desire, but at the mediation and intreatie of the Galles; that hee had not left his house and kindred but with great hope of high rewards; the possessions hee had in Gallia, were given him by themselves; their hostages overe voluntarily deliuered onto him; he tooke tribute by the law of Armes, which was fuch, as Conquerours might lay upon the vanquished; he made no war upon the Galles, but the Galles made warre upon him: All the States of Gallia came to fight against him, and had put themselves into the field; whose forces overe in one battell all dispersed and overthrowne. If they were desirous to make another triall he was ready to undertake them: but if they would have peace, it over e an iniury to retract that tribute, which of their owne accord they had paid untill that time. He expected that the Amitie of the people of Rome, should be rather an honor and a lafety, then a losse unto him, and that he had sought it to that end: but if by their meanes, the tribute due unto him should be retracted, hee would as willingly refuse their friendship as he had desired it. In that hee had brought so many Germansinto Gallia, it was rather for his own defence, the of any purpose to subdue the Country; as might appeare, by that he had not come thither but upon intreatie & set no war on foot but for his own defence. He was seated in Gallia before the Romaines came thither; neither had the people of Rome before that time, caried their Army beyond the bounds of their Province: and therefore he knew not what he meant to intrude himselfe into his possessions. This was his Prouince of Gallia as that was ours: and as it was not lawfull for him to commaund in our quarters; fo it was not fitting, that they should disturb his government.

In that hee alleadged, the Hedwans were by dicree of Senate adopted into the amitie of the people of Rome; he was not so barbarous, or vnacquainted with the course of the people of Rome; he was not so barbarous, or vnacquainted with the course of the Allobrages, they were ayding and a sissing to the Romaines: and in the quarrell the Hedwans had with the Sequans, the Romans were in like manner assisting vnto them. Wherevopon he had good occasion to suspect, that Casar, under pretence of league & amity, kept his Army in Gallta for his ruine and destruction: and that if hee did not depart and withdraw his Army out of those Conntries, hee would no longer take him for a friend, but for an enemy. And if his fortune were to say him, hee should performe a very acceptable service to many noble & cheefe men of Rome: as he had well understood by Letters and Messens he had received from them, whose favour and amity hee should purchace, by taking away his life. But if hee would depart, and leave him the free possession of Gallia, hee would gratise him with great rewards: and what war some reference to level to be undertaken, should be gone through with all, without his perill or charge.

Many things were fooken by Cafar, to shew why he could not desist from that courses for neither was it his ofe, nor the custome of the people of Rome, to for-sake their wel-deserving Associates: neither could he think, that Gallia did rather bleong to Ariouishus then the Romans. The Arverns and Rutenes, were in due course of war subdued by Q. Fabius Maximus: who the people of Rome had pardoned, and not reduced to a Province, or made them stipendaries. And if any

tiquitie were looked into, the people of Rome had good claime to that Countrey: but, for a fmuch as the intention and will of the Senate was, they fould remaine a free people, they were suffered to be governed by their owne lawes, and left vnto themselues, notwithstanding any former conquest by force of Armes.

Whilft thefe things were treated of in parlee, it was told Cafar, that Arionistus horsmen did approach neerer to the Mount, and that accosting our men, they assaulted them with stones and other overapons: whereupon he brake off and betooke himselfe to his Party, commaunding them not to cast a weapon at the enemie. For albeit hee well perceived, hee might without perill of that elect legion, give battell to his Caualry; yet he thought fit to refraine, least it should be said, he had intrapped them with a parlee contrary to faith made, and agreement. After it was reported amongst the vulgar fouldiours, how arrogantly Arionistus had caried himselfe in the treaty; forbidding the Romaines to frequent any part of Gallia, and that their Caualry had affaulted our men, and that thereupon the parlee brake off: the Army was possessed with a greater alacrity and desire to fight, then before. Two daies after, Arionistus sent Messengers to Casar, Signifying, that he defired to treat with him cocerning those things which were left vnperfit. Ther upo willed him to appoint another day of meeting sor if he liked not that, to fend some unto him with authority, to coclude of such things as should be foud expedient. Cafar was onwilling to give any further meeting; & the rather. for-that the day before, the Germaines could not be restrained from violence, & force of Armes: Neither did hee think hee might (afely expole the person of any of his followers, to the inhumanity of such barbarous people; and therefore thought it fittest, to send unto him M. Valerius Procillus, the sonne of C. Valerius Caburius, a vertuous yong mã, & welbred, whose father was made free of Rome by C. Valer. Flaceus: which he did the rather in regard of his singular integrity. & his perfectness in the French tongue, which Ariouistus through long continuance badlearned; & that the Germans had no cause of offence against him. And with him he fent M. Titius, that was familiarly acquainted with Ariouislus; with instruction to heare what was said and to make report thereof to Casar. Whom as Soone as Ariouistus saw come into his Campe, hee cried out in the presence of his Army; demaunding wherfore they came thither? and whether they were not fent as Spies? And as they were about to make answere, hee cutte them off, and commaunded them to be put in Irons.

The same day he remooned his Campe, and lodged himselfe vnder a hill, sixe miles from Casar. The next day, he brought his forces along by Casars Campe, and incamped himselfe two miles beyond hims of purpose to cut off all such corne and convoices, as should be sent to the Romaines by the Heduans and Sequans. From that day forward, by the space of fine daies together, Casar imbattelled his men before his Campe; to the intent, that if Arionistus had a mind to gine battell, hee might doe it vuben he would. But Arionistus all this while, kept his Armie vuithin his Campe, and dailie sent out his horsemen to skirmish vuith the Romaines.

This was the maner of fighting which the Germans had practiced: there were 6000 hor smen, & as many strong and nimble footmen, whom the hor semen had F. Cletted selected out of the vohole host, every man one for his safeguard: these they had alwaies at hand with them in battell, and unto these they resorted for succour. If the horsemen were ouer-charged, these ever stept in to helpe them. If any one were wounded or unhorsed, they came about him, & succoured him. If the matter required either to aduenture forward, or to retire speedily back againe, their fwiftnesse voas such (through continuall exercise) that hanging on the horsemane by the one hand, they would runne as fast as the horses.

OBSERVATION

Footmen interningledamongst

T may feeme strange vnto the souldiours of our time, that the soulding men should be mingled pell mell amongst the horsemen, without hurt and disaduantage to themselues; so vnlikely it is, that they should either succourthe horsmen in any danger, or annoy the enehurt and disaduantage to themselues; so vnlikely it is, that they mie: and therefore some haue imagined, that these sootmen in the incounter, cast themselves into one bodie, and so charging the enemy, assisted the horsemen. But the circumstances of this place, and of others which I will alleage to this purpose, plainly enince that these footmen were mingled indifferentlie amongst the horsemen, to affist every particular man, as his fortune and occasion required; and therefore, the choice of these footemen, was permitted to the horsemen, in whose service they were to be imploied; that every man might take his friend, in whom he reposed greatest confidence. When they were ouercharged, these stept in to helpe them; if any man were wounded, or vnhorfed, he had his footman ready to affift him : and when they were to goe vpon any speedy seruice, or suddainly to retire upon advantage, they staied themfelues upon the mane of the horses, with one hand, & fo ran as fast as the horse men could go. Which services, they could not possibly have performed, without confusion & disorder, if the footemen had not severally attended upon the, according to the affection specified in their particular election.

The principall vse of these footmen of the Germaines, consisted in the aide of their owne horsemen upon any necessitie, not so much regarding their feruice vpon the enemie, as the assistance of their horsemen. But the Romans had long before practiced the same Arte, to a more effectuall purpose; namely, as a principall remedy not onely to relift, but to defeat far greater troopes of horfe, then the enemy was able to oppose against them. Whereof the most ancient memorie which historie mentioneth, is recorded by Liuic, in the second Punick warre, at the fiege of Capua, vnder the regiment of Quintus Fuluius the Confull: where it is faid, that in all their conflicts, as the Romaine legions returned with the better; fo their canalrie was alwaies put to the worst: & therefore they inuented this meanes, to make that good by Arte, which was wanting in force.

Out of the whole army were taken the choifest young men, both for strength and agilitie, and to them were given little round bucklers, and 7 darts apeece in stead of their other weapons; these souldiers practiced to ride behind the horse. men, and speedilie to light from the horses at a watch-word ginen, and so to charge the Enemie on foote. And when by exercise they were made so expertathat the nouelty of the invention no whit affrighted them, the Romaine horsemen went forth to incounter with the enemy, enery man carying his foot fouldiour behind him; who at the encounter fuddainly alighting, charged vpon the enemy with fuch a furie, that they followed them in flaughter to the gates of Capua. And hence, faith Liuie, grew the first institution of the Velites: which ener after that time were inrolled with the legions. The author of this stratagem, is said to be one Q. Nanius, a Centurion, and was honourablie rewarded by Fuluius the Confull, for the fame.

Salust, in the historie of Iugurth, saith, that Marius mingled the Velites with the Caualtie of the associates, vt quacunque invaderent equitatus hostium propulsarent. The like practice was vsed by Casar, as appeareth in the 3 book of the Civil war; faving that in flead of the Velites, he mingled with his horfmen, 400 of the luftieft of his legionarie fouldiers, to refult the caualtie of Pompey, while the rest of his Armie passed ouer the river Genusum, after the overthrow he had at Dyrrachium: qui tantum profecere, faith the text; Vt equestri prelio commisso, pellerent omnes, complures interficerent, ipsique incolumes ad agmen fe reciperent. Many other places might be erecited: but these are sufficient to prone, that the greatest Captaines of auncient times, strengthened their caualriewith footmen dispersed amongst them. The Romane horsemen, faith Polibius, at the first, caried but a weake limber pole, or staffe, & a little round buckler; but afterwards, they yied the furniture of the Grecians: which Iosephus affirmeth to be a strong launce or staffe, and three or foure darts in a quiuer, with a buckler, and a long (word by their right fide. The vie of their launce was most

effectuall when they charged in troope, pouldron to pouldron; and that man-

ner of fight afforded no meanes to intermingle foot-men: but when they vied

their dartes, every man got what advantage of ground hee could, as our Car-

bines for the most part do & so the foot-men might have place among them:

or otherwise, for so good an aduantage, they would easily make place for the

Lib.3.de excid.

Lib. 2.

Lib.6.

foot-men to ferue among them. But, howfocuer it was, it appeareth by this circumstance, how little the Romaines feared troopes of horse, considering that the best meanes to defeate their horse, was by their foote companies. But to make it more plaine, of many examples I will onely alleage two; the one out of Liuie, to proue that the Romaine horsemen were not comparable for service to foot-men: the other out of Hirrius, to show the same effect against strangers, De bello A-

and Numidian horfemen. In the Confulfhips of L. Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, Valerius, having

fortunately ouerthrowne the Equi and the Volsci, Horatius proceeded with as great courage in the warre against the Sabines, wherein it happened, that in the day of battell, the Sabines referred two thousand of their men to give a fresh affault upon the left Cornet of the Romaines, as they were in conflict: which tooke such effect, that the legionarie foote-men of that Cornet were forced to retreit. VVhich the Romaine horsemen (beeing in number fix hundred) perceiuing, and not being able with their horse to make head against the

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COMMENTARIES, LIB. I.

Cefar.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar preuenteth Ariouistus of his purpose, by making two Campes.

Hen Casar perceived that Ariouissus meant nothing lesses then to sight, but kept himselfe within his Camp: least peradventure he should intercept the Sequans. © others of his Associates, as they came with convoice of Corne to the Romaines, beyond that place wherein the Germaines aboad, abouts six hundred pases from their Camp, he chose a ground meet to incamp in: and marching thither in three battells.

commaunded two of them to stand ready in Armes, and the third to fortiste the Campe. Arionissus sent sixteene thousand foote, and all his horse, to interrupt the souldiers, and hinder the intrenabment. Notwithstanding, Casar, as he had before determined, caused two battells to withstand the enemy, and the third to goe through with the worke: which beeing ended, he left there two legions, opent of the associates forces, and led the other four e legions backe againe into the greater Campe.

The next day, Cefar, according to his custome brought his whole power out of both his Campes; and marching a little from the greater Campe, hee put his men in array, and profered battell to the enemie: but perceiving that Arionissus vould not stirre out of his trenches; about noone, hee convaied his Armie into their several Campes. Then at length, Arionissus sent part of his forces to affault the lesser Campe. The inconnter continued very sharp on both parts, untill the evening; and at sume-setting, after many wounds given and taken, Arionissus convaied his Army againe into their Campe. And as Casar made inquirie of the Captines, what the reason was that Arionissus resuled battell, hee found this to be the cause. The Germaines had a custome, that the women should by cassing of Lots, and Southsaying, declare whether it were for their behoofe to sight or no: and that they sound by their Arte, the Germaines could not get the wistorie, if they sought before the new Moone.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Inft, we may observe what especiall importance, this manner of incamping carried in that absolute discipline which the Romans observed, and by which they conquered so many Nations: for, besides the safetie which it affoorded their owne troops, it served for a hold well senced and manned, or as it were a strong fortified towne in any part of the field, where they saw advantage: and as oft as they thought it expedient, either to fortiste themselves, or impeach the enemy, by cutting off his passages, hindering his attempts, blocking vp his Campe, besides many other advantages, all averring the saying of Domitius Corbulo: dolabra vincenda essential things.

enemy; they prefently for looke their horses, and made hatte to make good the place on foote; wherein they caried themselues so valiantly, that in a moment of time they gaue the like aduantage to their footemen, against the Sabines; and then betooke thefelues againe to their horses, to pursue the enemy in chase as they fled. For the second point; the Numidians, as Cæsar witnesseth, were the best horsemen that ever he met with, and vsed the same Arte as the Germaines did, mingling among them light-armed footemen. An Ambuscado of these Numidians charging the legions upon a suddaine, the historie saith, that primo impetu legionis Equitatus & leuis armatura hostium, nullo negotio, loco pulsa deietta est decolle. And, as they fometimes retired, and sometimes charged vpon the rereward of the Armie, according to the maner of the Numidian fight; the historie faith, Cafariani interim, non amplius tres aut quatuor milites veterani si se conuertissent & pila viribus contorta in Numidas infestos coniecissent, amplius duorum millium ad vnum terga vertebant. So that to free himselfe of this inconvenience, he tooke his horsemen out of the rereward, and placed his legions there, it a vim hostium per legionarium militem comodius sudinebat. And euer as he marched, he caused 200 fouldiers of euery legion to be free and without burthen, that they might bee ready upon all occasions, Quos in Equitatum Labieni immisit. Tum Labienus, conuersis equis, signorum conspectu perterritus turpissimè contendit sugere, multis eius occisis, compluribus vulneratis, milites legionarij ad sua se recipiunt signa, atque iter inceptum ire emperunt. I alleage the very words of the history, to take away all suspicion of falfifying, or wrelting any thing to an affected opinion. If any man will looke into the reason of this disparitie, he shall find it to be chiefely the worke of the Romaine pile (an vnresistable weapon) and the terrour of horsemen; especially, when they were cast with the advantage of the place, & fell so thick, that there was no meanes to avoide them.

But to make it plaine, that any light armed footmen could better make head against a troope of horse, then the Caualrie of their owne partie, although they beare but the same weapons: Let vs consider how nimble and ready they were that fought on foote, either to take an advantage, or to shunne and avoide anie danger; casting their darts with far greater strength and more certaintie, then the horsemen could doe. For, as the force of all the engines of old time, as the Balista, Catapulta and Tolenones, proceedeth from that stabilitie and resting Center, which nature affordeth, as the onely strength and life of the engine : fo what force focuer a man maketh, must principally proceede from that firmenesse and stay, which Nature, by the earth, or some other vnmoueable rest, giueth to the body, from whence it taketh more or leffe strength, according to the violence which it performeth; as hee that lifteth vp a waight from the ground, by so much treadeth heavier vpon the earth, by how much the thing is heatier then his body. The footmen therefore, having a futer flay to counterpoile their forced motion, then the horsemen had, cast their dans with greaterviolence, and confequently with more certaintie.

CHAP.

a thing long time neglected, but of late happily renewed, by the Commaunders of fuch forces as serue the States, in the united Prouinces of Belgia: whom time and practice of the warres hath taught to entertaine theyle of the spade,& to hold it in as great reputation as any weapons what locuer, which may bee thought worthy executioners of the deeds of Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

N the second place wee may observe, that there was no Nation so

barbarous (for, I vnderstand the Germaines to bee as barbarous, in regard of the motions of religion, as any knowne Nation of that time, beeing in a Climate fo neere the North, that it afforded no contemplation at all) that could not make vie in their greatest affaires, of that superstition to which their mind was naturally inthralled; and forge prophesies and divinations, as well to stir vp, as to moderate the irregular motions of a multitude, according as they might belt ferue to advantage their proceedings. Neither did Casar let slippe the occasion of making vie of this their religion: for, understanding by their prisoners, that their divinations forbadde them to fight before the new Moone, he yied all the meanes he could to prouoke them to battell; that their religious opinion of milchieuing, might prejudice their

refolution to returne Conquerers. Which may ferue to prooue, that a superstitious people are subject to many inconveniences, which industry or Fortune may discouer to their ouerthrowe.

It is recorded, that Columbus, beeing Generall of fome forces, which Ferdinando king of Castile sent to discouer the West Indies, and suffering great penurie for want of victuals in the Ile of Iamaica: after that hee had observed how the Ilanders worthipped the Moone, and having knowledge of an Eclipte that was shortly after to happen; hee told the inhabitants, that vnlesse they would furnish him with such necessaries as he wanted for the time, the vyrath of their God (hould quickly appeare towards them, by changing his bright thining face into obscuritie and darknesse: which was no sooner happened, but the poore Indians, strooken with a superstitious seare of that which the course of nature required, kept nothing backe that might afsift their enemies, to depo-

pulate and ouer-runne their owne Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar seeketh meanes to give them battell, and the Germans dispose themselues



He next day, Casar left a sufficient Guarizon in each of his Campes; and, forasmuch as the number of his legionarie (ouldiers was small, in respect of the multitude of the Germaines, hee placed all the Auxiliarie troopes for a shew before the leffer Camp: and putting his legions in a triple battell, he marched towards the Camp of Ariouistus. And then

at length, overe the Germaines constrained to bring out their power, setting euerie Tribe and people by themselues, in like distance and order of battell (as, the Harudes, Marcomans, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedufians and Swedians) and inuironing their vohole Army with Cartes and carriage, that there might be no hope at all left to faue any man by flight. And in these they placed their vvomen, that they by their out-stretched hands and teares, moouing pittie, might implore the fouldiers, as they descended by course to the battell, not to deliver them into the bondage and thraldome of the Romaines.

Cafar, assigned to every legion a Legat and a Questor, that every man might have an eye-witnesse of his valour: and he himselfe, began the battell with the right Cornet, for a much as he perceived that part of Arionistus Armie to be the vveakest.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

He Romaines, even from the infancie of their state, were ever zea-lous admirers of true honour, and alwaies desired to behold with the eye, to what measure of vertue enery man had attained; that the tongue with greater feruencie of spirit, might sound out the celebration of Macte virtute; which imported more honour then any wealth that could be heaped upon them. Neither was this the least part of their wisedome; confidering that the most pretious things that are, lose much much of their worth, if they be not futed with other correspondent natures, whose sympathy addeth much more excellencie then is discerned, when they appeare by themselues without such affistance. For, how small is the beautie which Nature hath giuen to the eye-pleafing Diamond, when it is not adorned with an artificiall forme? or what perfection can the forme give, without a foile to strengthen it? or what good is in either of them, if the light doe not illuminate it? or what auaile all thefe, where there wanteth an eye to admire it, a judgement to value it, and an harr to imbrace it? Such a vnion hath Nature imprinted in the diuer-

Cafar.

fitie of creatures concurring to perfection, and especially in morall actions, in whose cariage there is a far greater exactnesse of correspondencie required to approue them honorable, then was requifite to make the iewel beautifull. And this did Cæsar in all his barrels; amongst the rest, that at Alesia is particularlie noted in this manner, Quod in conspettu imperatoris res gerebatur, neque rectè aut turpiter factum celari poterat, vtrosque & laudis cupiditas & timor ionominia ad virtutem excitabat. And when Liuie would expresse how valiantly an action was caried, hee faith no more but in conspect imperatoris res gerebatur: which is as much to fay, that for a finuch as the Romaines were diligent obferuers of enery mans worth, rewarding vertue with honour, and cowardice with reproch; every man bent his whole indeauour to deserue the good opinion of his Generall, by discharging that dutie which he owed to the Commonwealth, with all loyaltie and faithfulnesse of spirit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION

Me Romaines had foure formes of the front of their battell: the first was called Acies recta, when neither the cornets nor the battell was aduaunced one before another, but were all caried in a right line, and made a straight front; and this was their most vsuall manner of im-

battailing.

The second forme of the front was called obliqua, when as one of the cornets was advanced neerer vnto the enemy then the rest, to beginne the battell: and this was commonly as Vegetius noteth, the right cornet: for the right cornet of an Army had great advantage against the left of the enemies, in regard of their vveapons and furniture. But Cæsar did it in this place, because he perceitted that the enemy was weakeft in that part; following a maxime of great authoritie, that the weakest part of an enemie, is in the beginning to be charged with the strength of an Armie: for, so favourable are mensiudgements to that which is already happened, that the lequell of every action, dependent for the most part vpon the beginning. Dimidiü facti qui bene capit habet, saith a Poet: and not without great reason, so forcible continually is the beginning, and so connexed to the sequell by the nature of a precedent cause, that the end must needs erre from the common course, when it doth not participate of that qualitie which was in the beginning. Neither can there be any good end without a good beginning: for, although the beginning be oftentimes difastrous & vnluckie, and the end fortunate and happy, yet before it came to that end, there was a fortunate beginning : for, the bad beginning, was not the beginning of a good, but of an euill end. And therefore, that his men might forefee a happy end in a good beginning, it behooved him with the best of his Army to assault the weakest part of the enemie.

The third forme of the front, is called Sinuata, when both the cornets are aduanced forward, and the battell standeth backward off from the enemy, after the fashion of a halfe moone. Scipio vsed it in Spaine, hauing observed some daies before, that the enemy continually fo disposed of the battell, that his best fouldiers were alwaies in the midft; and therefore Scipio put all his old fouldiours in the cornets, and brought them out first to charge upon the weakest part of the enemy, that those might decide the contropersie, before the other that were in the midft could come to fight.

The last forme is called gibbofa, or gibbera Acies; when the battell is aduanced, and the two corners lag behind. This forme did Haniball vie in the battell of Cannas; but with this Art, that hee strengthened his two cornets with the best of his fouldiers, and placed his weakest in the middest, that the Romaines following the retreit of the battell, which was eafily repeld, might bee inclosed on each fide with the two cornets.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell betweene Czefar and Ariouistus.

He signe of the battell being there upon given, our men charged upon the enemy very fiercely; and they on the other fide, returned so speedy a counterbuffe, that the legions had no time to cast their piles, and in that regard, made haste to betake themselues to their swords : But the Germaines, according to their manner, putting themselues into a Phalanx;

received the force of their fwords. In the battell, there were many legionary (ouldiours seene to leape vpon the Phalanx, and to pull up with their hands, the targets that covered it, and so to wound and kill those that were underneath; and

so the left Cornet of the enemy was overthrowne and put to flight.

Now, while the right Cornet was thus bufied, the left Cornet was overcharged with an unequall multitude of the Germaines: which young Crassus the Generall of the horse no sooner perceived (having more scope and libertie then any of the Commaunders that were in the battell) hee fent tertiam Aciem, the third battell, to reskew and aide their fellowes that were in danger; by meanes whereof, the fight was renewed, and all the enemy was put to flight, and neuer looked backe, untill they came to the Rhene, which was about fine miles from the place where they fought. Where, some few of them saued themselues by swimming : others found someboate, and so escaped. Ariouistus, lighting upon a little Barke tied to the shore, recovered the other side, & so saved himselfe: the rest, were all saine by the borsemen. Ariouistus had two voices : one a Sweuian, whom he brought with him from home; and the other, of Noronberge, the fifter of King Voccion, fent unto him by her brother into Gallia, and maried there: both these perished in that fight. His two daughters likewise being there, one was staine, and the other taken.

As Cafar purfued the Germaine horsemen, it was his chaunce to light opon Valerius Procillus, as he was drawne up and downe by his Keepers, bound in three chaines: which accident, was as gratefull to him as the victorie it (elfe; beeing

fo fortunate to recover his familiar friend, and a man of fort in the Province, whom the barbarous enemy (contrary to the law of Nations) had cast in prison. Neither would Fortune by the loffe of him, abate any thing of fo great pleasure and contentment: for, he reported, that in his owne presence, they had three seuerall times cast lots, whether he should be burned aline; and still escaped by the fortune of the lots: And M. Titius was found in like manner, and brought vnto him. The fame of this battell being caried beyond the Rhene, the Swewians that vuere come to the banks of Rhene, returned home againe: whom the inhabibants neere opon that river pursued, finding them terrified and distracted, and slew a great number of them.

Cafar, having thus ended two great warres in one Sommer, hee brought his Armie into their vvintering Campes, some-what sooner then the time of the recre required: and leaving Labienus to commaund them, himselfe returned into the hither Gallia, to keepe Courts and publique Diets.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

His Phalanx, here mentioned, can hardly be proued to be the right
Macedonian Phalanx; but wee are 14ther to vinderstand it to bee so tearmed, by reason of the close and compact imbattailing, rather then in any other respect: and it resembled much a testudo, as I said

of the Heluetian Phalanx. Secondly, Iobserue, that Cæsar kept the old rule concerning their discipline in fight: for, although the name of Triaries benot mentioned in his historie; yet he omitted not the substance: which was, to haue primam, secundam, & tertiam Aciem; and that prima Acies should beginne the battell, and the second should come fresh and assist them: or peraduenture if the enemy were many and strong, the first and second battell vvere ioyned together, and so charged vpon the enemie with greater furie and violence; but at all aduentures, the third battell was euer in fubsidio, as they tearmedit, to fuccour any part that should be ouercharged: which was a thing of much consequence, and of great wisedome. For, if wee either respect the incouragement of the fouldiours, or the cafualtie of Fortune, what could bee more added to their discipline in this behalfe, then to have a second and a third fuccour, to give strength to the fainting weakenesse of their men, and to repaire the disaduantage which any accident should cast upon them? or if their valour were equally ballanced, and victorie stood doubtfull which of the two parties the should honour, these alwaies stept in, beeing fresh, against wearie & ouerlaboured spirits, and so drew victorie in despight of casualtie, vnto themselues.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Oncerning vse of lottes, it shall not be amisse to looke into the nature of them; beeing in former times fo generall, that there was no Nation, civill or barbarous, but were directed in their greatest affaires, by the fentence of lots. As wee may not refule for an vndoubted truth, that which Salomon faith in the 16 of Prouerbs; The lottes are cast into the lap, but the direction thereof belongeth to the Lord: through the knowledge whereof, Iosua was directed to take Achan, the Mariners Ionas, & the Apostles to consecrate Matthias; So, whether the heathen and barbarous people, whose blindness in the way of truth, could direct them no further then to senselesse superstition, & put them in mind of a dutie which they owed; but could not tell them what it was nor how to be performed: whether these, I say, were perswaded that there was any supernaturall power in their lotteries, which directed the action to the decree of deftinie, & as the Gods would have it, it remaineth doubtfull.

Aristotle, the wisest of the heathen, concerning things naturall, nameth that euent casuall, or proceeding from Fortune, of which the reason of man could assigne no cause, or (as he saith) which hath no cause. So that whatsomer happened in any action, besides the intent of the agent and workman, was tearmed an effect of Fortune, or chance of hab-nab: For, all other effects, which depended upon a certaintie and definite cause, were necessarily produced; and therfore could not be cafuall, or fubicate to the inconfrancie of chance. And because many and fundry fuch chances daily happened, which like terra filij had no Father, and could not be warranted as lawfull children, either to nature, or to reason, by the appearance of an efficient cause, they reduced them all to the power of Fortune; as the principall efficient and foueraigne Motor, of all fuch vnexpected euents: that is, they made nothing elfethe Gouerneffe, and directreffe of many things. Which afterward grew to fuch credit amongst men, that it furpafied in dignity all naturall causes, and was deified with celestial honour, as the Poet faith. Nos te facimus Fortuna deam caloque locamus. By the prouidence of this blind Goddeffe, which held her Deitie by the tenure of mens ignorance, were all casuall actions directed, and especially lots; the event whereof, depended onely ypon her pleafure and decree: neither could their direction be assigned to any other power; for, then their nature had been altered from chance to certaintie, and the enent could not have beene called sors, but must have been reputed in the order of necessarie effects, whereof discourse of reason acknowledgeth a certaine foregoing cause. Whereby we see vpon how weake an axlettee, the greatest motions of the godlesse world were turned, hauing irregularitie and vncettaintie, for the intelligentia, that governed their reuolutions. All heerein all forts of men (although indiuers respects) rested as well contented, as if an Oracle had spoken vnto them, and reuealed the mysteries of fatall destinie.

Rome directed the maine course of her gouernment, by the fortune of this mocke destinie: For, although their Consuls & Tribunes were elected by the people, who pleased their owne fancie with the free choice of their Commanders, and futed their obedience with a well liking authoritie: yet the publique affaires, which each Confull was feuerally to manage, was shared out by lots. For, if an enemy were entered into their confines, to depopulate and wafte their territories, the lots assigned this Confull for the government of the Citty; and the other to commaund the legions, and to manage the war.

neither the Senate nor the people could give to either Confull his taske : but their peculiar charges were authorifed by lottes. If any extraordinary action

were to be done in the Cittie, as the dedication of a Temple, the fanctifying of the Capitoll after a pollution, Sors omnia versat, did all in all. And yet (notwithstanding the weake foundation of this practise in their Theologie and dee-

pest diuinity) we may not thinke but these skilfull Architectors of that absolute gouernment, wherein vertue loyned with true wisedome, to make an vnexam-

pled patterne: we may not thinke, I fay, but they forefaw the manifold danger,

which in the course of common actions could no otherway be preuented, but by the vie of lots. For, when things are equally leueled between divers objects,

and runne with indifferencie to equall flations, there must be some controlling power, to draw the current towardes one Coast, and to appropriate it vnto

one chanell, that the order of Nature bee not inversed, nor a well established

gouernment disturbed: So the state of Rome, casting many things with equall

charge upon her two foueraigne Magiltrates, which could not be performed

but by one of them; what better meanes could there be invented, to interesse

the one in that office, and to discharge the other, then to appoint an Arbiter, whole decree exceeded humane reason? Of which, it could not bee said why it

was fo, but that it was fo: for, if the wifedome of the Senate had been called to

counsell, or the voices of the people calculated to determine of the matter; it

might eafily have burft out into civill difford, confidering the often contenti-

ons betweene the Senate and the people, the factions of Clients, and the con-

frant mutabilitie of euerie mans private affections necessarily inclining vnto one, although their worth were equall, & by true reason indifcernable; which

might have made the one proud of that which peraduenture he had not, and

THE SECOND COMMENTARIE OF THE WARS IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

Ike as when a heavy bodie lyeth vpon the skirt of a larger continued quantity, although it couer but a small parcell of the whole surface; yet the other quarters are burthened & kept vnder with a proportionable measure of that waight: and through the vnion and continuation which bindeth all the parts into one totality, feele the same suppression which hath really feafed but ypon their fellow part. In like maner the Belga, inhabiting the furthest skirt of that triple continent, seemed to repine at that heavy burthen, which the Romaine Empire had laide vpon the Prouince, the Hedui, and other states of that kingdome. And least it might in time be further remoued and laide directly vpon their shoulders, they thought it expedient whilest they felte it but by participation to gather their feuerall forces into one head, and trie whether they coulde free their neighbour nations from so greeuous a yoak; or at the least keepe it fro comming any neerer vnto themselues: And this is the Argument of this second booke, which deuideth it selfe into two partes: the first containing the warres betweene Cæsar and all the states of Belgia vnited togither: the fecod recording the battailes which he made with some of the states thereof in particular, as time and occasion gaue him meanes to effect it.

CHAP.I.

Cæsar hasteth to his army, marcheth towardes the confines of the Belge, & taketh in the men of Rheims.



H E report of this confederacie being brought wnto Cafar, whilest he wintred beyond the Alpes, as welly letters from Labienus, as by the common hearefay of the worlde : hee leuied two new legions in Lumbardie, and sent them by Q. Pedius into Gallia, and associate as there was any forrage in the fieldeshe himselfe came to the armic. At his arrival, understanding by the Senones & the rest of

cast the other lower then would have well befeemed his vertues; and therefore to cut off these, with many other inconveniences, they invented lots; which without either reason or will, might decide such controuersies. By this it appeareth, how little the ancient Law-makers respected the ground and reason of an ordinance, so the commoditic were great, and the vie important to the good of the State: for, as they faw the thing it felfe to be cafuall, fo they faw that casuall things are sometimes more necessarie, then demonstratiue conclusions: neither ought the nature, and speculative consideration of Lawes and Statutes, belong to the common people: but the execution and obedience thereof, maketh the Common-weale flourish. And thus endeth the first Commentarie of Cæsar his warre in Gallia.

THE

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

the Galles that bordered upon the Belga (to whom he gaue in charge to learne what was done among It them, that there was nothing in Belgia but mustering of soldiours, and gathering their forces into one heade : he thought it not (afe to make anie further delaie, but having made provision of corne he drewe out his army from their wintering campes, and within fifteene daies he came to the borders of the Belga, Affoone as he was come thisher, which was much sooner then was looked for; the men of Rheimes being the uttermost of the Belga, next adioining to the Celta, thought it best to entertaine apeaceable resolution, and sent Iccius and Antebrogius, two of the cheefe men of their state, onto Casar, to submit themselves and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romaine Empire; affirming that they were innocent both of the counsel of the Belga, and of their conspiracie against the Romaines: For proofe wherof they were ready to give hostages, to receive them into their towns. and to furnish them with corne or what other thing they stood in neede of . That the rest of the Belga were al in armes, and the Germains on the other side of the Rhene had promised to send them succour : yea their madnesse was so great, that they themselves were not able to hold backe the Suessones from that attempt, being their brethren and kinsmen in bloud, and wsing the same lawes and customes as they did hauing both one magistrate and one forme of government; but they would needs support the same quarrel which the rest of the Belga had undertaken.

THE OBSERVATION.



Might heere take occasion to speake somwhat of a particular rewoult in a generall cause; and howe a consederate state may in regarde of their owne saferie forsake a common quarrell, or whatsoeuer the vniuerfall societie hathenacted preiudiciall to their common weale:

but that I onely intende to discouer warlike practises, leaving these questions of lawe and policie to men of greater judgement and better experience. Onlie I observe in the behalfe of the Romaine government, that such cities as yeelded to the Empire, and became tributarie to their treasury (howsoeuer they were otherwise combined by confederacy) seldome or neuer repented them of their facte, in regard of the noble patronage which they found in that state, and of the due respect observed towards them.

CHAP. II.

The power of the Belgæ, and their preparation for this warre.



Aesar inquiring of the Ambassadors which came fro Rheimes what the states were that had taken armes, and what they were able to do in matter of war: found the Belga to be descended from the Germaines; who passing ouer the Rhene time out of minde, drove away the Galles and seated themselves in their possessions: and that these only of al the Galles kept the Cimbri and Teutoni fro entering into

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their country: and in that regard they chalenged to themfelues great authoritie. vaunted much in their feats of armes. Concerning their number they had thele ads uertisements; the Bellouaci exceeded all the Belga in prowesse, authoritie, and The country number of men, and promised 60000. men: and in that regard they demanded the about Beauadministration of the whole warre. The Suessones inhabiting a large and fertile wois. country, and having 12. walled towns promifed to fet out 50000. The Nervy as The country many: thed Attrebaty 15000, the Ambiani 10000, the Velocally, and Veramandui as many: the & Morini 25000 the Menapy 7000 the Caletani 10000 the Catuaci 10000. the behaviores, Condrusones, and others 40000. Casar incouraging the men of Rheimes to per fift their faithfulnes to the Romaine Empire propounded unto them great offers and liberall promifes of recompence, and commanded all their senate to come before him, and bring with them their noble mens formes to be given up for hostages, which they diligently perfourmed by a day appointed. And Leige. having received two especial advertisements from the men of Rheimes, the one con- 206000 in al. cerning the multitude of the enemy; and the other touching the fingular opinion which was generally held of their manhood; hee provided for the first by persuading Dinitiacus the Heduan, that it much imported the whole course of those businesses. to keepe afunder the power of the enemy; and to withhold their forces from making a head, that so he might avoide the danger of incountering so great a power at one instant. Which might easilie be brought to passe, if the Hedui woulde enter with a strong power into the marches of the Bellouaci, and sacke their territories with sword and confusion, which Divitiacus promised to performe, and to that purpose he speedily returned into his country. Vpon the second advertisement which presented unto him the great valour and manhood of his enemies, he resolved not to be too hastie in giving them battell, but first to prove by skirmishing with his horsemen what his enemies by their prowesse could do, and what his own men durst doe.

THE OBSERVATION.

His rule of making triall of the worth of an enemy, hath alwaies been observed by prudent and graue commanders, as the surest principle whereon the true judgment of the euent may be grounded. For if the doctrine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the worde non

putabam was never heard out of a wife mas mouth, have any place in the course of humane actions, it ought especiallie to be regarded in managing these main points, whereon the state of kingdomes and empires dependeth. For vnlesse we be perfuaded that blind chance directeth the course of this worlde with an vncertaine confusion, and that no forelight can swaie the balance of our hap into either part of our fortune; I fee no reason why we should not by al meanes indeuor to grounde our knowledge vpon true causes, and leuel our proceedings to that certainty which rifeth from the things the felues. And this is the tather to be vrged, inafmuch as our leaders are oftentimes deceived when they look no further then to match an enemy with equalitie of number, referring their valour to bee tried in the battell; not confidering that the eye of it felfe cannot discerne

about Soissons The people bout Turnai Amyens.

Cafar.

difcerne the difference betweene two champions of like prefence and outward cariage, unlesse it see their strength compared together and waied as it were in the scale of triall: which Casar omitted nor diligently to obserue, before he would aduenture the hazard of battell. For befides his owne fatifiaction, it gaue great incouragement to his men, when they fawe themselues able to countermatch an enemie, and knew their taske to be fubiedt to their strength: Neither did he observe it onely at this instant, but throughout the whole course of his actions; for we finde that he neuer incountered any enemie, but with fufficient power, either in number or in valour to make head against them:which equality of strength, being first laide as a sure foundation, he vsed his owne industrie and skill, and the discipline wherein his men were trained, as aduantages to ouerfway his aduerfarie: and so drew victorie maugre fortune vnto himselfe, and seldome failed in any of his battels.

CHAP. III.

* La disne.

Cæsar passeth his Armie ouer the river *Axona, leauing Titurius Sabinus incamped on the other side with sixe cohorts.

Cafar.

S S O O N E as Cafar understood, as well by his discouerers, as from the men of Rheimes, that all the power of the Belo a was afsembled together into one place, and was now making towardes him no great destance off; he made all the haste he could to passe his Armie ouer the river Axona, which devided the men of Rheimes from the other Below. Wherby he brought to passe that no enemie could come on the backe of him to worke any disad-

uantage: and that corne might be brought unto him from Rheimes, and other citties without danger. And further, that he might command the passage backe againe, as occasion should serve to his best advantage, he fortified a bridge which he found on the river, with a strong garrison of men, and caused Titurius Sabinus a Legate, to incampe himselfe on the other side of the river with sixe cohortes, commaunding him to fortifie his campe with a rampier of 12 foote in altitude, and a trench of 18 foote in breadth.

OBSERVATION.

F it be demaunded, why Cæsar did passe his Armie ouer the river, other fide, and so take the aduantage of hindering him, if he should attempt to passe ouer? I will set downe the reasons in the sequell of this warre, as the occurrences shall fall out to make them more euident. In the meane time let vs enter into the particularitie of these fixe cohortes, that wee maie the better judge of fuch troupes which were imploied in the feruices of this warre: but that wee may the better coniecture what number of fouldiers COMMENTARIES, L'IB. II.

these fixe cohortes did containe, it seemeth expedient, a little to discourse of the companies and regiments, which the Romans wied in their Armies.

Roman Armie, was tearmed by the name of Legio: as Varro faith, quad leguntur milites in delectu: or as Plutarch speaketh, quod lecti ex omnibus effent militares: fo that it taketh the name Legio of the choife and felecting of the foldiers. Romulus is faid to be the first author & founder of these legions, making energe legion to containe 3000 foldiers: but shortly after they were augmented as Festus recordeth vnto 4000; and afterward againe from 4000 to 4200. And that number was the common rate of a legion vntill Hanniball came into Italie, and Lin, lib, 22. then it was augmented to 5000, but that proportion continued onely for that time. And againe, when Scipio went into Africke, the legions were increased to 6200 footmen, and 300 horse. And shortly after the Macedonian warre, the legions that continued in Macedonie to keepe the Province from rebellion, confilted of 6000 footmen and 300 horse. Out of Cæsar it cannot be gathered. that a legion in his time did exceede the number of 5000 men; but oftentimes it was short of that number: for he himselfe saith, that in this warre in Gallia his foldiers were fo wasted, that he had scarce 7000 men in two legions. And if we examine that place out of the 3. of the civil war, where he faith, that in Pompei his Armie were 110 cohorts, which amounted to the nuber of 55000 men: And being manifest as well by these number of cohortes, as by the restimonie of diuers authors, that Pompei his Army confifted of 11 legions; if we deuide 55000 into 11 partes, we shall finde a legion to confist of 5000 men. Which number or thereabout, being generally knowne to be the viuall rate of a legion, the Romans alwaies expressed the strength of their Armie by the number of legions that were therein: as in this warre it is faid, that Cæfar had eight legions, which by this account might arife to 40000 men, befides affociates, and fuch as neceffarily attended the Armie. Further we are to understand, that every legion had his peculiar name, by which it was knowne and diftinguished from the rest, and that it tooke either from their order of muster, or involment; as that legion

on was compounded. First therefore we are to vinderstand, that after the Consuls had made a genenerall choise and sworne the souldiers, the Tribunes chose out the youngest and poorest of all the rest, and called them by the name of Velites. Their place

which was first inrolled, was called the first legion; and that which was second in

choice, the second legion; and so consequently of the rest; and so we reade in

this historie, the seuenth, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleventh and

twelfth legion: or otherwise from the place of their warfare, and so we read of

legiones Germanica, Panonica, Britannica, and fuch others; and sometime of their Generall, as Augusta, Claudia, Vitelliana, legiones, and so forth. Or to conclude,

from some accident or qualitie, as Rapax, Victrix, Fulminifera and such like.

And this much of the name and number of a legion, which I must necessarilie diffinguish into divers kindes of fouldiers, according to the first institution of

the olde Romans, and the continual observation thereof vnto the decay of the Empire, before I come to the description of these smaller partes, whereof a legi-

And first we are to understand, that the greatest and chiefest regiment in a A legion Devita Ro muli.

Tacitus 3

Velites.

in regard of the other fouldiers was both bate & difhonorable : not only because they fought a farre off, and were lightly armed; but also in regard they were commonly exposed to the enemy, as our forelorne hopes are. Hauing chosen out a competent number for this kinde, they proceeded to the choise of them which they called Hastati, a degree aboue the Velites, both in age and wealth, and tearmed them by the name of Hastatisforasmuch as at their first institution

Principes.

Haftati.

they fought with a kind of Iauelin, which the Romaines called Hafta: but before Polybius his time they yied Piles; notwithstanding their ancient name continued vnto the latter time of the Empire. The third choise which they made was of the strongest and lustiest bodied men, who for the prime of their age were called Principes; the rest that remained were named Triarij, as Varro saith. Quod teotio ordine extremis subsidio deponuntur: These were alwaies the eldest and best experienced men, and were placed in the third division of the battell.

Lib.6.

Lib.1.demil. Rom.

Velites, Hastati, and Principes, did consist of 1200 men a peece; and the Triarij neuer exceeded the number of 600, although the generall number of a legion were augmented: wherof Lypfius allegeth these reasons. First bicause these Triarij confisted of the best of the soldiors, and so might counteruaile a greater number in good worth and valour. Secondly, it feldome came to buckle with the enemy, but when the controuerfie grewe very doubtfull. Laftly, wee may well coniecture that the voluntaries and extraordinatie followers, ranged themfelues amongst these Triaries, and so made the third battel equal to either of the

as the last helpe and refuge in all extremity. Polybius faith, that in his time the

former; but howfoeuer, they neuer exceeded the number of 600. And by this it appeareth, that in Polybius his time the common rate of a legion was 4200. In this division of their men confisted the ground of that well ordered dif-

The vie of this division.

cipline; for in that they diftinguished them according to their yeeres and abilitie, they reduced their whole ftrength into feueral claffes; fo disposed of these different parts, that in the generall copolition of their whole bodie enery part might be fitted with place and office, according as his worth was answerable to the same: & so they made not only a number in grosse, but a number distinct by parts and properties, that from every accident which met with any part of the armie, the judgement might determine how much or howe little it imported the whole bodie: besides the great vse vvhich they made of this distinction in their degrees of honour and preferment; a matter of no smal consequence, in the excellencie of their gouernment.

The distincts on of their ompanies. Manipuli.

Ordo.

The foldiours, at their involement beeing thus deutded according to their yeeres and abilitie, they then reduced them into finaller companies, to make them fitter for command and fight: and fo they deuided the Hastati Principes. and Triarii, each of them into 10 companies, making of those 3, fortes of foldiours 30, fmall regiments, which they called Manipuli: And againe, they fubdeuided euerie maniple into two equall parts, and called them Ordo, vvhich was the least companie in a legion; and according to the rate set down by Polybius, contained 60. foldiours. In euerie Ordo there was a Centurion, or Captaine, and a Lieuetenant, whom they named Optio or Tergiductor. The maniples of the Triarii were much leffer then the maniples of either the Hastati or the PrinCOMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

cipes; for as much as their whole band confifted but of 600, men. The Velites were put into no fuch companies, but were equally distributed amongst the other Maniples; and therefore the Hastati, Principes, and Triarij were called sub-Gonanos milites, to make a difference between them and the Velites, which were not denided into bandes; and so consequently had no ensigne of their own, but were distributed amongst the other companies: so that every Maniple had 40. Velites attending youn it. And now I come to the description of a cohort, which the history heere mentioneth.

The worde Cohors in latine doth fignifie that part of grounde which is commonly inclosed before the gate of a house, which from the same word we call a Lib.3.dere court: and Varro giveth this reason of the metaphor. As in a farme house, saith he many out-buildings ioined together make one inclosure; so a cohort consisteth of fenerall maniples joined together in one body. This cohort confifted of three maniples; for euerie legion had ten cohorts, which must necessarily comprehend those thirty maniples: but these 3. maniples were not al of one and the fame kind of foldiors, as three maniples of the Haftati, 3. of the Principes, and 3. of the Triarij, as Patricius in his Paralleli seemeth to affirme; for so there would have remained an odde maniple in every kind, that could not have been brought into any cohort: But a cohort contained a maniple of the Hastati, a maniple of the Principes, and a maniple of the Triarij; and so al the 30. maniples were included into 10.cohorts; & euery cohort was as a little legion; forasmuch as it consisted of althose sortes of soldiours that were in a legion. So that making a legion to containe 5000, men; a cohort had 500, and so these 6, cohorts, which he incamped on the other fide of the river, under the command of Titurius Sabinus, contayned 3000. foldiours: but if you make a legion to confift but of 4200. which was the more viuall rate, there were 2520. foldiours in these

By this therefore it may appeare, that a legion confifted of foure forts of foldiours, which were reduced into ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained 3. maniples; & euery maniple 2. orders; and euery order had his Centurion marching in the head of the troupe; and every Centurion had his optionem, or Lieutenat,

that stood in the taile of the troupe. When a legion stooderanged in battell ready to confront the enemy, the Alegion range least body or squadron that it contained was a maniple; wherein the two orders ged in battell. were joined together, making jointly ten in front, and twelve in file: and so euerie fiue files had their Centurion in front, and Lieutenant in the rereward, to direct them in all aduentures. In the time of the Emperours, their battai-

lions confifted of a cohort, and neuer exceeded that number how great foeuer the army were.

fixe cohortes.

Polybius distinguishing a maniple into two centuries or orders, faith, that The first order the Centurion first chosen by the Tribunes, commanded the right order, which was that order which stoode on the right hand, knowne by the name of Primus ordo: and the Centurion elected in the second course, commanded the left order; and in the absence of either of them, hee that was present of them two, commaunded the whole maniple. And so wee finde that the Centurion of the

3. De bello cinili.

Prima cohors

first place was called Prior Centurio: in which sense Cæsar is to be vnderstood. where hee faith, that all the Centurions of the first cohorte were slaine, prater principem priorem. From whence we gather two specialities, first; the prioritie betweene the Centurions of the same maniple: for a cohorte consisting of 3. maniples, vvhereof the first maniple were Triarij, the second Principes, and the thirde Hastati; and euerie maniple containing two orders; and euerie order a Centurion : he faith, that all the Centurions of this cohort vvere flaine; fauing the first or vpper Centurion of the Principes. The second thing which I obferue, is the title of the first cohort: for these 10. cohortes, whereof a legion confifted, were diffinguished by degrees of worthinesse; and that which was held the worthiest in the censure of the Electors, tooke the prioritie both of place and name, and was called the first cohort: the next, the second cohort; & so consequently vnto the tenth and last.

Neither did the legions want their degrees of preheminece, both in imbattailing & in incaping, according either to the seniority of their incolement, or their fauor of their General, or their own vertue: And so we read that in these wars in Gallia, the tenth legion had the first place in Cæsars army. And thus much concerning the divisions, and severall companies of a legion, and the degrees

of honour which they held in the same.

Vpon this description it shall not be amisse, briefelie to laie open the most The benefit of apparant commodities depending upon this discipline; the excellency wherethis descriptine of more plainely appeareth, being compared to that order, which nature hath observed in the frame of her vvorthiest creatures: for it is evident, that fuch workes of nature come neerest to perfect excellencie, vvhose material substance is most particularlie distinguished into parts, and hach every part indued with that propertie, which best agreeth to his peculiar seruice. For beeing thus furnished with diversitie of instruments, and these directed with sitting abilities; the creature mult needs expresse many admirable effects, and discouer the worth of an excellent nature: whereas those other bodies, that are but slenderly laboured, and find leffe fauour in natures forge, being as abortiues, or barbaroully composed, wanting the diuersitie both of partes and faculties; are no vvay capable of fuch excellent vies, nor fit for fuch diffinct fertuces, as the former that are directed with formany properties, and inabled with the power of fo wel diftinguished faculties. Which better works of nature the Romains imitated in the Architecture of their army, deuiding it into fuch necessary & seruiceable partes, as were best fitting all vses and imploiments: as first into legions, and legions into cohorts, and cohorts into maniples, and maniples into centuries or orders, and these into files, wherein enery man knewe his place, and kept the fame without exchange or confusion. And thus the vniuerfall multitude was by order disposed into partes, vntill it came vnto a vnitie: for it cannot bee denied, but that these centuries were in themselves so sensible distinguished, that euerie Soldiour caried in his minde the particular Mappe of his whole centurie: for in imbttrailing, euerie centurie was disposed into 5. files, contayning twelve in a file, whereof the leaders were alwayes certaine, and neuer changed but by death or some other offeciall occasion: and cucrie

COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

leader knew his follower, and energe fecond knews the third man, and to confe-

quently vnto the laft.

Vpon these particularities it plainly appeareth, how easie a matter it was, to reduce their troupes into any order of a march or a battell, to make the front the flanke, or flanke front, when they were broken and difrankt to rallie them into any forme, when every manknew both his owne and his fellowes station. If any companies were to be imploied vpon fudden feruice, the generall Idea of the Armie being so deepely imprinted in the minde of the commanders, would not fuffer them to erre in taking out fuch convenient troupes, both for number and quality, as might best agree with the safetie of the Armie, or nature of the action: At all occasions and oportunities, these principles of aduantage offered themselues, as readie meanes, to put in execution any dessigne, or stratagem whatfoeuer; the project was no fooner refolued of, but euerie man could readily point out the companies that were fit to execute the intention. And which is more important, in regard of the life and spirit of eueric such part, their fodalitie was fweetned, or rather strengthened with the mutuall acquaintance, and friendshippe one of another, the captaine marching alwaies in the head of the troupe, the enfigne in the middeft, and the lieutenant in the rereward, and euerie man accompanied with his neighbour and his friend; which bred a true and vnfained courage, both in regard of themselues, and of their followers. Besides these specialities, the places of title and dignity depending ypon this order, were no small meanes to curte off all matter of civil discorde, and intestine differtion: for here euerie man knew his place in the file, and euerie file knewe his place in the Centurie, and enerie Centurie in the Maniple, and euerie Maniple in the Cohort, and euerie Cohort in the Legion, and euerie Legion in the Armie; and so euerie souldier had his place, according to his vertue; and euerie place gaue honour to the man, according as their discipline had determined thereof.

The yvant of this discipline hath dishonoured the martiall government of this age, with bloudihed and murthers; whereof France is too true a witnesse, as well in regard of the French themselves, as of our English forces that haue beene fent thither to appeale their tumults: for through defect of this order, which allotteth to euerie man his due place, the controuerfie grew between Sir William Drurie and Sir Iohn Bowrowes, the iffue wherof is too well known to the world: wherein as our commanders in France haue been negligent, fo I may not forget to give due commedation to the care which is had of this point amongst the English troups, in the service of the states in the vnited prouinces, where they are very curious in appointing euerie man his place in the file, and euerie file in the troupe, and find much benefit thereby, befides the honour of

remining the Roman discipline.

To conclude this point, I will onely touch in a word the benefite, which the The benefit of Romans found in their small battailions, and the disaduantage, which we have in found battai making great squadrons. And first it cannot be denied, but that such troupes disadvantage ftand best appointed for disposition and array of battell, which standing strong of great square to receive a shocke, bring most men to sight with the enemie: for the principal of great squares. thinges

thinges which are required in fetting of a battell, are to to order the troupes, that the depth in flanke may ferue conveniently to withftand the affault, taking vp no more men then may well ferue for that purpose; and giving meanes to the rest to fight with the enemie; and in these two points, were both their defensive and offenfiue confiderations comprehended. But smaller troupes and battailons afforde this conueniencie better then great fquadrons, which drowne vp manie able men in the depth of their flankes, and neuer fuffer them to appeare, but when the breaking of the fquadron doth present them to the butcherie of the enemie. The Macedonian Phalanx, as I haue noted in the first booke, neuer caried aboue 16 in flanke, and brought 500 to fight in front. And thefe little battailons (confidering them as they stood in battell ray) made as great a front or greater, then that of the Phalanx, keeping a depth answerable to the same; befides the 2 and 3 battell, which alwaies were to fuccour them, which the Phalanx wanted: neither would their thicke and close imbattailing admit any such succour behind them. Now if we copare the aduantages & discommodities, which by place and accident were incident to either of these, we shall find great ods betweene them. These great squadrons are not faisable, but in plaine and open places, where they may either stand immoueable, or make easie and slow motions without shaking, or disordering their bodie: but the lesser are a scantling for all places, champion or wooddie, leuell or vneuen, or of what fite or quality foeuer. And to conclude, if two or three rankes of these great battailons chance to be broken and disordered, the whole body is as much interessed in the disorder, as the faid rankes are; and hath leffe meanes to rally it felfe, then any other leffer companie: but if any violence chance to rout a maniple, it proceedeth no further in the Armie, then that part which it taketh: Neither can the difranking of any one part, betraie the safetie of the Armie to disorder and confusion; for as much as their diffinction ferued to cut off such inconveniences, and yet no waie hindered the generall vniting of their strength into one body. More may be faid concerning this matter, but I onely point at it, and leaue the due confi-

CHAP. IIII.

deration therof, to the judgment of our commanders, & returne to our history.

The Belgæ attempt the surprise of * Bibrax: Cafar fendeth succour evnto it.



Bray in the

county of Re: tell.

> Here was a towne called Bibrax, belonging to the state of Rheimes, about eight mile from Cafars campe; which the Belga thought to have surprised, as they came along to meete with Casar, and suddenly affaulted it with such furie, that the townesmen could hardly hold out the first daie. The Celta and Belga vie one and the same manner, in assaulting a towne: for having befet the whole compasse

of the wall with rankes of fouldiers, they never cease flinging of stones untill they

COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

finde the wall naked of defendantes; and then casting themselves into a Testudo, they approch to the gate and undermine the walles. Assoone as the night had made an end of the asault, Iccius of Rheimes, a man of great birth and authoritie in his countrey. who at that time was governour of the towne, and had beene before with Cafar, to treat and conclude a peace: Sent him word by messengers, that if there came not prefent succour, he was not able to holde out any longer. The same daie about midnight (vsing the same messengers for guides) he sent both Numidian and Cretian Archers, and slingers of the Iles of Baleares, to relieve the towne; by meanes whereof, the townsfmen were put in good hope to make their partie strong, and the enemie made hopeles of winning the towne: and therefore after a small stay having populated their fieldes, and burned their villages and out-buildinges, they marched with all their power towardes Cafars campe, and within leffe then two miles of his Armie, they incamped their whole hoast: which, as was gathered by the smoake and fire, occupied more ground then eight miles in breadth.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

N the description of their affault, we are to observe two circumstances: The first is, the manner they yield in a sudden surprise: The second is, the forme and quality of a Testudo. Although Cæsar seemeth to towne by surattribute this manner of affaulting a towne, as peculiar, to the Galles; yet wee prife, maie not thinke but that the Romans vsed it, as often as they had occasion to furprise any cittie: but because the Galles knew no other means to take a towne but this, therefore he setteth it downe as peculiar vnto them. The Romans called this manner of affault Corona; and so we read oftentimes this phrase, Cingere vrbem corona: for as much as the fouldiers inclosed the towne with a circle. and so resembled a crowne or garland. Ammianus speaketh of a triple crown of fouldiers, which incompassed a towne: And Iosephus telleth of Iotapatam, which the Romans befieged duplici peditum corona: and befides thefe, there was a third circle of horsemen vimost of all. There is no further matter to be obserued but this, that in surprising a towne, they incircled it round about with thick continued rankes of men, and where they found the wall weakest, there they entered as they could.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

He Testudo requireth a larger discourse, and is lively described in A Testudo Liuie, after this manner. In the Amphitheater, where the people described.

Liuie, after this manner. In the Amphitheater, where the people described.

Lib. 44.

Lib. 44.

and feemely march, cast themselves into a square troupe, & roofing their heads close with their targets, the first ranke which made the front of the Testudo, stood vpright on their feete; the second ranke bowed it selfe somewhat lower;

Lib. 44.

the third and fourth rankes did more incline themselues, and so consequentlie vnto the last ranke, which kneeled on the ground, and so they made a bodie relembling halfe the fide of an house, which they called Testudo. Vnto this fquadron thus strongly combined togither, came two soldiours running some fiftie foot off, and threatning each other with their weapons, ran nimbly vp the fide of the roofe; and fometimes making as though they would defend it against an enemy, that would have entred upon it; fometimes againe incountering each other in the midst of it, leaped vp and downe as steddily as if they had been vpon firme ground. And which is more strange, the front of a Testudo being applied to the fide of a wall, there ascended many armed men upon the faid Testudo, and fought in an equall height with other foldiors, that flood vpon the faid wal to defend it. The diffimilitude in the composition was this that the foldiors that were in front, and in the fides of the square, caried not their Targets ouer their heads, as the other did; but conered their bodies with them, and so no weapons either cast from the wall, or otherwise throwne against it, coulde any waie hurt them; and whatfocuer waight fell uppon the Tefundo, it quicklie glided downe by the declinitie of the roofe, without anie hurte or annoyance

Thus far Liuie goeth, neither doe I know what to faie further of it: the chiefelt vse thereof was in a surprise or suddaine attempt against a towne, before the townes men were throughly prepared to defend the fame. This invention ferued them to approach the wall with fafetie, and so either to vndermine it, or to clime vp: and to that ende they oftentimes erected one Testudo vpon another. Tacitus faith, that the foldiours climed vppon the wall, fuper iteratam testudinem, by one Testudo made vpon an other; and this was the ancient forme and

vse of a Testudo in a suddain assault or surprise.

Dio Cassius in the actes of Anthonie, faieth, that beeing galled with the Parthian Archers, hee commanded his whole armie to put it felfe into a Testudo, which was so strange a sight to the Parthians, that they thought the Romaines hadde funke downe for wearinesse and faintnesse; and so forsaking their horse, drewe their swordes to have made execution: and then the Romaines at a watch-worde ginen, role againe with fuch a furie, that they put them all to fworde and flight. Dio describeth the faide Testudo after this manner, They placed, saieth hee, their baggage, their light armed men and their horsemen, in the middest; and those heavie armed footemen that caried long gutter-tiled Targettes, were in the vtmost circles nexte vnto the enemie; the reste which bare large Ouall Targettes were thronged togither throughout the whole troupe, and fo couered with their Targets both themselues and their fellowes, that there was nothing discerned by the enemy but a roofe of Targets, which were fo tiled togither, that men might fafely go vpon them.

Further, wee oftentimes reade, that the Romaines cast themselues into a Testudo, to breake through an enemy, or to route and distranke a troupe. And this yee the Romaines had of a Testudo in field services, and only by the benefit of their Target. It was called a Testudo, in regarde of the strength, for that it COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

couered and sheltred, as a shell couereth a fish. And let this suffice concerning a Testudo.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

of no finall confequence in managing a warre, but deferueth an extraordinarie



Hirdly we may obserue, how carefully Cæsar prouided for the safe- The necessitie tie of such succours, as he sent vnto Bibrax: for hee commanded the of good discofame messengers to direct them that came from the towne, as the verie. best and furest guides in that iourney, least peraduenture through ignorance of the way, they might fall into inconveniences or dangers: a matter

importunitie, to perfuade the necessitie of this diligence. For a Generall that hath perfectlie discouered the nature of the countrey, through which he is to march, and knoweth the true diffrances of places, the qualitie of the waies, the compendious field of turnings, the nature of the hils and the course of the riuers, hath all these particularities as maine aduantages, to give meanes of so many feuerall attempts vpon an enemy: And in this point Hanniball had a fingular dexterity, and excelled all the commanders of his time in making vie of the way, by which he was to passe. But he that leadeth an army, by an vnknown and undiscouered way, and marcheth blindfold upon uncertaine aduentures, is subject to as many casualties and disaduantages, as the other hath opportunitie of good fortune. Let enery man therfore perfuade himselfe, that good discouerers are as the eyes of an army, and serue for lights in the darkenesse of ignorance, to direct the resolutions of good prouidence, and make the path of safetie so manifest, that we neede not stumble vpon casualties. Cæsar in his iourney to Ariouistus vsed the helpe of Diuitiacus the Heduan, in whome amongst all the Galles, he reposed greatest confidence to discouer the waie, and acquaint him with the paffages; and before hee would vndertake his voyage vnto * Eritanie, he well enformed himselfe by marchants and tranailers, of the quantity land. of the Iland, the quality of the people, their vie of warre, and the oportunitie of their hauens: Neither was he fatisfied with their relations, but hee fent Caius Volusenus in a ship of warre, to see what hee could further discouer, concerning these points. Suetonius addeth moreouer, that hee neuer caried his army, per infidiofa itinera, vnlesse he had first well discouered the places.

Concerning the order, which skilfull leaders have observed in discoueries, we are to knowe that this point confilteth of two partes: the one in vnderstanding the perfect description of the countrey; and the second in observing the soleruing the motions of the enemy. Touching the first, we finde as well by this as other hi- discovery. ftories, that the Romains vsed the inhabitants of the country for guides, as best acquainted with their natiue places, that they might not erre in fo important a matter; prouided alwaies, that their owne scoutes were euer abroad to vinderftand what they could of themselues, that they might not altogither relie vpon a strangers direction. The motions of the enemy were observed by the horsemen, and these for the most part were Veterani, well experienced in the matter

Lib.49.

at all.

of warre, and so the generall received found advertisements: and yet they were not too forward voon any new motion, vnlesse they found it confirmed by diuers waies: for fome espials may erre, either through passion or affection, as it happened in the Heluctian warre. If therefore the vse and benefit, which prudent and wife commanders made of this diligence, or the misfortune which the

want of this knowledge brought vpon the ignorant, haue any authoritie to perfwade a circumspect care herein, this little that hath beene spoken may be sufficient, for this point.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

Slingers with their arte and ve.

He fouldiers which Cæfar fent to relieue Bibrax, were Archers of Creta and Numidia, and flingers of the Iles Baleares, which are now called Maiorica, and Minorica, which kinds of meanon heaveful. called Maiorica, and Minorica: which kinde of weapon, because it feemeth ridiculous to the fouldiers of these times, whose conceites

are held up with the furie of these fierie engines; I will in briefe discouer the nature and vie of this weapon.

The Latines (faith Hodore) called this weapon funda: quod ex ea fundantur lapides. Plinie attributeth the invention thereof to the Infulairs called Baleares. Florus in his third booke and eighth chapter, faith, that these Baleares vsed three fortes of flinges, and no other weapon befides: for a boy had neuer any meate giuen him, before he had first strooke it, with a sling. Strabo distinguisheth these three fortes of flings, which the Baleares vied; and faith that they had one fling with long raines, which they vied when they would cast a farre off: and another with short raines, which they ysed neere at hand: and the third with raines of a meane file, to cast a reasonable distance. Lipsius faith, that in Columna Antonina at Rome, he observed that the Balearean was made with one sling about his head, another about his bellie, and the third in his hand; which might be their ordinarie manner of carrying them. The matter whereof they were made was threefold, the first was hempe or cotton, the second haire, and the third sinewes: for of either of these stuffes, they commonly made them: the forme and fail ion of a fling refembled a platted rope, somewhat broade in the middest, with an Quall compasse; and so by little and little decreasing into two thongs or raines. Their manner of flinging was to whirle it twife or thrife about their head, and so to cast out the bullet. Virgill speaking of Mezentius saith,

Ipse ter adducta circum caput eqit habena. But Vegetius preferreth that skill, which cast the bullet with once turning it about the head. In Suidas we find, that these Baleares did commonly cast a Hone of a pound waight, which agreeth to these dames in Cæsar, fundas, librales. The leaden bullets are mentioned by Salust, in the warre with Jugurth; and by Liuie, where he faith, that the Confull prouided great store of arrowes, of bullets, and of small stones to be cast with slings. This weapon was in request amongst divers nations, as well in regard of the readines, & easie reiterating of the blow, as also for that the bullet fledde verie farre, with great violence: the distance

COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

which they could eafily reach with their fling, is expressed in this verse;

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda. Which Vegetius interpreteth to be 600 foote: Their violence was fuch, as the fame author affirmeth in his first booke and fixteenth chapter, that neither helmet, gaberdine, nor corfelet could beare out the blow; but he that was hit with a fling, was flaine fine inuidia fanguinis, as he faith in the fame place. Lucrece, Ouid, and Lucan, three of the Latine Poets faie, that a bullet skilfully cast

out of a fling, went with fuch violence that it melted as it flew: whereof Sene Lib. 2. nate: ca giueth this reason, motion (laith he) doth extenuate the aire, and that exter questions. nuation or fubrilitie doth inflame; and so a bullet cast out of a sling melteth as it

flieth . But howfoeuer, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, that thefe Balearean flingers brake both target, headpiece, or any other armour whatfocuers There are also two other forts of flings, the one mentioned by Linie; and the other by Vegetius: that in Liuie is called Ceftrophendo, which cast a short ar-

rowe with a long thicke head: the other in Vegetius, is called fullibalis, which was a fling made of a coard and a staffe. But let this suffice for flinges and flingers, which were reckoned amongst their light armed fouldiers, and vsed chieflie in affaulting, and defending townes, and fortreffes, where the heavie armed fouldiers could not come to buckle; and present the place of our Hargebusiers. which in their proper nature, are leuis armatura milites, although more terrible then those of ancient times.

CHAP. V.

Cæfar confronted the Belgæ in forme of battell, but without any blow given: the Belgae attempt the passing of the river Axona; but in vaine, and to their loffe: they confult of brea-



AES AR at the first resolved not to give them battell, as well in regard of their multitude, as the generall fame and opinion conceived of their valour : notwithstanding he daily made triall by light skirmishes with his horsemen, what the enemy could do. and what his owne men durft doe . And when he found that his men were nothing inferiour to the Belga, he chose a convenient place before his campe and put his Armie in battell : the banke

where he was incamped rifing somewhat from a plaine levell, was no larger then would suffice the front of the battell; the two sides were steepe, and the front rose a slope by little & little, untill it came againe to a plaine, where the legions mere imbattailed. And least the enemie abounding in multitude, should circumuent his men and charge them in flanke as they were fighting, he drew an overthwart ditch beland his Armie, from one side of the hill to the other, 600 paces in length; the ends wherof

he fortified with bulwarkes, and placed therein store of engines: and leaving in his campe the two legions which he had last inrolled in Lombardie, that they might bee readie to be drawne forth when there should neede any succour, he imbattailed his other fixe legions in the front of the hill, before his campe. The Belga also brinoino forth their power, confronted the Romans in order of battell. There laie between both the Armies a small Marish, over which the enemie expected that Cafar should have puffed; and Cafar on the other fide, attended to fee if the Belg a would come over that his men might have charged them in that troublesome passage. In the meane time the Canalrie on both sides incountered betweene the two battels, and after long expectation on either side neither partie adventuring to passe over, Casar having got the better in the skirmish betweene the horsemen, thought it sufficient for that time. both for the incouraging of his owne men, and the contesting of so great an Army; and therefore he contained all his men againe into their campe . From that place the enemy immediately tooke his way to the river Axona, which laie behinde the Romans campe. and there finding foordes they attempted to passe over part of their forces, to the ende they might either take the fortresse which 2 Titurius kept, or to breake downe the bridge or to spoile the territories of the state of Rheimes, and cut off the Romans from prodition of corne. Cafar having advertisement thereof from Titurius, transported ouer the river by the bridge all his horsemen and light armed Numidians, with his flingers and archers, and marched with them himfelfe : the conflict was hoat in that place, the Romans charging their enemies as they were troubled in the water, slewe a great number of them; the rest like desperate persons, adventuring to passe over upon the dead carkases of their fellowes, were beaten backe by force of weapons: and the horsemen incompassed such as had first got over the water, and slewe everie man

of them. When the Below perceived themselves frustrated of their hopes, of winning Bibrax, of passing the river, and of drawing the Romans into places of disaduantage, and that their owne provisions began to faile them : they called a councell of war, wherein they resolued, that it was best for the state in generall, and for everie man in particular. to breake up their campe, and to returne home unto their own houses: and into whose confines or territories soeuer, the Romans should first enter to depopulate and waste them in hostile maner, that thither they should hasten from al parts, and there to give them battell, to the end they might rather trie the matter in their own countrie then abroad in a strange and unknowne place; and have their owne houshold provision alwaies at hand to maintaine them. And this the rather was concluded, for as much as they had intelligence, that Divitiacus with a great power of the Hedui, approched neure to the borders of the Bellouaci, who, in that regard, made haste homeward to defend their country.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Irst we may observe the Arte, which he vsed to counternaile the ftrength of to great a multimide, by choosing out to convenient a place, which was no broader in front then would fuffice the front of his battell; and having both the fides of the hill fo fleepe, that the COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

enemy could not alcende nor clime vp, but to their own ouerthrow; hee made the backe part of the hil strong by Art, & so placed his soldiors as it were in the gate of a fortresse, where they might either issue out, or retire at their pleasure. Whereby it appeareth how much he preferred securitie and safetie before the vaine opinion of foole-hardie resolution, which sauoreth of Barbarisme rather then of true wisedome: for he ener thought it great gaine, to loose nothing; and the day brought alwaies good fortune, that delivered up the army fafe vinto the euening; attending, vntil aduantage had laid fure principles of victory: and yet Cæfar was neuer thought a coward.

And now it appeareth, what vie hee made by passing his army over the riuer, and attending the enemie on the further fide, rather then on the fide of the state of Rheimes: for by that meanes he brought to passe, that whatsoener the enemie should attempt in any part or quarter of the lande, his forces were readie to trouble their proceedings; as it happened in their attempt of Bibrax: &yet notwithstanding, he lost not the opportunitie of making slaughter of the as they passed ouer the riner. For by the benefitte of the bridge which hee had fortified, he transported what forces he woulde, to make heade against them, as they passed ouer; and so hee tooke what advantage either side of the river coulde affoord him.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Nd heere the reader may not martiel, if when the hills are in labour, they bring forth but a mouse; for how soone is the courage of this huge army abated? or what did it attempt worthy such a multitude? or answerable to the report which was bruted of their valour? But beeing haltely caried together by the violence of passion, were as quickly disperfed vpon the fight of an enemy, which is no strange effect of a suddaine humour. For as in nature all violent motions are of short continuance, and the durabilitie, or lasting qualitie of all actions, proceedeth from a flowe and temperate progression; so the resolutions of the minde that are caried with an vntemperate violence, and fauour so much of heat and passion, do vanish awaie euen with the smoake thereof, and bring forth nothing but leasurable repentaunce: and therefore it were no ill counfell for men of such natures, to qualifie their haltie resolutions, with a mistrustfull lingering, that when their judgement is well informed of the cause, they may proceed to a speedie

But that which most bewraieth their indiscreet intemperace, in the hore purfuit of this enterprise, is, that before they had scarce seene the enemy, or had oportunity to contest him in open field, their victual began to faile them: for their mindes were so carried away with the conceite of warre, that they had no leisure to prouide such necessaries, as are the strength and sinewe of the warre: It was fufficient for every particular man, to be knowne for a foldiour in so honorable an action, referring other matters to the care of the state. The states

CHAP. VI. ou describ

rous warre vpon their heads, that otherwife might have lived in peace.

The Belgæ brake vp their Campe; and as they returne home, are chased and slaughtered by the Romaines.

Cafar.

HIS generall resolution beeing entertained by the consent of the whole Councell of warre; they departed out of their Campe with a great noise and tumult, without any order (as is seemed) or governement : everse man pressing to bee formost on his journey in fach a turbulent manner, that they feemed all to run away: Whereof Cafar having notice by his fpies, and mistrusting some practise, not as yet perceiving the reason

of their departure, he kept his armie within his Campe. In the dawning of the day, upon certaine intelligence of their departure, hee fent first his bor semen to fair the rerewarde, commaunding Labienus to followe after with three legions; thefe overtaking the Belga, and chafing them manie miles, flewe a great number of them: And while the rerewarde staied, and valiantlie received the charge of the Romaines, the vantguarde being out of danger, and under no government,

COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

assome as they heard the alarum behind them, brake out of their rankes and betooke them (elues to flight; and so the Romaines sleve them as long as the sunne gaue them light to pursue them; and then sounding a retrait, they returned to their campe.

OBSERVATION.

Thath beene an olderule amongst foldiours, that a great and negligent errour committed by an enemy, is to be suspected as a pretence gent errour communed by an elemina a Legate in the Romaine armie, to trecherie. We reade of Fulluius a Legate in the Romaine armie, lying in Tulcanie, the Conful being gon to Rome to performe some publike dutie: the Tuscanes tooke occasion by his absence to trie whether they could drawe the Romaines into any inconvenience; and placing an ambufcado neere vnto their campe, sent certaine soldiours, attired like shepheardes, with droues of cattell to passe in view of the Romaine army, who handled the matter fo, that they came euen to the rampier of the campe; whereat the Legate wondering as at a thing void of reason, kept himselfe quiet vntill he had discouered their treacherie, and so made frustrate their intent: In like maner Cæsar nor persuaded that men should bee so heedles, to carry a retrait in that disorderly and turnultuous maner, would not discampe his men to take the oportunity of that aduantage, vntill he had found that to be true, which in all reason was vnlikely. And thus 296000. Belgæ were chased and flaughtered by three legions of the Romaines, for want of gouernment and order in their departure.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar followeth after the Belgæinto the Countrey of the Suessones; and there besie-geth * Nouiodunum.



HE next day after their departure, before they could recouer the-(elues of their feare and flight; or had time to put the selues againe in breath: Cafur as it were continuing still the chafe and victorie, led his armie into the countrey of the *Suessones, the next borderers unto the men of Rheimes: and after a long tourney came unto Nouiodunum, a towne of good importance, which he attempted to

take by surprise, as he passed along by it. For he under stoode, that it was altogether unfurnished of defensive provision, having no forces within to defende it : but in regard of the breadth of the ditch and heigth of the wall, he was for that time disappointed of his purpose: and therefore having fortified his campe, hee began to make preparation for a siege. The night following the whole muleitude of the Suessones, that had escaped by flight, were received into the towne: howbest when the Vinea were with great expedition brought unto the wall, the mount raised, and the turrets built ; the Galles being amazed at the highnes of the workes, such as they had * Noyon:

Cefar.

* Soy fons.

neuer seene nor heard of before, and the speede which was made in the dispatch thereof, fent ambassadours to Casar, to treate of giving up the towne, and by the mediation of the men of Rheimes obtained their suite.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

N this relation we may observe the industrious art, which the Romans vield in assaulting, and taking holdes and towness wherein we find three fortes of engines described, Vinca, Agger, and Turres.

Vinea is thus described by Vegetius: A little strong built house or houell, made of light wood, that it might be removed with greatest ease; the roofe was Supported with divers pillars of a foote square, wherof the formost were 8 foot high, and the hindmost 6; and betweene euerie one of these pillars, there was 5 foot distance: it was alwaies made with a double roofe; the first or lower roofe was of thicke plankes, and the vpper roofe of hurdles, to breake the force of a waight, without further shaking or disloyning the building: the sides were likewise walled with hurdles, the better to defend the soldiers that vvere under it: the vyhole length was about 16 foot, and the breadth 7: the vpper roofe was commonly couered with greene or raw hides, to keepe it from burning. Many of these houels were joined together in ranke, when they went about to undermine a vval: the higher end was put next vnto the wal, that all the waights which vvere throwen vpon it might eafily tumble down, without any great hurs to the engine: the four fides and groundfils, had in every corner a wheele, & by them

they were drien to any place as occasion ferued: the chiefest wse of them was to couer and defend the fouldiers, as they undermined or ouerthrew a yval. This engine was called Vinea, which fignifieth a vine, for it shekered such as were vnder the roofe thereof, as a vine couereth the place where it groweth.

Agger, which we call a mount, is described in divers histories to be a hil or eleuation made of earth and other substance, which by little and little was raised forward, until it approched neare unto the place, against which it was built; that vpon this mount they might erect fortreffes and turrets, and fo fight with an aduantage of height. The matter of this mount, was earth and stones, fagots, and timber. Iosephus saith, that at the siege of Ierusalem, the Romans cut downe al the trees within 11 mile compasse, for matter and stuffe to make a mount. The fides of this Agger vvere of timber to keepe in the loose matter; the forepart which was towards the place of seruice, was open without any timber worke: for on that part they stil raised it & brought it nearer the wals. That which was built at Maffilia was 80 foothigh, and that at Auaricum 80 foot high and 30 foote broad. Iosephus and Egesippus writ, that there was a fortresse in Iudea, 300 cubites high, which Sulla purpofing to vvin by affault, raifed a mount 200 cubites high; and vpon it, he built a castle of stone 50 cubites high, and 50 cubites broad; and vpon the faid castell he erected a turret of 60 cubites in hight, and so took the fortresse. The Romans oftentimes raised these mounts in the mouth of a hauen, and commonly to ouer-toppe a towne, that so they might fight with much aduantage.

Amongst

COMMENTARIES, LIB. 11.

Amongst other engines, in vie amongst the Romans, their moueable Turrets were verie famous; for they were built in some fafe place out of danger, and Turrets de: with wheeles put vnder them, were driven to the walles of the towne Thele Tur- feribed. rets were of two fortes, either great or little: the leffer fort are delcribed, by Vitrunius, to be 60 cubites high; and the square side 17 cubites; the breadth at the top was a fift part, of the breadth at the base; and so they stood sure without any danger of failing: the corner pillars were at the base,9 inches square; & 6 inches at the top: there were commonly 10 stories in these little turrets, & windowes in euerie storie. The greater fort of towers were 120 cubites high, and the square fide was 24 cubites, the breadth at the top was a fift part of the base; and in enerie one of these were commonly 200 stories. There was not one and the same

diffance kept betweene the stories, for the lowest commonly was 7 cubites, and 12 inches high: the highest storie 5 cubites, and the rest 4 cubites, and a third. In cuerie one of these stories, were souldiers and engines, ladders, and casting bridges, by which they got upon the wall and entered the towne. The forepart of these Turrets were couered with yron, and wet couerings, to saue them from fire. The fouldiers that remoued the tower to and fro, were alwaies within the fquare thereof, and so they stood out of danger. The new water-worke by broken Wharfe in London much refembleth one of these towers.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Pon the building of these mightie engines, it was no maruell if the Suesson submitted themselves to such powerfull industrie. For whatsoever is strange and vnusuall, doth much aftrighte the spirits of an enemie, and breede a motion of distrust and diffidencie, when as they finde themselues ignorant of such warlike practises: for noueltie alwaies breedeth wonder, in as much as the true reasons and causes being vnknowen, we apprehend it, as divers from the vivall course of thinges, and so stand gazing at the strangenesse thereof: and wonder as it addeth worth to the noueltie; so it inferreth diffidencie, and so consequently seare, the vtter enemie of martiall valour.

CHAP. VIII.

Casar carieth his Armie to the Territories of the

Bellouaci, Ambiani and the Neruy.



AES AR taking for pledges the chiefest of their cittie, upon the deliverie of all their Armes, received the Suesones to mercie: and from thence led his Armie against the Bellouaci; who having conuaied both themselues and their goods into the towne, called Bratif- mercie. pantium, and understanding that Casar was come within five mile of the place, all the elder fort came foorth to meete him, fignifying

Cafar.

The Belloua i taken to

* Lib. 4. · A vinea o

vine descris

Agger or

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS their submission, by their lamentable demeanour. For these Diutiacus became a mediator (who after the Belga had broken up their campe, had dismissed his Heduan forces and was returned to Cafar) the Hedui (faith he) have alwaies found in the Bellouaci, a faithfull and friendly disposition to their state: and if they had not beene betraied by their nobilitie (who made them beleeve, that the Hedui were brought in bondage by the Romaines, and suffered all villance and despish at their handes,) they had neuer withdrawne themselues from the Hedui, nor consented to conspire against the Romaines. The authors of this counsel, perceiving into what great mi-serie they had brought their countrey, were sted into Britanie: wherfore not onelie the Bellouaci, but the Hedui also in their behalfe besought him to vse his clemencie towardes them. Cafar in regarde of the Hedui and Divitiacus promised to receive them to mercie; but for a smuch as the state was verie great and populous, hee demanded 6 00 hostages: Which being delivered, and their armour brought out of the

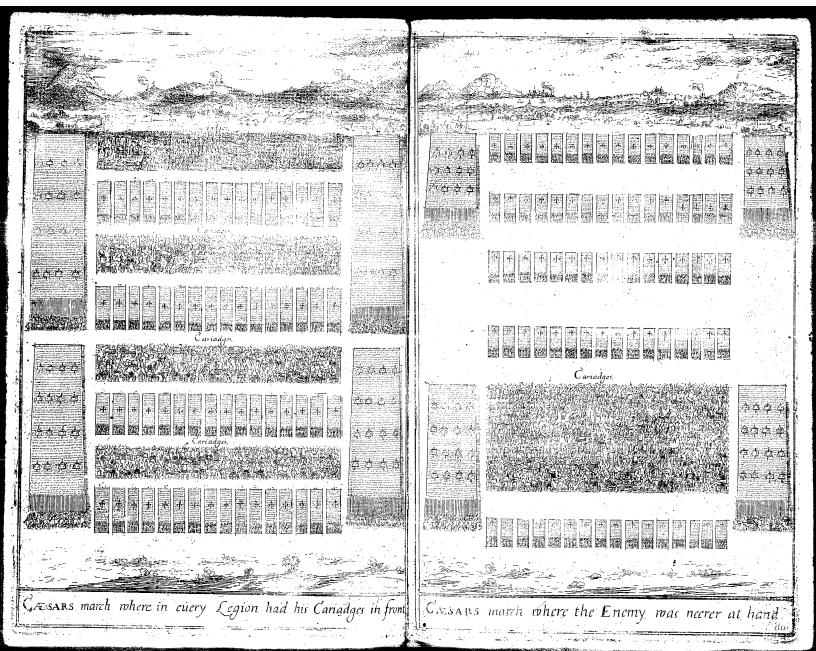
The Ambia ni yeeld vp themselnes.

towne, he marched from thence into the coast of the Ambiani, who without further lingering, gave both themselves and althat they had into his power. From these bordered the Neruy, of whom Cafar found this much by inquirie, that there was no recourse of marchants wnto them neither did they suffer any wine, or what thing else might tende to riot, to bee brought into their countrey: for they were persuaded that by such thinges their courage was much abated, and their wertue weakened. Further he learned that these Neruj were a sauage people, and of great va-lour, often accusing the rest of the Belga, for yeelding their neckes to the Romaine yoake openly affirming, that they would neither fende ambassadors nor take peace upon any condition.

The Neruy. *Săbre neere Namours.

Cafar having marched three daies journey in their countrey she under flood that the river * Sabis was not past ten miles from his campe, and that on the further side of this river, all the Nervij were affembled together, and there attended the comming of the Romaines: with them were ioined the Attrebaty, and Veromandui, whom they had persuaded to abide the same fortune of warre with them . Besides, they expected a power from the A duatici; the women and such as were vnmeete for the fielde, they bestowed in a place unaccessible for any armie, by reason of fens and bogs, and marishes. Vpon this intelligence, Casar sent his discouerers and Cen-

turions before, to choose out a fit place to incampe in. Now whereas many of the furrendred Belga, and other Galles were continuallie in the Romaine army, certaine of the se (as it was afterward known by the captives) obseruing the order which the Romaines wied in marching, came by night to the Neruij and tolde them, that betweene euerie legion went a great fort of cariages; and that it was no matter of difficultie, assoone as the first legion was come into the campe, and the other legions yet a great way off, to fet upon them, upon a suddaine. before they were disburdened of their cariages, and so to ouerthrowe them: which legion being thus cut off, and their stuffe taken, the rest would have smal courage to stande against them. It much furthered this advice that, for a smuch as the Noruii were not able to make any power of horse, that they might the better resist the cauals rie of their borderers, when soeuer they made any roade into their marches; their manner was to cut yong trees halfe afunder, & bowing the tops down to the ground, plashed the boughes in breadth, and with thornes and briers planted between them, they made them so thicke, that it was impossible to see through them, so hardit was to enter or paffe through them; fo that, whenby this occasion, the paffage of the Romaine army must needes be hindred, the Neruy thought the foresaid counsell not to be neglected.



The place which the Romaines chose to incampe in was a hill, of like levell from the top to the bottome, at the foot whereof ranthe river Sabis: and with the like lewell, on the other side, rose an other hill directly against this, to the quantity of 200. paces; the bottom whereof was plaine and open, and the upper part so thicke with wood that it could not easilie be looked into: within these woods the Neruians kept themselues close and in the open grounde, by the river side were onely seene a fewe troupes of horse, and the river in that place was about 3 foot deepe,

Cafar fending his horfemen before, followed after with all his power; but the maner of his march differed from the report which was brought to the Nevuti for inasmuch as the enemy was at hand, Casar (as his custom was) led 6 legions alwairs in areadines, without burthenor carrage of anything; but their armes after them hee placed the impediments of the whole army . And the two legions which were last inrolled were a rereward to the army and garded the stuffe.

OBSERVATIONS.

His trecherous practife of the furrendred Belgæ, hath fortunatelie

discourred the maner of Cæsars march; as well in safe passages; as in dangerous and suspected places: which is a point of no smal con- the Romaine fequence in martiall discipline, being subject to so many inconveni-march. ences, and capable of the greatest arte that may be shewed in managing a war. Concerning the discreet carriage of a march, by this circumstance it may bee The two re-

gathered, that Cæfar principally respected safetie: and secondly contieniency. If the place affoorded a feeure paffage, and gaue no fuspicion of holtilitie, hee ordering a was content in regarde of conueniency, to fuffer enery legion to have the ouerfight of their particular caviages, and to infert their among the troupes, that ever safety. uery man might haue at hand fuch necessaries as were requisite, either for their 2 Conuenies. prinate vie or publike discipline. Bur if he were in danger of any fortain attempt,

or flood in hazard to be impeached by an enemy, hee then omitted convenient disposition, in regard of particular vse, as disaduantageous to their lafety. & caried his legions in that readines, that if they chanced to be ingaged by an enemy, they might without any alteration of their march, or incumbrance of their cariages receive the charge, in that forme of battell, as was best appropued by their military rules, & the ancient practite of their fortunate progenitors, in in our

The old Romains observed likewise the same respects for investigate & suppose ted places, they caried their troupes agmine quadrato, which as Linie leeinedirio note, was free from all carriage and impediments, which might hinder them in any sodaine alarum. Neither doth that of * Hirrius any way cortadict this anter Lib. & debel pretation, where he faith, that Casar for disposed his troupes against the Bellona | Gall. ci, that 3 legions marched in front, & after them came althe carriages ito which

the 10. legion ferued as a rereward; & fo they marched; pene aomine quadraro? *Seneca in like maner noteth the fafety of agmen quadratu, where he faith, that where an enemie is expected, wee ought to march agmine quadrato, readie to fight. The most material consequence of these places alleadged is, that as ofte as they suspected anie onset or charge, their order in a march little or nothing

differed from their vivall maner of imbattailing, and therefore it was called agmen quadratum, or a square march, inastruch as it kept the same disposition of parts, as were observed in quadrata Acie. For that triple forme of imbattailing which the Romaines generally observed in their fights, having respect to the difrances between each battel, contained almost an equal dimension of front and file : and so it made Aciem quadratam; and when it marched, Agmen quadratum.

Polybius expresseth the same in effect, as often as the place required circumspection; but altereth it somewhat in regard of the cariages: for he faith that in time of danger, especially where the countrey was plaine and Chapion, and gaue space & free scope to cleere themselues, upon anie accident, the Romains marched in a triple battel, of equal difface one behind an other, enery battel having his feueral cariages in front: And if they were by chance attacked by an enemy, they turned themselues according to the oportunity of the place, either to the right or left hande, and so placing their cariages on the one side of their army, they stood imbattailed ready to receive the charge.

Agmenlongü

Lib. 6.

The contrary forme of marching, where the place afforded more fecurity, & gaue scope to conueniency, they named agmen longum; when almost enery maniple or order had their feueral cariages aftending vpon them, & stroue to keep that way which they found most easie, both for theselues & their impediments. Which order of a march, as it was more commodius then the former, in regard of particularity, so was it vnsafe and dangerous, where the enemy was expected: And therfore Cæfar much blamed Sabinus and Cotta, for marching, when they were deluded by Ambiorix, longifsimo agmine; as though they had received their advertisements from a friend, and not from an enemy.

Lib.s. de bel. Gallico. Theveethat may be made of this in our

And albeit our moderne wars are far different, in quality, fro them of ancient times; yet in this point of discipline, they cannot have a more perfect direction, then that which the Romaines observed, as the two poles of their motions, safery and congeniency; whereof the first dependent chiefely you the prouident moderne wars disposition of the leaders; and the other wil easily follow on, as the commodity of eueric particular shal give occasion.

Concerning safety in place of danger, what better course can bee taken then that maner of imbattailing, which shall be thought most convenient, if an enemy were present to confront them? for a well ordered march must either carie the perfect forme of a battell, or containe the distinct principles and elements thereof, that with little alteration it may receive that perfection of strength, which the fittest disposition can affoord it. First therefore, a prudent and circumspect leader, that desireth to frame a strong and orderly march, is diligentlie to observe the nature and vse of each weapon in his army, howe they may be placed for greatest vse and advantage, both in respect of their different and concurring qualities, as also in regard of the place wherein they are managed: and this knowledge will consequentlie inferre the best and exactest disposition of imbattailing; as the faid forces are capable of; which if it may be observed in a march, is no way to be altered. But if this exactnes of imbattailing wil not admit convenient carriage of fuch necessarie adjuncts, as pertaine to an armie; the inconvenience is to bee relieved, with as little alteration from that rule, as in a warie judgment shall be found expedient: that albeit the forme be somewhat changed; yet the principles and ground wherein their strength and safetie confifteth, maie still be retained.

Neither can any man well descend to more particular precepts in this point: he may exemplifie the practifes of manie great and experienced commanders; what fort of weapon marched in front, and what in the rereward, in what part of the Armie the Munition marched, and where the rest of the carriage was beflowed, according as their feuerall judgments thought most expedient, in the particular nature of their occurrences. But the issue of all will fall out thus; that he that observed this rule before prescribed, did seldome miscarrie through an vnsafe march. Let a good Martialist well know their proper vse in that diversity of weapons in his Armie; how they are feruiceable or difaduantageous, in this or that place, against such or such an enemie: and he will speedily order his battell, dispose of his march, and bestow his cariages, as shall best fall our both for his fafetie, and conveniencie.

Cæfars custome was, to fend his Caualrie and light armed footmen, before the body of his Armie, both to discouer and impeach an enemie; for these troupes were nimble in motion and fit for fuch feruices: but if the danger were greater in the rereward then in the front, the horsemen marched in the tayle of the Armie, and gaue securitie where there was most cause of feare. But if it happened that they were found vnfit to make good the feruice in that place, as oftentimes it fell out, and especially in Africa against the Numidians: he then remoued them, as he best found it convenient, and brought his legionarie souldiers, which were the finewes and strength of his forces, and marched continually in the bulke of the Armie, to make good that which his horsemen could not performe. And thus he altered the antique prescription, and vniformitie of cuftome, according as he found himselfe best able to disaduantage an enemie, or make waie to victorie.

CHAP. IX.

The Romans begin to fortifie their campe: but are interrupted by the N eruij. Cæfar maketh hafte, to prepare his forces to battell.



HE Roman horsemen, with the slingers and archers, passed ouer the river, and incountered the Caualrie of the enemie : who at first retired backe to their companies in the wood, and from thence sallied out againe upon them : but the Romans durst not pursue them further then the plaine and open ground : in the meane time the fixe legions that were in front, having their worke measured out vnto them, began to fortifie their campe.

But affoone as the Neruit perceived their former carriages to be come in fight, which

Cafar.

was the time appointed among st them to give the charge, as they stood imbattailed within the thicket, so they rushed out with all their forces, and affaulted the Roman horsemen: which being easily beaten backe, the Neruy ranne downe to the river. with fuch an incredible friftnesse, that they feemed at the same instant of time to bee in the woods at the river, and charging the legions on the other fide: For with the Same violence, having passed the river, they ranne up the hill to the Roman campe, where the souldiers were busied in their intrenchment. Cafar had all partes to place at one instant, the flagge to be hung out, by which they gave the fouldiers warning to take armes, the battell to be proclaimed by found of trumpet, the fouldiers to be recalled from their worke, and such as were gone farre off to get turfe and matter for the rampier, to bee fent for , the battell to be ordered, his men to be incouraged, and the sione of battell to beginen: the most of which were cut off by shortnesse of time, and the sudden assault of the enemie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The descripti on of the Ro: man campe. with all the parts belone ging unto i

S the Romans excelled all other nations in many good customes; so especially in their campe-discipline, they strong to be singular; for it feemed rather an Academie, or a citie of ciuill gouernment, then a campe of fouldiers: fo carefull were they both for the fafetie, and skilfull experience of their men at armes. For touching the first, they neuer suffered their fouldiers to lodge one night without a campe; wherein they were inclosed with ditch and a rampier, as in a walled towne: neither was it any newe inuention or late found out cuftome in their state, but in vie amongst the auncient Romans, and in the time of their kinges; their manner of incamping was included within these circumstances.

The Centurions, that went before to choose out a convenient place, having The Century found a fit fituation for their campe, first assigned the standing for the Empe-

ons made choise of the place.

The Prato rium.

rours pauillion, which was commonly in the most eminent place of the campe; from whence he might eafily onerview all the other partes, or any alarum or fignum pugna, might from thence be discouered to all quarters. This pauillion was knowne by the name of Pratorium, for as much as amongst the auncient Romans the Generall of their Armie was called Prætor: in this place where the Pratorium was to be erected, they stucke vp a white ensigne, and from it they measured euerie waie 100 foote, and so they made a square containing 200 foot in euerie fide, the Area, or content whereof, was almost an acre of ground : the forme of the Pratorium was round and high, being as eminent among the other tentes, as a temple is amongst the private buildings of a cittie: and therefore Iosephus compareth irto a church. In this Pratorium was their Tribunal or chaire of the effare, and the place of divination, which they called Augurale, with other appendices of majestie and authoritie.

The lodging of the legions

The Generals tent being thus placed, they confidered which fide of the pauillion laie most commodious for forrage and water, and on that fide they lodged the logions, every legion deuided one from another by aftreet or lane of 50 COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

foote in breadth; and according to the degree of honour, that everielegion had in the Armie, fowere they lodged in the campe, either in the midst which was counted most honourable, or towardes the sides, which was of meaner reputation. And againe, according to the place of euerie cohort in his legion, for was it lodged nearer the pauillion of the Emperour, towardes the harte of the campe; and so consequently energy maniple tooke place in the cohort, diffinguifhing their preheminence, by lodging them either toward the middle or to

the outlideward; according as they diftinguished the place of their legions; there went a streete of fiftie in breadth ouerthwart the middest of all the legions, which was called Quintana; for that it denided the fift cohort of enery le- Quintana. gion from the fixt.

Betweene the tentes of the first maniples in everie legion and the Pratorium, there went a waie of 100 foote in breadth throughout the whole campe; which was called Principia; in this place the Tribunes fate to heare matters of inftice; Principia, the fouldiers exercised themselves at their weapons, and the leaders and chiefe commanders frequented it as a publike place of meeting; and it was helde for a

reuerent and facred place, and so kept with a correspondent decencie. On either fide the Emperours pauilhon, in a direct line to make even & straight the upper fide of the Principia, the Tribunes had their tentes pitched, eueric Tribune The tentes of confronting the head of the legion whereof he was Tribune: about them, to- the Tribunes. wardes the head of the campe, were the Legates and Treasurer: the vpper part

of the campe was strengthened with some select cohorts and troupes of horse, according to the number of legions that were in the Armie. Polybius describing the manner of incamping which the Romans vsed in his

time, when as they had commonly but two legions in their Armie, with as manie affociates, placeth the Ablecti and extraordinari, which were felect bandes

and companies, in the vpper part of the campe; and the affociates on the outfides of the legions.

The ditch and the rampier, that compaffed the whole campe about, was 200 foote distant from any tent: vvhereof Polybius gineth-these reasons; first, that the fouldiers matching into the campe in battell array, might there diffolue themselues into maniples, centuries, and decuries, without tumult or confusion: for order was the thing which they principally respected, as the life and strength of their martiall body. And againe, if occasion were offered to fallie out vpon an enemie, they might verie conveniently in that spatious roome, put themselves into companies and troupes: and if they were affaulted in the night, the dartes and fire vvorkes, which the enemie should cast into their campe, would little indammage them, by reason of the distance betweene the rampier and the tentes.

Their tentes were all of skinnes and hides, helde vp with props, and fastened with ropes: there were 11 fouldiers, as Vegetius faith, in euerie tent, and that focietie was called Contubernium, of whom the chiefest was named Decanus, Contubernium or Caput Contubernii.

The dirch and the rampier were made by the legions, euerie maniple having his part measured out, and euerie Centurion overfeeing his Centurie; the approbation

The ditch and the rampier.

The space be-

rampier.

had their armory, hospital, & other publike houses. These caps have bin the beginning of many famous towns, especially whe they continued long in a place, as oftentimes they did vpon the banks of Euphrates, Danow, & the Rhene. The

Agger.

Val!um.

porta,

mana.

cipales.

Leua.

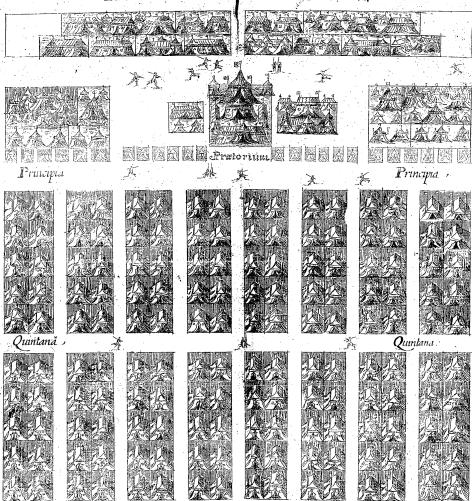
Castra

Aestina.

Hiberna.

Dextra.

Porta Pratoria THE ROMAINE CAMPE



order which they alwaies observed in laying out their camp, was so vniforme, & well knowne to the Romaines, that when the Centurions had limited our energy parte, and marked it with different enfignes and colours, the foldiours entered into it, as into a knowne and familiar Citie: wherein eueric focietie or finall contubernie, knewe the place of his lodging and which is more, every particular man coulde assigne the proper station of euerie companie; throughour the whole armie.

The vie and commodity of this incamping, I briefely touched in my first Thecomme: booke: But if I were worthic any way to commend the excellency thereof to dity of this our moderne foldiours, or able by perfuation to restablish the vie of incam-incamping. ping in our warres; I woulde spare no paines to archieue so great a good, and vaunt more in the conquest of negligence, then if my sense had compassed a new found out meanes; and yet reason would deeme it a matter of small difficultie, to gaine a point of fuch worth, in the opinion of our men, especiallie when my discourse shall present security to our forces, and honour to our leaders, maiestie to our armies, and terrour to our enmies, wonderment to strangers, and victorie to our nation. But floth hath fuch interest in this age, that it commendeth vaine glory and foole-hardinesse, contempt of vertue, and derifion of good discipline, to repugne the dessignes of honour, and so far to ouermaister reason, that it suffereth not former harmes to beare wirnesse against errour, nor correct the ill atchieuements of ill directions: and therefore ceasing to vrge this pointe anie further, I wil leave it to the careful respect of the wise.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He fury of the enemy, and their fodaine affault, fo diffurbed the ceremonies which the Romaine discipline obserued, to make the sol-

diours trille apprehend the waight and importance of that action, they which which might cast vppon their state either soueraignty or bondage; their prepara that they were all for the most part omitted; notwithstanding they are here no tion to battel.

ted vnder these titles, the first was vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne cum ad Arma concurri oporteret: for when the Generall had determined to fight, hee caused a skarlet coate or red flag to bee hung out vpon the top of his tent, that by it the foldiours might be warned, to prepare themselves for the battell; and this was the first warning they had, which by a filent aspect presented bloud and execution to their eyes, as the onlie meanes to worke out their owne fafetie, and purchase eternall honour. The second was Signum tuba dandum; this warning was a noise of manie trumpets, which they; tearmed by the name of slasscum a calando, which fignifieth calling: for after the eie was filled with species furable to the matter intended; they then hasted to possesse the eare, and by the fense of hearing to stir vp warlike motions, and fil them with resolute thoughts, that no diffident or base conceites might take hold of their mindes. The third was, milites cohortandi, for it was thought conuenient to confirme this valour, with motiues of reason, which is the strength and perfection of al such motions.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CESARS they fe and benefit whereof Liomewhat inlarged in the Heluctian warre, and could affoord much more labour to demonstrate the commoditie of this part, fry fpeech might carrie creditin the opinion of our fouldiers, on bethought wouthie regard to men for much addicted to their owne fallations. The last was figurem dandam, which, as formethinke, was nothing bur a word, by which they might diftinguish and know themselves from their enemies . Hirtins in the war of Afrike faith, that Cæfar gaue the word Felicitie; Brutus and Caffins gaue Libertie; others haue ginen Virtus, Deus nobifium, Triumphus Imperatoris, and fuch like wordes as might be ominous rotat good furcesse: Besides these particularities, the manner of their delinerie gavela great grace to the matter. And that was diffinguished by times, and cues: whereof Castar now complaineth; charall these were to be done at one instantiof time: for without all controuersie, there is no matter of fuch confequence in it felfe, but may bee much graced with ceremonies and complements; which like officers or attendants ad much respect and maiestie to the action; which otherwise being but barely presented, appeareth farre meaner and of leffe regards:

CHAP. X.

The battell betweene Cafar and the Neruij.

Cafar.

N these difficulties, two things were a help to the Romans; the one was, the knowledge and experience of the souldiers: for by reason of their practise in former battels, they could as well prescribe winto themselves, what was to be done, as any other commander could teach them . The other was, that not with-flanding Cafar had given commandement to everie Legate, 10 Town on to lease the worke or for sake the legions, untill the fortifi-

cations were perfited; yet when they same extremitie of danger, they attended no countermaund from Cafar: but ordered all thinges as it feemed best to their owne discretion . Casar having commanded such thinges as he thought necessarie, ranne hastelle to incourage his souldiers, and by fortune came to the tenth legion, where he vifed no further speech, then that they should remember their ancient valous, and vali-And there antly with fand the brunt of their enemies . And for as much as the enemie was no fore I rather further off, then a weapon might be cast to incounter them, he gave them the signe of take it to bee battell and hastening from thence to another quarter, he found them alneadie closed and at the incounter. For the time was fo short and the enemie so violent, that they wanted leafure to put on their headpieces, or to uncase their targets: and what part they lighted into from their worke, or what enfigne they first met withall, there they stated 3 least in feeking out their owne companies, they should loose that time as was to be spent in fighting. The Armic being imbattailed rather according to the nature of the place, the declinitie of the hill, and the breuitie of time, then according to the rules

Comething els then aword.

of art; as the legions incountered the enemie in divers places at once, the perfect view of the battell being hindered by those thicke hedges before spoken of there could no fuccors be placed any where; neither could any man fee what was needful to be done: therfore in so great uncertainty of things, there happened divers casualties of fortune.

The foldiers of the ninth and tenth legion, as they stood in the left part of the Army casting their piles with the advantage of the hil did drive the Attrebaty, breathles with running & wounded in the incounter, down into the river; as they paffed ouer the water, flew many of them with their swordes: Neither did they sticke to follow after them over the river, and adventure into a place of disadvantage, where the battell being renewed againe by the enemie, they put them to flight the fecond time. In like maner two other legions, the II and the 8, having put the Veromandui from the upper ground, fought with them upon the bankes of the river; and so the front on the left part of the campe was well neere left naked. For in the right cornet were the 12 and the 7 legions, where as all the Neruy, under the conduct of Boduognatus, were heaped together; and some of them began to assault the legions on the open side; and other some to possesse themselves of the highest part of the campe.

At the same time the Roman horsemen, and the light armed footmen that were intermingled among st them, and were at first all put to slight by the enemie, as they were entering into the campe, met with their enemies in the face, and so were drinen to flie out another way. In like manner, the pages and souldiers boies, that from the Decumane port and toppe of the hill, had seene the tenth legion follow their enemies in pursuit over the river, and were gone out to gather pillage, when they looked behind them, and faw the enemie in their campe; betooke them to their heeles as fast as they could . Which accident so terrified the horsemen of the Treuri (who for their prowesse were reputed singular among st the Galles, and were sent thither by their state, to aide the Romans) first when they perceived the Roman campe to be possess; by a great multitude of the enemie, the legions to be overcharged and almost inclosed about, the horsemen, slingers, and Numidians to be dispersed and fled, that without anie further expectation they tooke their waie homeward, and reported to their state, that the Romans were otterly overthrowen.

Cafar departing from the tenth legion, to the right cornet, found his men exceedingly overcharged, the enfignes crowded together into one place, and the fouldiers of the 12 legion so thicke thronged on a heape, that they hindered one another; all the Centurions of the fourth cohort being staine, the ensigne bearer kild and the ensigne taken, and the Centurions of the other cohorts either slaine, or sore wounded among st whom Pub. Sextus Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, a valiant man, so grieuously wounded that he could scarce stand upon his feete; the rest not verie forward, but many of the hindmost turning taile and for saking the field; the enemie on the other side, giving no respite in front, although he fought against the hill, nor yet sparing the open side, and the matter brought to a narrow issue, without any meanes or succour, to relieue them: he tooke a target from one of the hindmost souldiers (for he himselfe was come thither without one) and pressing to the front of the battell, called the Centurions by name, and incouraging the rest, commanded the ensignes to be advanced toward the enemie, and the Maniples to be inlarged, that they might with greater facilitie and readinesse vse their swordes.

Μi.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Theplace and office of a primipile. His Publius Sextus Baculus was the chiefeft Centurion of the 12 legion, being the first Centurion of that Maniple of the Triatij, that was of the first Colort in that legion; for that place was the greatest dignitie that could happen to a Centurion; and therefore he was called by the name of Centurio primipili, or simplie Primipilus, and sometimes Primopilus, or Primus Centurio. By him were commonly published, the mandates and edicts of the Emperour, and Tribunes: and therefore the rest of the Centurions, at all times had an eie vnto him; and the rather for that the eagle, which was the peculiar ensigne of euerie legion, was committed to his charge and carried in his Maniple. Neither was this dignitie, without speciall commoditie, as may be gathered out of diuers authors. We reade sursher, that it was no disparagement for a Tribune, after his Tribunality was expired, to be a Primipile in a legion; notwithstanding, there was a law made, I know not yoon what occasion, that no Tribune should afterward be Primipile. But let this suffice concerning the office and title of P.S. Baculus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Target described.

Nd heere I may not omit to giue the Target any honour I may, and therefore I will take occasion to describe it in Cæsars hand, as in the place of greatest dignitie, and much honouring the excellencie therof. Polybius maketh the Target to containe two foot and an halfe in breadth, ouerthwart the connex furface thereof; and the length foure foote, of what forme or fashion seener they were of: for the Romans had two sortes of Targets amongst their legionarie, the first caried the proportion of that figure, which the Geometricians call Quall, a figure of an vnequall latitude, broadeft in the midst, and narrow at both the endes, like vnto an egge, described in Plano: the other forte was of an equall latitude, and refembled the fashion of a guttertile; and thereupon was called Scutum imbricatum. The matter whereof a target was made, was a double board, one fastened vpon another, with lint and Buls glew; and couered with an Oxe hide, or some other stiffe leather; the vpper and lower part of the target were bound about with a plate of yron, to keepe it from cleaning; and in the middest there was a bosse of yron or brasse, which they called Vmbo. Romulus brought them in first amongst the Romans, taking the vse of them from the Sabines. The wood whereof they were made, was for the most part either fallow, alder, or figuree: whereof Plinie giueth this reason, for as much as these trees are colde and waterish, and therefore any blow or thrust that was made vpon the wood, was prefently contracted and thut vp againe. But for as much as the Target was of fuch reputation amongst the Roman Armes, and challenged such interest in the greatest of their Empire, let vs enter a little into

the confideration of the vie and commoditie thereof; which cannot be better vnderstood, then by that conference, which Polybius hath made betweene the weapons of the Romans and the Macedonians: and therefore I haue thought it good to insert it in these discourses. And thus it followeth.

Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian Weapons.

Promifed in my fixt book that I would make a comparison, between the weapons of the Romans, and Macedonians. And that I would likewife write of the disposition of either of their atmies; how they do differ one from another: & in what regard, the one, or the other, were either inferiour, or superiour: which promite I wil now with diligence endenour to performe. And for as much as the armies of the Macedonians haue given fo good testimonies of themselues by their actions, by ouercomming the armies as wel of those of Asia, as of Greece; and that the battailes of the Romans have conquered, as well those of Africa as all the Easterne countries of Europe: It shall not be amisse, but very profitable, to search out the difference of either; especially feeing that these our times have not once, but many times seene triall, both of their battailes and forces; that knowing the reason why, the Romans do ouercome, and in their battailes carie awaie the better: we doe not as vaine men were wont to do, attribute the fame to fortune, and efteeme them without reason happy victors; but rather looking into the true causes, we give them their due praises, according to the direction of reason, and sound judgment . Concerning the battels betweene Hanniball and the Romans; and concerning the Romans their losses, there is no neede that I speake much. For their losses are neither to be imputed to the defect of their Armes, or disposition of their Armies; but to the dexteritie and industrie of Hanniball: but wee haue entreated therof when we made mention of the battels themselves, and the end it selfe of that warre doth especiallie confirme this our opinion. For when they had gotten a captaine equall with Hanniball, einen consequentlie with all his victories vanished. And hee had no sooner ouercome the Romans, but by and by, rejecting his owne weapons, hee trained his Armie to their weapons, and so taking them up in the beginning, he continued them on vnto the ende.

And Pyrrhus in his war againft the Romans, did vie. both their weapons and order, and made as it were a medlie both of the cohort, and phalanx: bir not-withftanding it ferued him not to get the victory; but alwaies the enent by fome meanes or other, made the fame doubtfull: concerning whom it were not vnfit, that I should fair fomething, least in being altogether filent, it might seeme to prejudice this mine opinion. But notwithstanding I will hasten to my purposed comparison.

Now touching the phalanx, if it have the difposition, and forces proper to it,
M ii. nothing

Lib,16. c.40

nothing is able to oppose it selfe against it, or to sustaine the violence thereof. as maie eafily by many documents be approued. For when an armed man doth ftand firme in the space of three foote in so thicke an array of battell, and the length of their pikes being according to the first basis, or scantling sixteene foote; but according to the true and right conueniencie of them, 14 cubits, out of which are taken foure allowed for the space betweene the left hand, which supporteth the same, and the butte ende thereof, whiles he standes in a readinesse to attend the incounter: being thus ordered, I saie, it is manifest that the length of tenne cubites doth extend it selfe before the bodie of euerie armed man, where with both his handes he doth advance it readie to charge the enemie: By vvhich meanes it followeth, that some of the pikes doe not onely extendthemselues before the second, third, and fourth ranke, but some before the formost, if the phalanx have his proper and due thicknesse, according to his naturall disposition, both on the sides and behinde, as Homer maketh mention when he faith, that one target doth enclose and fortifie another; one headpiece is joyned to another, that they maie stande vnited and close together.

These circumstances being rightly and truely set downe, it must follow, that the pikes of euerie former ranke in the phalanx, doe extend themselues two cubites before each other, which proportion of difference they have betweene themselues: by which maie evidently be seene the assault, and impression of the whole phalanx, what it is, and what force it hath, consisting of 16 rankes in depth, or thicknesse; the excesse of which number of rankes about five. For as much as they cannot commodiously couch their pikes, without the disturbance of the former, the points of them not being long inough to enlarge themselues beyond the formost rankes, they grow viterly unprostrable, and cannot man, by man, make any impression, or assault: but serve onely, by laying their pikes vyon the shoulders of those which stand before them, to sustaine and hold up the swaies and giving backe of the former rankes, which stand before them to this end, that the front may stand strme and sures and with the thickness of their pikes they doe repell all those dattes, which passing over the heads of those that stand before, would annoy those rankes which are more backward.

And farther by mouing forward, with the force of their bodies, they doe so presse vpon the former, that they doe make a most violent impression. For it is impossible that the formost rankes should give backe.

This therefore being the generall and particular disposition of the phalanx: we must now speake on the contrarie part, touching the properties and differences, as well of the armes, as of the whole disposition of the Roman battell. For euerie Roman soldier for himselfe, and his weapon is allowed three foot to stand in, and in the incounter, are moued man, by man, euery one couering himselfe with his target; and mutually mooning whensoeuer there is occasion offered. But those which we their swordes, do sight in a more thinne and distinct order; so that it is manifest, that they have three foote more allowed them to stand in both from shoulder to shoulder, and from backe to bellie, that they maie we their weapons with the better commoditie. And hence it commets to passe,

that one Romaine foldiour taketh vp as much ground, as two of those which are to encounter him of the Macedonian Phalanx: fo that one Romain is as it were to oppose himselfe against tenne pikes, which pikes the said one soldior can neither by any agilitic come to offende, or else at handy blowes otherwise annoy. And those which are behinde him, are not onely vnable to repell their force, but also with conveniencie to vie their owne weapons. Whereby it may easily be gathered, that it is impossible, that any bartaile being assulted, by the front of a phalanx, should be able to sustain the violence thereof, if it have his due and proper composition.

What then is the cause that the Romaines do ouercome, and that those that doe vie the phalanx are voyde of the hope of victorie? (Euen from hence) that the Romaine armies haue infinite commodities, both of places, and of times, to fight in. But the the phalanx hath only one time, one place, and one kinde, whereto it may profitablic applie it selfer. So that if it were of necessitie, that their enemy shoulde incounter them at that instant, especiallie with their whole forces, it were questionlesse not only, not without danger, but in alprobabilitie likelie, that the phalanx should euer cartie away the better. But it that may be auoided, which is easily done: shal not that disposition then, be ytterlie vuprostrable, and free from all terror? And it is farther euident, that the phalanx must necessarily haue plaine & champion places, without any hinderances, or impediments; as ditches, yneuen places, vallies, little hils and rivers: for al these may hinder & dissource it. And it is almost impossible to have a plaine of the ca-

pacity of 20. fladia, much leffe more, where there shall bee found none of these impediments. But suppose there bee sound such places, as are proper for the phalanx: If the enemy result to come wnto them, and in the meane time spoile, and sake the cities, and countrie round about; what commodity, or profit shal arise by an army so ordered? for if irremaine in such places, as hath been before spoken of, it can neither relieue their friends, nor presente themselves. For the Convoies which they expect from their friends, are easily cut off by the ene-

my, whiles they remaine in those open places.

And if it happen at any time, that they leaue them you any enterprife, they are then expoded to the enemy. But fuppole, that the Rottiaine army should find the phalanx in such places, yet would it not adulture it felse in grosse at one instant, but would by little & little retire it felse as doth plainly appeare by their visual practise. For there must not bee a conic chire of these things by my words only, but especially by that which they do. For they do not so equally frame their battaile, that they doe assault the enemy altogether, making as it were but one front: but part niake a stande, and parte thange the enemie; that it at any time the Phalanx doe presse them, that come to assault them and bee repelled; the force of their order is dissoluted. For whether they pussue those that retire, or slie from those that do assault them, these doe dissoyne themselines from part of their armie; shy which meanes there is a gap opened to their enemies, standing and attending their opportunitie: so that nowethey neede not anie more to charge them in the front, where the force of the phalanx consistent; but to assault where the breach is made, both behind, and vpon the sides. But if at any

M iij.

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time the Romaine armie may keepe his due proprietie, and difposition, the phalanx by the disaduantage of the place, being not able to doe the like doth it not then manifestlie demonstrate the difference to be great, betweene the goodnes of their disposition, and the disposition of the phalanx?

To this may bee added the necessities imposed uppon an army, which is to march through places of all natures, to encampe themselues, to possesse of aduantage, to be seege, and to be be seeged, and also contrary to expectation sometimes to come in viewe of the enemie: For all these occasions necessarilies accompanie an armie; and oftentimes are the especial causes of victory, to which the Macedonian phalanx is no way sit, or convenient: Forasimuch as neither in their generall order, nor in their particular disposition, without a convenient place, are able to essent any thing of moment: but the Romaine army is apt for all these purposes. For evertee soldiour amongst them, beeing once armed and ready to fight, refuseth no place, time, nor occasions keeping alwaies the same order, whether he sight togither with the whole body of the army, or particular-lie by himselse, man to man.

And hence it happenerh, that as the commodity of their disposition is aduantagious: so the end doth answere the expectation.

These things I thought to speake of at large, because many of the Grecians are of an opinion, that the Macedonians are not to bee ouercome. And againe, many wondered, how the Macedonian phalanx should bee put to the worst by the Romaine army, considering the nature of their weapons.

Thus far goeth Polibyus, in comparing the weapons and imbattailing of the Romaines, with the vie of armes amongst the Macedonians: wherein we fee the Pike trulic, and exactlie ordered, according as the wife Grecians could best proportion it with that forme of battell, which might give most advantage to the vie thereof: so that if our squadrons of Pikes iumpe not with the perfect manner of a phalanx, (as wee feethey doe not) they fall so much thorte of that strength, which the wisedome of the Grecians and the experience of other nations, imputed vnto it. But suppose wee could allow it that dispolition, in the course of our wars, which the nature of the weapon doth require; yet for a much as by the authority of Polybius, the faid maner of imbattailing is tied to fuch dangerous circumstances of one time, one place, and one kinde of fight: I hold it not to profitable a weapon, as the practife of our times doth feem to make it, especially in woody countries, such as Ireland is, where the vie is cut off by fuch inconveniences, as are noted to hinder the managing thereof. And doubtles, if our commanders did but confider of the incongruity of the Pike & Ireland, they would not proportion fo great a number of the in enery company, as there is for commonly halfethe company are pikes, which is as much to faie in the practile of our wars, that halfe the army hath neither offensive nor defenfine weapos, but only against a troupe of horse. For they seldom or never come to the pulh of pike, with the foot copanies, where they may charge & offende the enemy: & for defence, if the enemy think it not fafe to buckle with the at had, but maketh more aduantage to play vpon the a far off with shor; it affordeth smal safe ty to shake a long pike at them, and stand faire in the meane time, to entertaine

a volleie of thot with the body of their battailion. As I make no question, but the pike in some seruices is profitable, as behind a rampier, or at a breach; so I assure my selfe, there are weapons if they were put to triall, that would counterualle the pike euen in those seruices, wherein it is thought most profitable.

Concerning the Target, we see it take the hand, in the judgement of Polybius, of all other weapons whatfoeuer, aswell in regard of the diuers and fundrie fortes of imbattailing, as the qualitie of the place wherfoeuer: for their vie was as effectuall in small bodies and centuries, as in grosse troupes and great companies; in thinne and spacious imbattailing, as in thicke thronged Testudines. Neither could the nature of the place make them vnferuiceable; for whether it were plaine or couert; leuel or vnequall; narrow or large, if there were any commodity to fight, the Target was as necessarie to defend, as the sword to offend befides the conueniency, which accompanieth the Target in any necessitie imposed vpon an armie, whether it bee to march through places of all natures, to make a fait march, or a speedie retraite, to incampe themselves, to possesse places of aduantage, to beliege and to be belieged, as Polybius faith, with manie other occasions which necessarilie accompanie an armie. The vie of this weapon hath beene too much neglected in these latter ages, but may be happilie renued againe in our nation, if the industrie of such as haue laboured to prefent it vnto these times, in the best fashion, shall sinde anie fauour in the opinion of our commaunders. Concerning which Target, I must needes saie this much, that the light Target will proue the Target of feruice, when soeuer they shall happen to be put in execution: for those which are made proofe, are so heauie and vnwieldie, (although it be somewhat qualified with such helpes as are annexed to the vse thereof,) that they ouercharge a man, with an vnsupportable burthen, and hinder his agilitie and execution in fight, with a waight disproportionable to his stregth. For our offensiue weapons, as namely the Hargebusiers and musketiers, are stronger in the offensive part, then any armes of defence, which may be made manageable and fit for service. Neither did the Romains regard the proofe of their Target further, then was thought fit for the readie vie of them in time of battel, as it appeareth in many places, both in the ciuill warres and in these Commentaries: for a Romaine pile hath often times darred through the Target, and the bodie of the man that bare it, and fastened them both to the ground, which is more then a musket can wel do; for the bullet commonly resteth in the bodie. And although it may be said that this was not comon, but rather the effect an extraordinary arme; yet it serueth to proue, that their Targets were not proofe to their offenfue weapons, when they were well deliuered and with good direction. For I make no doubt, but in their battailes there were oftentimes some hinderances, which woulde not suffer so violent an effect, as this which I speake of: for in a volley of shorte, wee must not thinke that all the bullets flie with the fame force, and fall with the like hurt; but as armour of good proofe will hardly hold out fome of them; fo flender armes and of no proofe, will make good refultance against others. And to conclude, in a battell or incounter at hand, a man shall meete with more occasions, suting the nature and commoditie of this light Target, then such as will aduantage

the heavie Target of proofe, or countervaile the furplus of waight, which it earieth with it.

Some men will vrge, that there is vse of this Target of proofe, in some places and in some seruices: which I deny not to those, that desire to bee secured from the extremity of peril: but this falleth out in some places and in some particular fernices, and hindereth not but that the vniuerfal benefit of this weapon confifteth in the multitude of light Targetiers, who are to manage the most important occasions of a warre.

This much I am further to note, concerning the fworde of the Targetiers, that according to the practife of the Romaines, it must alwaies hang on the right fide; for carying the Target vpon the left arme, it cannot be that the fword should hang on the left side, but with great trouble and annoiance: And if any man fay, that if it hang on the right fide, it must bee verie short, otherwise it will neuer bec readilie drawne out. I faie that the sworde of the Targetiers, in regard of the vie of that weapon, ought to be of a very short scantling, when as the Targetier is to command the point of his fword within the compaffe of his Target, as fuch as looke into the true vse of this weapon, wil easily discouer. But let this fuffice concerning the vse of the pike and the Target.

CHAP. XI.

The battell continueth, and in the ende Cafar ouercommeth.



Tthe presence of their Generall, the soldiours conceived some better hopes, and gathering strength and courage againe, when as every man bestirred himselfe in the sight of the Emperour, the brunt of the enemie was a litle staied. Cafar perceiving likewise the seventh legion, which stood next unto him, to bee fore ouerlaide by the enemy, commaunded the Tribunes by little and little, to wine the two legions together, and so by wining

backe to backe, to make two contrarie fronts; and beeing thus secured one by another from feare of being circumuented, they began to make resistance with greater courage. In the meane time the two legions, that were in the rerewarde to guarde the carriages, hearing of the battell, doubled their pace, and were discried by the enemy upon the top of the hill. And Titus Labienus, having won the campe of the Nerny, and beholding from the higher ground what was done on the other side of therwer, fent the tenth legion to helpe their fellowes, who understanding by the horsemen and Lackies that fled, in what case the matter stood, and in what daunger the campe, the legions, and the Generall was, made all the haste they possibly could. At whose comming there happened such an alteration and chan, of things that euen such as were sunke downe, through extreame greefe of their woundes, or leaned upon their Targets, began againe to fight a fresh, and the Pages and the boies perceiving the enemie amazed, ran upon them unarmed not fearing their weapons:

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the horsemen also striuing with extraordinarie valour, to wipe away the dishonour of their former flight, thrust themselves in all places before the legionarie souldiers. Howbeit the enemie in the vtmost perill of their lines, shewed such manhood, that as fast as the formost of them were overthrowen, the next in place bestrid their carkases, and fought upon their bodies: and these being likewise overthrowen, and their bodies heaped one upon another, they that remained, possest themselves of that mount of dead carkafes as a place of advantage, and from thence threwe their weapons, and intercepting the piles, returned them againe to the Romans. By which it may be gathered, that there was great reason to deeme them men of hautie courage, that durst passe over so broade a river, climbe up such high rockes, and adventure to fight in a place of such inequalitie. The battell being thus ended, and the nation and name of the Neruy being well neare swallowed up with destruction, the elder fort with the women and children, that before the battell were conuaied into Ilands and Bogs, when they heard thereof; fent ambasadours to Casar, and yeelded themselues to his mercie; and in laying open the miserie of their state affirmed, that of 600 Senatours they had now left but three; and of 60000 fighting men, there was scarce fine hundred that were able to beare Armes. C.e. far, that his clemencie might appeare to a distressed people, preserved them with great care, granting vnto them the free possession of their townes and country, and streightly commanding their borderers, not to offer them any wrong or iniurie at all.

OBSERVATIONS.

Nd thus endeth the relation of that great and dangerous battell, which Li. de militia Ramus complaineth of as a confused narration: much differing from Lu.Ce. the direct and methodicall file, of his other Commentaries. But if that rule holde good, which learned Rhetoritians haue obserued in their Oratorie, that an unperfect thing ought not to be told in a perfect maner; then by Ramus leaue, if any fuch confusion do appeare, it both fauoureth of eloquence, and wel futeth the turbulent carriage of the action, wherein order and skill gaue place to fortune, and prouidence was swallowed up with peraduenture. For that which Hirtius faith of the ouerthrow he gaue to Pharnaces, may as well be faid of this; that he got the victorie, plurimum adiuuante deorum benignitate, qui cum omnibus belli casibus intersunt, tum pracipue ijs quibus nihil ratione potuit administrari. For so it fell out in this battell, and the danger proceeded from the same cause, that brought him to that push in the battell with Pharnaces: for he well understood that the Neruij attended his comming on the other side the river Sabis: Neither was he ignorant how to fortifie his camp in the face of an enemy, withour feare or danger, as we have feene in his war with Ariouistus; when he marched to the place where he purposed to incamp himselfe with 3 battels, and caufed two of them to stand ready in armes to receive any charge, which the enemy should offer to give, that the third battell in the meane time might fortifie the camp. Which course would easily have frustrated this stratagem of the Neruij, and made the hazard lefte dangerous; but he little expected any fuch refolution,

fo contrarie to the rules of militarie discipline, that an enemie should not sticke to passe or contrarie to the rules of militarie discipline, that an enemie should not sticke to passe of the place so dissalduantagious, and to hazard their fortune vppon such inequalities. And therefore, hee little mistrusted any such valikelie attempt, wherein the enemy had plotted his owne ouerthrow, if the legions had beene ready to receive them. Which may teach a generall that which Cæsar had not yet learned, that a leader cannot be too secure in his most assured courses; nor too carefull in his best aduised directions; considering that the greatest means may easily bee prevented, and the safet course weakened with an vare-spected circumstance: so powerful are weake occurrences in the maine course of the waightiest actions; and so infinite are the waies, wherby either wisdom or cortune may worke. Neither did this warne him, to prouide for that which an enemy might do, how valikelie soeuer it might seeme vnto him, as appearet by that accident in the battel with Pharnaces: which practise of attempting a thing

temeritas non femper felix, as Fabius the great answered Scipio.

The chiefest helpes which the Romaines founde, were first the aduantage of the place; whereof I spake in the I feliuetian warre. Secondlie, the experience, which the soldiours had got in the former battailes, which much directed them in this turbulent assaults wherein they caried themselues as men acquainted with such casualties: lassly, the valour and vindanted independ of the General, which ouerswated the peril of the battel, and brought it to so fortunate an end. Wherin we may observe, that as in a temperate course, when the issue of the battel rested upon his directions, he wholy intended warines & circumspection, so in the hazard and peril of good hap, he constonted extremity of danger with extremi-

against reason and the arte of warre, hath found good successe in our moderne

wars; as appeareth by the French histories: notwithstanding, it is to be handeled

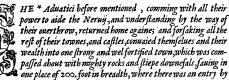
sparingly, as no way fauoring of circumspect and good direction, forasmuch as

ty of valor, and ouertopt fury, with a higher refolution.

CHAP. XII.

The Aduatici betake themselues to a strong hold, and are taken by Casar.

Ca far. *either Doway or Bosleduke in Brabant.



a gentle and easie ascent, which passage they had fortified with a double wal of a large altitude, COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

altitude, and had placed mightie great stones and sharpe beames upon the walles readie for an assault. This people descended from the Cimbri and Teutons, who in their iourney into Italy had left such cariages on this side of the Rhene, as they coulde not conveniently take along with them, in the custodie of these forces; who after the death of their fellowes, being many yeares disquieted by their neighbours, somtimes inuading other states, and sometimes defending themselues, at length procured a peace, and chose this place to settle themselves in . At the first comming of the Romaine army, they sallied out of the towne, & made many light skirmishes with them: but after that Cafar haddrawne a rampier about the towne of 12 foot in height, 15 miles in compasse, and had fortified it with castles very thicke about the townesthey kept themselues within the wall: And as they beheld the vines framed, the mount raised, and a towre in building a far off 3 at first they began to laugh at it, and with stoffing speeches fro the wal began to aske with what hands or with what strength, especially by men of that stature (for the Romaines were but little men inrespect of the Galles) a towre of that huge massie waight should bee brought wato the walles? But when they saw it removed, and approching neere onto the towne, as men aftonished at the strange and unaccissiomed sight thereof, they sent ambassadors to Casar, to intreat a peace with this message: They beleeved that the Romaines did not make war, without the special affiftance of the gods, that could with such facility transport engines of that height, bring them to incounter at hand, against the strongest part of their town: and therfore they submitted both themselves, and all that they had, to Casars mercy, desiring one thing of his meere clemency, that he would not take away their armes, for a smuch as al their neighbors were enemies unto them, and enuied at their valour neither were they able to defend themselues if they shoulde deliner up their armor: so that they had rather suffer any inconvenience by the people of Rome, then to be but cherly murthered by them, whom in former time they had held subject to their command.

To this Casar answered, that hee would faue the city rather of his owne custome, the for any defert of theirs; so that they yeelded before the Ram touched the waltbut no condition of remedy should be accepted, without present delivery of their armes; for he would do by the as he had done by the Neruy, and give comandement to their neighbours, that they should offer no wrong to such as had commended their safety to the people of Rome. This answere being returned to the city, they seemed contented to doe what socuer hee commanded them, and thereupon casting a great part of their armour over the wall into the ditch, infomuch as they fild it almost to the top of the rampier: and yet (as afterward was known) concealing the third part, they (et open the gates, and for that daie caried themselues peaceably. Towards night Cafar commanded the gates to be shut, and the soldiours to be drawn out of the towne. But the Aduatici having consulted together before, for asmuch as they beleeved that upon their submission, the Romaines woulde either set no watch at all, or at the leaf, keepe it verse carelessie; partlie with such armour as they had retained, and partly with Targets, made of barke or wrought of wicker, which uppon the fodaine they had covered over with leather, about the third watch where the ascent to our fortifications was easiest; they is ued sodainly out of the towne with al their power: but signification thereof being given by fiers, as Casar had commanded, the Romains hasted speedilie to that place. The enemy fought very desperatelie, as men in the last hope of their welfare, incountering the Romains in a place of disaduantage, at length with the saughter of 4000, therest were driven backe into the towne. The

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next daie when Casar came to breake open the gates, and found no man at defence, he fent in the foldiors, and fold al the people and spoile of the towne: the number of persons in the towne amounted to 53000. bondslaues.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Circunallatio

N the furprise, attempted by the Belgæ vpon Bibract, I set downe the maner, which both the Galles and the Romaines vsed in their sodaine surprising of a rowne: whereof if they failed (the place importing any aduantage in the course of the war) they then prepared for the siege, in that maner, as Cæfar hath described in this place. They invironed the town about with a ditch and a rampier, and fortified the faide rampier, with many castles and fortreffes, erected in a convenient distance one from another; and so they kept the town from any forraine fuccor or reliefe: and withal fecured themselves fro fallies or other stratagems, which the townsmen might practise against them. And this manner of siege was called circumuallatio; the particular description In the feuenth, wherof, I refer vnto the history of Alesia, where I will handle it, according to the particulars there fet down by Cæfar.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Aries or the Ram.

Cales.

He Ram, which Casfar heere mentioneth, was of greatest note a-He kam, which Catar heere mentioneth, was of greatest note amongst all the Romaine Engines, and helde that place which the Canon hath in our warres. Vitrunius doth attribute the invention thereof, to the Carthaginians, who at the taking of Cadiz, wanting

a fit instrument to raze and ouerthrow a castle, they tooke a long beame or timber tree, and bearing it upon their armes and shoulders, with the one end thereof they first brake downe the vppermost ranke of stones; and so descending by degrees, they ouerthrewe the whole towre. The Romaines had two fortes of Rams, the one was rude and plaine; the other artificial and compound: the first, is that which the Carthaginians vsed at Cadiz, and is purtraited in the column of Trajan at Rome.

Aries com polita.

The compound Ram is thus described by Iosephus; a Ramme (saith he) is a mighty great beame, like vnto the mast of a ship, and is strengthned at one end with a head of yron, fashioned like vnto a Ram; and thereof it tooke the name. This Ram is hanged by the middest with roapes vnto an other beame, which lieth croffe a couple of pillars, and hanging thus equallie balanced, it is by force of men thrust forward, and recoiled backeward; and so beateth upon the wall with his yron heade: neither is there any towre fo ftrong, or wal fo broad, that is able to flande before it. The length of this Ramme was of a large scantling, for Plutarch affirmeth, that Anthonie in the Parthian warre had a Ram eighty foote long; and Vitruuius faith, that the length of a Ramme was vsuallie 106. and sometimes 120; and this length gaue great strength and force to the COMMENTARIES, LIB. 11.

engine. It was managed at one time with a whole Centurie or order of fouldiers: and their forces being spent, they were seconded with another Centurie; and so the ramme plaied continually vpon the wall, without intermission. Iosephus faith, that Titus, at the fiege of Icrusalem, had a ramme for euerie legion: it was oftentimes couered with a vine, that the men that managed it might bee in more fafety. It appeareth by this place, that if a towne had continued out vntill the ramme had touched the wall, they could not prefume of any acceptation of rendrie; for as much as by their oblitinacie, they had brought in perill the liues of their enemies, and were subdued by force of Armes, which affoordeth fuch mercie as the victor pleafeth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He Aduatici, as it feemeth, were not ignorant of the fmall fecuritie, which one state can give vnto another, that commendeth their fafetie to be protected by it: for as Architas the Pythagorean faith, a bo-

die, a familie, and an Armie are then well gouerned, when they containe within themselues the causes of their safetie; so we must not looke for anie fecuritie in a state, when their saferie dependeth vpon a forraine protection. For the olde faying is, that Neque murus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem propria arma non texere. Although in this case the matter was well qualified, by the maiestie of the Roman Empire, and the late victories in the continent of Gallia, wherof the Hedui with their affociates were very gainful witnesses: but amongst kingdomes, that are better futed with equalitie of ftrength & authority, there is fmall hope of fafetie to be looked for, vnleffe the happy gouernment of both do mutually depend vpon the fafetie of either nation. For that which Polybius obferued in Antigonus king of Macedonia, taketh place for the most part amongst all Princes; That kinges by nature esteeme no man, either as a friend or an enemie, but as the calculation of profit shall finde them answerable to their proiectes. And contrariwife, it cutteth off many occasions of practifes & attempts, when it is knowne that a state is of it selfe able and readie to resist the dessignes of forraine enemies, according to that of Manlius: Oftendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis: videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

with the light thereof, in a reasonable distance cannot be discerned from the fire

He manner of fignifying any motion or attempt by fire, was of great To give no.

vie in the night feason, where the fortification was of so large an extentice of an Afron: for fire in the night doth appeare far greater then indeed it is, for Larum by fire. as much as that part of the aire, which is next vnto the fire, as it is illuminated

it selfe, and so it seemeth much greater then it is in substance and contrariwise,

in the daie time it sheweth lesse then it is; for the cleare brightnesse of the aire doth much obscure that light, which proceedeth from a more grosse and materiall bodie: and therefore their custome was to vse fire in the night, and smoake in the daie, futing the transparent middle with a contrarie qualitie, that so it might more manifeltly appeare to the beholder.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

Lib. 25.

The punifor ments which the Romans laied vpor a conqueredna tion.

Nd albeit after the victorie, the Romans inflicted divers degrees of punishment, according to the malice which they found in an enemie; yet as Flauius Lucanus saith in Liuie, there was no nation more exorable, nor readier to shew mercie, then the Romans were.

The punishments which we find them to have yied towardes a conquered nation, were these; either they punished them by death, or solde them for bondflanes, fub corona, or difmiffed them fub ingum; or merced them, in taking away their territories; or made them tributarie states.

Of the first we finde a manifest example in the third of these Commentaries, where Cæfar having overthrowne the Veneti by fea, in as much as they had retained his ambaffadours by force, contrarie to the law of nations, he put all the Senate to the fword, and fold the rest fub corona.

Festus faith, that an enemie was said to be sold sub corona, in as much as the captines stood crowned in the market place, where they were set out to sale; as Cato faith in his booke de remilitari, vt populus sua opera potius ob rem bene vestam coronatus, supplicatum eat? quam re male cesta coronatus vaneat. And Gellius affirmeth the same thing, but addeth also another reason, for as much as the soldiers that kept them while they were in felling, incircled them round about, to keepe them together; and this round-about-standing was called Corona. Festus faith, that oftentimes they vied a speare; and therfore they were faid to be fold fub hafta: for as much as amongst the Greekes, by the speare or pike, was fignified the power of Armes, and maiestie of Empires.

When they difinified them fub iugum, their order was to erect three trees like a paire of gallowes, under which they caused all the captiues to passe, as a figne of bondage: for they had so conquered them by force of Armes, that they laide upon their necke the yoake of thraldome. Livie faith, that Quintius the dictator dismissed the Aequos sub ingum; and this ingum was made of 3 speares, whereof two were stucke vpright in the ground, and the third was tied ouerthwart them. The fouldiers that passed fub ingum, were vngirt, and their weapons taken from them, as Festus faith.

Sometimes againe they tooke awaie their landes and territories, and either folde it for mony, & brought it into the treasurie, or deuided the land amongst the Roman people, or let it our to farme rent: of all which Liuie hath manie pregnant examples.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Crassus taketh in all the maritimate cities that lie to the Ocean: the legions are carried into their wintering campes.



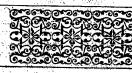
HE same time Pub. Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion to the maritimate cities that laie to the Ocean, advertised him that al those states had yeelded themselues to the people of Rome:

The wars being thus ended, and all Gallia being setled in peace, there went such a fame of this warre among other barbarous people, that from nations beyond the Rhene there came ambaffadours to Casar, offering both hostages and obedience to what se-

uer he commanded them. But Casar willed them to repaire unto him againe in the beginning of the next sommer, for as much as he then hasted into Lumbardie, after he had placed his legions in their wintering campes. For these thinges, upon the sight of plication In had placed instegrous in their wintering compession to the constant of the placation I will Cafars letters, a generall supplication was proclaimed in Rome for 15 dates together, speake in the which honour before that time had happened to no man . And thus endeth the se-latter ende cond Commentarie.

of the 4 booke.

Cafar.



OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS VPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF CÆSAR HIS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGVMENT.

His Commentarie beginneth with an Accident, which happened in the latter ende of the former fommer; wherein the Belgæ had so leane a haruest; and then it

proceedeth to the warre betweene Cæfar and the Veneti; Crassus and the Aquitani; Titurius Sabinus and the Curiofolitæ: And Titus Labienus, with the Treuiri.

CHAP. I.

Sergius Galba, being sent to cleere the passage of the Alpes, was besieged by the Seduni and Veragri.



AES AR taking his iourney into Italie, fent Servius Galba with the twelfth legion, and part of the horsemen unto the Nantuates, Veragri & Seduni : whose territories are extended from the river Rhone, and the lake Lemanus, vnto the tops of the highest Alpes. The ende of this voyage was chiefely to cleare the Alpes of theeues and robbers, that lived by the spoile of passengers that travelled betweene Italie and Gallia: Galba having or-

der, if he found it expedient to winter in those partes after some fortunate incounters and the taking of some castles and holdes, he concluded a peace, and resolved to place two cohortes of his legion, amongst the Nantuates, and himselfe to winter with the other cohortes, in a towne of the Fergori, named Octoduras. This towne being fited in a narrow valley, and incircled about with mightie high hils, was deuided by a river into two partes, whereof he gaue one part to the Galles, and the other he chose for his wintering campe, and fortified it about with a ditch and a rampier . After he had spent many daies of wintering, and given order, that corne should be brought thither for prouision; he had intelligence upon a sudden, that the Galles, in the night time, had all left that part of the towne that was allotted unto them; and that the hils which hung over the valley, wherein the towne flood, were possest with great multitudes of the Seduni, and Veragri. The reasons of this sudden commotion were cheesty

the paucitie of the Roman forces, not making a compleat legion; for as much as two cohorts wintered among st the Nantuates : besides many particulars, that were wanting upon necessarie occasions. And to make them more contemptible in regard of themselues, the place affoorded such advantage, that they were perswaded by reason of the steepe declinitie of the hill, that the Romans would not indure the brunt of the first asault : besides this, it greeued them exceedingly to have their children taken from them, under the title of hostages; and the Alpes, which nature had exempted from habitation, and placed as boundes betweene two large kingdomes, to be seased upon by the Roman legions, and united to their Province.

Vpon these aduertisements, Galba not having as yet finished the fortification of his campe, nor made provision of corne and forrage for the winter season, in that he little feared any motion of warre, being secured of their amitie, and obedience, both by hostages and rendrie: he presently called a councell of warre, to determine what course was best to be taken . In which councell the mindes of many were so amazed, with the terrour of so vnexpected a danger, when they beheld the hils pestered with armed soldiers, the passages taken and intercepted by the enemie, and no hope left of any succour or reliefe, that they could thinke of no other waie for their safetie, then leaving behind them their baggage and impediments, to fallie out of their campe, and so to faue themselues by the same waie they came thither: notwithstanding the greater part concluded, to referre that resolution to the last push; and in the meane time, to attend the fortune of the event, and defend the campe.

THE OBSERVATION.



Hich aduise although at this time sorted to small effect; yet it better futed the valour of the Romans, and fauoured more of tempered magnanimitie, then that former hazard, which argued the weakeneffe of their mindes, by their ouer haltie and too forward resolution. For as

it imported greater danger, and discouered a more desperate spirit, to breake through the thickest troupes of their enemies, and so by strong hand to saue themselues by the helpe of some other fortune; so it manifested a greater apprehension of terrour, and a stronger impression of seare, which can associate thing but desperate remedies: for desperate and inconsiderate rashnes riseth sooner of feare, then of any other passion of the mind. But such as beheld the danger with a leffe troubled eie and qualified the terrour of death with the life of their spirite, reserving extremitie of helpe to extremitie of perill, and in the meane time attended what chances of aduantage might happen vnto them, vpon any enterprise the enemie should attempt; they I say, so gaue greater scope to fortune and inlarged the boundes of changing accidents.

Oj.

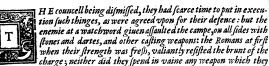
CHAP

CHAP. II.

The enemie fetteth vpon the wintering campe:

Galba ouerthroweth them.

Cafar.



cast from the rampier; but what part soener of their campe seemed to be in greatest danger, and want of helpe, thither they came with succour and reliefe; but herein they were ouermatched. For the enemie being fpent and wearied with fight, whensoeuer anie of them gaue place and for sooke the battell, there were alwaies fresh combatants to suppliest: but the Romans by reason of their small number, had no such helpe . For their extremitie in that point was such, that no man was permitted neither for wearinesse nor woundes, to for sake his station, or abandon his charge. And having thus fought continually the space of sixe houres, when both strength and weapons wanted, the enemie persisting with greater surie to fill the disch and breake downe the rampier, and their hopes relying upon the last expectation: P. Sex. Baculus the Primipile of that legion, whom we faid to be fo fore wounded in the Neruian battell, and Caius Volusenus Tribune of the souldiers, a man of sino u lar courage and wisedome, ranne speedily to Galba and tolde him, that the only water of safetie was to breake out upon the enemie, and to trie the last refuge in that ex tremitie. Whereupon they called the Centurions, and by them admonished the soldiers to surcease awhile from fighting, and onely to receive such weapons as were cast into the campe; and so to rest themselves a little and recover their strength: and then at a watchword to fallie out of their campe, and laie their safety upon their vertue; which the fouldiers executed with such alacritic and courage of spirite, that breaking out at all the gates of the campe, they gave no leasure to the enemie to consider what was done, nor to fatifie his judgement touching fo unexpected a noueltie . And thus fortune being suddenly changed, they slewe more then the third part of 30000, and put the rest to flight, not suffering them to state woon the hils neere about them.

ORSERVATIONS.

The force of nouelty ture ning the for tune of a bas

Hich strange alteration lively describeth the force of noueltie, and the effectuall power of vnexpected aduetures: for in the first course of their proceeding, wherein the Romans defended the campe, and the Galles charged it by affault, the victorie held constant with the Galles, and threatned death and mortality to the Romans. Neither had they any

meanes to recouer hope of better fuccesse, but by trying another waie; which fo much the more amazed the Galles, in that they had vehemently apprehended an opinion of victorie, by a fet fight continuing the space of fixe houres, without any likelihood of contrarietie, or alteration. Which practile, of frustrating a dessigne intended by an indirect and contrary answere, serued the Romans oftentimes to great aduantage; as befides this prefent example, in this Commentarie we shall afterward read how Titurius Sabinus defeated the Vnellos, with the fame stratagem; and ouerthrew them by eruption and fallying out, when they expected nothing but a defensive resistance from the rampier. From whence a commander may learne, to avoide two contrarie inconveniences, according as the qualitie of the warre shall offer occasion: first (if other thinges be answerable, which a judicious eie will easily discouer) that a fallie made out at divers portes of a holde, will much mitigate the heate of a charge, and controll the furie of an enemie. And on the other fide, he that befiegeth any place what aduantage focuer he hath of the defendant, may much better affure himfelfe of good fortune, if he appoint certaine troupes in readines to receive the charge of any eruption, that the rest that are bushly imploied in the assault may prouide to answere it, without disorder or confusion. Which order, if the Galles had taken, they had not in likelihood fo often been deceived.

CHAP. III.

Galba returneth into the Province: the Vnelli

give occasion of a new warre.

HE enemie being thus defeated. Galba was unwilling to trie fortune any further; and the rather for that he wanted both corne and forrage: and therefore having burned the towne, the next daie he returned towardes the Province, and without let or resistance, brought the legion safe into the Nantuates; and from thence to the * Allobrog a, and there he wintered.

Sanoiens.

Cafar.

After these thinges were dispatched: Casar supposing for manie reasons, that all Gallia was now in peace, and that there was no further feare of anie new warre, the Belg a being overthrowen, the Germans thrust out, and the Seduni among ft the Alpes subdued and vanquished; in the beginning of the winter, as he went into Illyricum, having a great desire to see those nations: there grewe a sudden tumult and discention in Gallia upon this occasion. Pub. Crassus wintering with the seventh legion in Aniou neare unto the Ocean, and finding scarcitie of corne in those partes; he sent out the Prefects of the horsemen, and Tribunes into the next cities to demaund corne, and other provisions for his legion, of whom Titus Terrasidius was fent unto the * Venelli, Marcus Trebius to the * Curiofolita, 2, Velanius, and Titus Silius to the * Veneti . These Veneti were of greatest authoritie amongst all the maritimate nations in that coast, by reason of their great store of shipping, with Vannes.

Le Perche. Cornoaille m Bretaine

which they did trafficke into Britanie, and exceeded all their neighbour states in skill and experience of fea-faring matters; having the most part of such as vied those feas, tributaries to their state: These Veneti first adventured to retaine Silius and Velanius, hoping thereby to recover their hostages which they had given to Crassus. The finitimate cities induced by their authoritie and example, for the same reason, laide hold vpon Trebius and Terrasidius; and sending speedie ambassages one unto another, consured by their Princes and chiefest manistrates, to approve their fact by common consent, and to attend all the same event of fortune; solliciting also other cities and states, rather to maintaine that libertie, which they had received of their Ancestors, then to indure the seruile bondage of a stranger.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The weakenes of our sudge. ment in regardof the knowledge of future times

He circumstance in this historie, which noteth the sudden breaking out of warres, when the course of thinges made promise of peace: theweth first, what man annuance our tenders, which so seldome anin calculating the nativitie of After-chances; which so seldome anincate that when we speake of hap-

pinefle, we finde nothing but miferie : and contrariwife, it goeth often well with that part, which our Art hath condemned to ill fortune. And therefore I do not maruel, if when almost all nations are at oddes, and in our best conceites, threaten destruction one to another, there happen a sudden motion of peace; or if peace be in speech, soothing the world with pleasing tranquilitie, and through the vicertainty of our weake probabilities, promife much reft after many troubles: there follow greater wars in the ende, then the former time can truely speake of . Which being well understood, may humble the spirits of our hautie polititians, that thinke to comprehend the conclusions of future times, under the premisses of their weake projectes, and predestinate succeeding ages, accorto the course of the present motion: when an accident so little thought of, shall breake the maine streame of our judgment, and falsifie the Oracles which our vnderstanding hath vttered. And it may learne them withall, how much it importeth a wife commander, to preuent an euill that may croffe his deffigne, (how vnlikely foeuer it be to happen) by handling it in fuch manner, as though it were necessarily to confront the same. For then a thing is well done, when it hath in it felfe both the causes of his being; and the direct meanes to refist the repugnancie of a contrarie nature: and so hap what will, it hath great possibility to continue the fame.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

His practife of the Veneti may instruct a circumspect Prince in cases of this nature, to haue a more watchfull eie ouer that Prouince or city, which shall be found most potent and mightie amongst the rest, then of any other inferiour state of the same nature and condition: for as example of COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

it felfe is of great Authoritie, making improbabilities feeme full of reason, especially when the intention shal sympathize with our will; so when it shall happen ray of exaple, to be strengthened with powerfull meanes, and graced with the Acte of superiour personages: it must needes be verie effectuall to stirre vp mens mindes, to approue that with a strong affection, which their owne single judgment did no waie allow of. And therfore equalitie bringeth this aduantage to a Prince, which differencie can not affoord, that albeit example doe fet on foote any rebellious motion, yet no supereminencie shall authorise the same.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar hauing advertisement of these new troubles; hasterb into Gallia and prepareth



L L the maritimate states being by this meanes drawne into the same conspiracie, they sent a common amoassage onto Crassus; that if he would have his men againe, he miss detiuer up the hollages, which he had taken from them. Whereoff Cafar being certified by Crasus, in a much as he was then a creat way distant from his Armie, he commanded Gallies and shippes of warre to be built upon the river *Loier, which run-

Ligeris,

neth into the Ocean; and that Gallie men, Mariners, and Shipmasters should be mustered in the Province: which being speedely dispatched, assoone as the time of the yeare would permit him, he came into Gallia. The Veneti and the rest of the confederacie, understanding of Casars arrivall, and considering how haynous a fact they had com mitted, in detaining the ambassadours and casting them into yrons, whose name is held sacred and inviolable among st all nations: prepared accordingly to answere so eminent a danger,& especially such necessaries, as pertained to shipping & sea-fights.

THE OBSERVATION.



Rom hence I may take occasion, briefely to touch the reuerent opinion, which all nations, howe barbarous focuer, have generally of that reneconceined of the qualitie and condition of ambalfadours: and what rent opinion the groundes are of this value tall received custome, which in all a which is held conceined of the qualitie and condition of ambassadours: and what rent opinion ges, and times hath held Authenticall. And first we are to understand, that all of ambassas man kinde (as indued with the fame nature and properties) are so linked together in the strict alliance of humane society; that, albeit their turbulent and difagreeing passions (which in themselues are vnnaturall, as proceeding from corruption and defect) drive them into extreme discord and disunion of spirit, and breake the bonds of civill convertation, which otherwife we do naturally affect:

yet without a necessarie entercourse and trafficke of societie, we are not able to keepe on foote the very discord it selfe, in tearmes of reason and orderly proceeding, but all parts will be blended with difordered confusion, & go to wrack, for want of these mutuall offices performed by messengers: so streight are the bondes of nature, and so powerfull are the lawes which she enacteth. And therfore if it were for no other end, which might fore to the benefit of either partie, (as there are many good vies thereof) yet to holde up the quarrell and keepe it from falling, making war, according to the grounds of reason, the entercourse of messengers is not to be interrupted, nor their persons to be touched with hateful violence: but that which the common reason of nations hath made a law ought as religiously to be observed, as an Oracle of our owne beliefe. Secondly, for as much as the ende of warre is, or at the least should be, peace: which by treatie of mutuall messengers is principally to be confirmed, to the end that no people may feeme so barbarous, as to maintaine a warre; which onelie intendeth bloud, and proposeth as the chiefest object, the death and mortality of mankind, no way respecting peace and civill government: such as refuse the entercourse of mellengers, as the meanes of amitie and concord, are inftly condemned in the judgment of all nations, as vnworthie of humane societie. Last of all, it is an injurie of great dishonour, and descrueth the reward of extreme infamie, to reuenge the mafter his quarrell vpon a feruant, and punish ambaffadours for the faults of their state: confidering that their chiefest dutie confisteth in the faithfull relation of fuch mandates, as they have received, which may as well tende to the aduancement and honour of that cittie, to which they are fent; as to the dishonour and ruine of the same, whereof the messengers take no notice. And therefore whether we defire warre or peace; the free libertie, and holy order of ambassadours, is reuerently to be respected, and defended from brutish and vnnaturallyiolence.

CHAP. V.

The proceedings of either partie, in the entrance of this warre.



HE Veneti conceived great hope of their enterprise, by reason of the strength of their situation : for as much as all the pasages by land were broken and cut off, with armes and creekes of the sea; and on the other side, navigation and entrance by Jea was so troublesome and dangerous, in that the Romans were altogether unacquainted with the chanels, and shelues of the coast. Neither did they thinke that the Roman Armie

could long continue there without corne, which was not to be had in those quarters. And if it happened, that the course of thinges were carried contrarie to this probable expectation; yet they themselves were strong in shipping : whereas the Romans had COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

none at all: Neither had they knowledge of the flats and shallowes, Portes and Ilands of that coast, where they were to fight. And to conclude, they should finde the vie of Navigation in that narrow sea, to be farre different from that, which they were accultomed unto, in the vast and open Ocean. In this resolution, they fortified their Lendriquer, townes, stored them with provision, and brought all their shipping to Vannes; against Lysieux. whom, Cafar (as it was reported) would begin to make warre, taking the Osisimi, Nantes. Lexouy, Nannetes, Ambiuariti, Morini, Menapy, Diablintres, as conforts and par- Aurenche. takers in this quarrell. Notwithstanding these difficulties, many motiues stirred up Cafar to undertake this war: as namely, the violent detaining of the Romanknights: le Britaine their rebellion, after they had yeelded themselves by rendric, and given hostages of their loialtie: the conspiracie of so manie citties, which being now neglected, might afterward incite other nations and states to the like insolencie. And therefore understanding, that almost all the Galles were inclining to noueltie and alteration, and of their owne nature, were quicke and readie to undertake a warre; and further, considering that all men by nature defined libertie, and hated the feruile condition of bondage : he prevented all further insurrections of the other states, with the presence of the Roman forces: and fent Titus Labienus with the Caualrie, unto the * Treuiri, that bordered upon the Rhene: to him he gaue in charge, to vifit the men of Rhemes and the rest of the Belga, to keepe them in obedience; and to hinder such forces, as might peraduenture be transported over the river by the Germains, to further this rebellious humour of the Galles. He commanded likewife Pub. Crasus, with 12 legionarse cohortes, and a great part of the horse to go into Aquitaine, least there might come any aide from those nations. He sent also 2. Titurius Sabinus with three legions, unto the Lexouij, Curiofolita, Vnelli, to disappoint any practise which rebellious mindes might intend. And making D. Brutus chiefe Admirall of the nauie, he gave him in charge, to make towardes Vannes, with what speede he could: and hee himselfe marched thitherward with the rest of the foote forces.

THE OBSERVATION.

N the first booke, I observed the authoritie which the Roman leaders had to vidertake a warre, without further acquainting the fenat with the confequence thereof: in this place, let vs observe the care and circumspection, which the Generals had, not to vndertake a troublesome and dangerous warre vpon a humor, or any other slender motion: but diligently waighing the circumstances thereof, and measuring the perill and hazard of the warre, with the good and consequence of the effect; informed their judgments of the importance of that action; and so tried whether the benefit would answere their labour. And thus we finde the reasons particularly delivered, that moved Cæfar first to vndertake the Heluctian warre: and then the causes which drew him on to the quarrell with Ariouistus: then followeth the necessitie of that warre with the Belgæ; and nowe the motiues which induced him to this with the maritimate cities of Bretaine: and so consequently of his patlage into Germanie, or what other enterprise he attempted: which he laieth

*Triers.

downe as the groundes and occasions of those warres, and could not be avoided but with the loffe and dishonour of the Roman Empire.

Further, let vs observe the meanes he vsed to preuent the inclination of the Galles, and to keepe them in subjection and peaceable obedience, by sending his men into divers quarters of that continent; and fo fetling the wavering difpolition of the further skirtes, with the waight of his Armie, and the presence of his legionarie fouldiers, which he fent readie to stifle all motions of rebellion in the beginning, that they might not breake out to the prejudice and diminution of the Roman Empire, and the good successe of his proceedings: besides the aduantage, which he gained in the opinion of the enemie; whom he fo little feared concerning the vpfhot of that quarrell, that he had dispersed the greatest part of his Armie vpon other feruices, the rest being sufficient to end that war.

CHAP. VI.

The maner of their shipping, and their sea-fight.



Cafar.

HE scite of almost all these cities was such, that being built in pointes and promontories, they could not at full fea, which happened alwaies twife in 12 hours be approched by foot forces, nor yet with shipping neither; for againe in an ebbe, the vessalles were laid on the ground, and so left as a prace to the enemy. And if the Romans went about to shut out the sea, with mounts which they raised equal to the wals of the town, and were at the point of entering & taking it : yet the towns-

men having such store of shipping, would easily convey, both themselves and their cariages, into the next townes, and there helpe themselues with the like advantage of place . And thus they deluded Cafar the greatest part of the sommer: for the Roman fleete by reason of continuall windes and foule weather, durst not aduenture to put out of the river Loier into so wast a sea, wherein the havens and roades were fewe, and farre distant one from another, and the tides great. The hipping of the Galles was thus built and rigged: the keele was somewhat flatter then the Roman shipping, the better to beare the ebbes, and shalowes of that coast: the foredecke was altogether creet and perpendicular: the poupe was made to beare the hugenesse of the billowes, and the force of the tempest. And in a word, they were alsogether built for strength: for the ribbes and seates were made of beames of a foote Iquare, fastned with yron pins of an inch thicke: in steed of cables, they weed chaines of yron; andraw hides and skins for failes, either for want of linnen or ignorant of the vse thereof, or because sailes of linnen would hardly serve to carrie ships of that burthen.

The meeting and conflict of the Roman nauie, with this kinde of ships was such, that they onely excelled them in celeritie and speedie nimblenes, with force of oares, but in all other thinges, either concerning the nature of the place, or the dangers of the foule weather, were farre inferiour unto them: for the strength of them was COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

such, that they could neither hurt them with their beake-heads, nor cast a weapon to anie purpose into them, by reason of their altitude, and high built bulkes. And if anie gust chanced in the meane time to rise, that forced them to commit themselues to the mercie of the weather, their shipping would better beare the rage of the sea; and with greater safetie shelter it selfe among st flats and shallowes, without feare of rockes or any such hazard : of all which chances the Roman nauie stood continually in danger.

OBSERVATIONS.

Ndhere, let it not seeme impertinent to the argument which we 7 be causes handle, confidering the generall vie which we Infulairs have of na- of the ebbing uigation, briefly to fet downe the most eminent causes of the flow- and flowing ing and ebbing of the fea, as farre forth as thall feeme necessarie to of the fea.

the knowledge of a fouldier: which, albeit may fall short of the true reasons of this greatfecret; yet for as much as they frand for true principles of regularitie, and well approued rules in our Arte of nauigation, let vs take them for no lesse then they essect, and give them that credit in our imagination, which tract of time hath gained to those forged circles in the heauens: that albeit their chiefest essence consistesth in conceit and supposal, yet for as much as they serue to direct our knowledge to a certainty in that variety and feeming inconstancie of motion, we efteeme of them as they effect, and not as they are.

Confidering then the globe of the world, as it maketh a right spheare (for in that position, the Naturalistes chiefly understand celestiall influence to haue operation in this liquid element of the water) it is deuided by the Horizon and Meridian into foure quarters: the first quarter is that, betweene the east horizon and the noone meridian, which they cal a flowing quarter: the fecond from the noone meridian, to the west horizon; which they make an ebbing quarter: the third, from the west horizon to the midnight meridian; which they likewise call a flowing quarter : and againe, from the midnight meridian to the east horizon, the fecond ebbing quarter: And so they make two flowing quarters, and two ebbing quarters of the whole circuit of heauen. The instruments of these sensible qualities, and contrarie effects, are the sunne and the moone, as they are caried through these distinct partes of the heauen. And although experience hath noted the moone to be of greatest power in wattie motions; yet we may not omit to acknowledge the force, which the funne yeeldeth in this miracle of nature.

First therfore we are to vnderstand, that when the moone or the sunne begin to appeare about the right horizon, and enter into that part of the heaven which I tearmed the first flowing quarter, that then the sea beginneth to swell: and as they mount vp to their meridian altitude; fo it increaseth untill it come to a high floud. And againe, as those lightes passing the meridian, decline to the weit, and runne the circuit of the ebbing quarter: fo the water decreaseth and returneth againe from whence it came. Againe, as they fet vnder the welt ho-

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

rizon and enter into the fecond flowing quarter; fo the lea beginneth against to flow, and still increaseth untill they come to the point of the night meridian: and then againe, it refloweth, according as the funne and moone are carried in the other ebbing quarter from the night meridian, to the east horizon.

Spring tides.

The manner of their ship-

And hence it happeneth that in conjunction or new of the moone, when the funne and the moone are caried both together in the same flowing, and ebbing quarters; that then the tides and ebbes are very great: and likewife in opposition or full of the moone, when these lightes are carried in opposite quarters, which we have described to be of the same nature, either ebbing or flowing; that then in like manner the tides are great: for almuch as both these Planets, through the fymbolifing quarters wherein they are carried, doe ioyne their forces, to make perfect this worke of nature in the ebbing and flowing of the fea. And contrariwife, in a quadrate aspect (as the Astronomers call it) or quarter age of the moone, when as the moone is caried in a flowing quarter; and at the fame instant, the sunne doth happen to be in an ebbing or decreasing quarter, as the course of nature doth necessarily require : then are the tides lessoned, as dailie experience doth wimesfe.

And for as much as both the right horizon and the meridian also, deuide euerie diurnall circle, which either the fun or the moone maketh in their reuolutions, into equall parts; it followeth that enery tide is continually measured with the quantitie of 6 houres: and therfore that which Cæfar herefaith, must needs be true, that in the space of 12 houres, there are alwaies 2 high tides. And least any man should imagine, that euery inland citie, standing upon an ebbing and flowing riner, may take the computation of the tide according to this rule: let him vnderstand that this which I have delivered, is to be conceived principally of the sea it selfe; and secondarily of such portes and hauens, as stand either neare or vpon the sea: but where a river shall run many miles from the sea, and make many winding meanders, before it come to the place of calculation; it must needs lose much of this time before mentioned. And thus much I thought convenient to infert in these discourses touching the ebbing and slowing of the

fea, as not impertinent to martiall knowledge.

Concerning the shipping of the Romans, whereof posteritie hath onely receiued the bare names, and some sewe circumstances touching the manner of their Equipage, the Critickes of these times have laboured to set foorth a fleet, answerable to that, which the tearmes and title mentioned in historie seeme to report: but yet the gaine of their voyage doth not answere their charge. For manie men rest vnsatisfied, first touching the names themselues, whereof wee finde these kindes,

> ~Longas. Onerarias. Actuarias. Names a Triremes. Quadriremes.

The first we may understand to be Gallies or ships of service: the second ships

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of burthen: the third, ships that were driven forward with force of oares, and the rest founding according to their Names; for I dare not intitle them with a more particular description. Nowe whether these Names Longas and A-Etuarias, were a seuerall forte of shipping by themselues; or the generall Names of the Quadriremes, Triremes, and Quinqueremes, for as much as eueriekinde of these might be called both Longas and Actuarias, as it yet remaineth in controuerfie: so it is not much materiall to that which wee seeke after. But that which most troubleth our sea-Critickes, is in what sense they maie vinderstand these vocabularies, Triremes, Quadriremes, and Quinqueremes, whether they were so tearmed in regard of the number of rowers, or watermen that haled continually at an oare, as the custome of the Gallies is at this daie; or otherwise, because a Trireme had three orders of oares on either side, a Quadrireme foure, and a Quinquereme fine: whereof they tooke their diftinction of Names.

Lib. 27.

Such as holde, that a Trireme had on each fide three rankes of oares, and fo consequently, of a Quadrireme and Quinquereme, alleadge this place of Liuie, to make good their opinion. In the warres betweene Rome and Carthage, Lælius meeting with Adherball in the straightes of Gibraltar, each of them had a Quinquereme, and seauen or eight Triremes a piece, the current in that place was to great that it gaue no place to Arte, but carried the veffailes according to the fall of the Billow: in which vncertaintie the Triremes of the Carthaginean, closed with the Quinquereme of Lælius: which either because she was pondere tenacior, as Liuie faith, or otherwise, for that pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus vertices facilius regeretur; in regarde of the pluralitie of bankes of oares, which refifted the billowe and fleamed the current, the funke two of the Triremes, and so got the victorie. From hence they proue, that a Quinquereme had plures remorum ordines, then a Trireme had; and therefore it tooke the name from the pluralitie of bankes of oares, and not from the number of men that rowed at an oare.

But the contrarie opinion doth interpret Ordo Remorum, to be a couple of oares one answering another, on each fide of the veffaile, which we call a paire of oares: So that a Quinquereme being far greater and longer then a Trireme, had more paires of oares then a Trireme had, and those oares were handled with fine

men at one oare, according to the vse of our Gallies at this daie.

But to leave this, and come to their manner of fea-fights, wee must vnder- Their maner fland that the Romans, wanting the vse of Artillerie and managing their ships of sea fights. of warre with force of oares, failed not to make vie of their Arte, in their conflictes and incounters by fea: for all their shippes of seruice, which we tearme men of warre, carried a strong beake-head of yron, which they called rostrum, with which they ranne one against another, with as great violence and furie, as their oares could carrie them. And herein Arte gaue great aduantage; for he that could best skill to turne his ship, with greatest celeritie, and so frustrate an offer; or with speedie and strong agitation follow an advantage: commonly got the victorie.

In the battell, which D. Brutus had with the Maffilians, we reade that two Lib. 2. de

Triremes |bello ciuili.

Quinaueremes.

116 Triremes charging the Admirall, wherein Brutus was one at the one fide, and the other at the other; Brutus and his Marriners so cunningly handled the matter, that when they should come to the hurt, they speedily in a trice of time. wound themselves from betweene them, and the two Triremes met with such a carriere one against another, that one brake her beakehead, and the other split with the blowe.

For this skill and fortune withall, Euphranor the Rodian was of great fame in Cæsars time; although his ende found too true the saying of the Historian, that Whom fortune honoureth with many good haps, the oftentimes referueth to a harder deftinie; as other feamen befides Euphranor, can truely witneffe.

This first brunt being ended: when they came to grapple and boording one of another, then the art and practifes of their land feruices came in vie : for they erected turrets vpon their deckes, and from them they fought with engines and calling weapons, as flinges, arrowes, and piles; and when they entered, they fought with fword and target . Neither did the legionarie fouldier finde any difference, when he came to the point, betweene their fight at fea and that at land: fauing that they could not be martialed in troupes and bandes, in regard wherof the sea service was counted more base, and dishonourable; and the rather, in as much as it decided the controuerfie, by flinges and caffing weapons: which kinde of fight was of leffe honour, then buckling at handy-blowes.

CHAP. VII.

The battell continueth: and Casar ouer-

Cafar.

HE maner of their fightes being this, as I have described, neither Brutus, nor any Tribune or Centurion in his nauie, knewe what to doe or what course of fight to take : for the shipping of the Galles was so strong, that the beake-head of their Quinqueremes could performe no service upon them: and although they should raise turrets according to their vie, yet these would not equall in height the poupe of the enemies shipping; so that there-

in also the Galles had advantage : neither had they any meanes, whereby they might foile so great a nauie, which amounted to the number of 230 shippes of warre. One thing there was among st their provisions which stood them in great steed: for the Romans had provided great sharpe hookes or sickles, which they put upon great and long poles, thefe they fastened to the tackling which held the maine yarde to the mast; and then haling away their ship, with force of Oares, they cutte the said tackling, and the maine yard fell downe: Whereby the Galles, whose onely hope consisted in Sayling and yare turning of their ships, lost at one instant, both their sailes and the use of their shipping: And then the controversie fell within the compasse of valour, wherein the Romans exceeded the Gals; and the rather, inasmuch as they fought in the sight of Casar

and the whole Armie, no valiant act could be smothered in secret; for all the hilles and clifts, which affoorded neare prospect into the sea, were covered with the Roman

Their maine yardes being cutte downe, and the Romans indeuouring with great furie to boord them, failed not to take manie of their ships: which the Galles perceiuing, and finding no remedie nor hope of refistance, began all to flie, & turning their ships to a forewind, were upon a sudden so becalmed, that they were able to make no waie at all. Which fell out so fitly for the Romans, that of so great a nauie, verie few through the helpe of the evening escaped to land, after they had fought the space of 8 houres: with which battell, ended the warre with the Veneti, and the rest of the maritimate nations. For all fort of people both young and olde, in whom there was either courage, counsell, or dignitie, were present at this battell, and all their shipping was taken and lost; so that such as remained, knew not whither to go, nor how to defend their townes any longer: and therefore yeelded themselues to Casar, in whom he vsed the greater severitie, that he might thereby teach all other barbarous people, not to violate the law of nations: for he sem all the Senat with the sword, and solde the people for bondslaues.

THE OBSERVATION.

N this battell I chiefly observe the good fortune, which vsually atten- The force of deth vpon industrie: for amongst other prouisions, which the diligence industrie. of the Romans had furnished out to the vse of this war, they had made readie these hookes, not for this intent wherin they were imploied, but at all occasions & chances, that might happen, as seruiceable complements rather then principall instruments: and yet it fo fell out, that they proued the only meanes, to ouerthrow the Galles. Which proueth true the faying of Cæfar, that induftrie commaundeth fortune and buyeth good fuccesse, with extraordinary labour: for industrie in action is as importunitie in speech, which forceth an affent beyond the strength of reason; and striueth through continual pursuit, to make good the motives, by often inculcations; and at length findeth that dispofition, which will eafily admit whatfoeuer is required: In like manner diligence and laboursome industrie, by circumspect and heedefull cariage, seldome faile either by hap or cunning, to make good that part wherein the maine point of the matter dependeth. For euerie action is intangled with many infinite adherents, which are fo interessed in the matter, that it succeedeth according as it is carried answerable to their natures. Of these adherentes, some of them are by wifedome, foreseene; and directed to that course which may fortunate the action: the rest being vnknowne, continue without either direction or preuention, and are all vnder the regiment of fortune; for as much as they are beyonde the compasse of our wisest reach, and stand in the waie either to affist or disaduantage: Of these, industrie hath greatest authoritie; in as much as she armeth her felfe for all chances, whereby the is faid to command fortune.

P iii.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

La Perche

Sabinus ouerthroweth the * Vnelli, with the manner thereof.

Cafar.

* Rhone. *Eureux.



HILE these things happened in the state of Vannes, L. Titurius Sabinus entereth with his forces, into the confines of the Vnelli, over whom Viridouix was made chiefe commander, having drawne the* Aulerci and the * Eburonices, with a great number of vagabondes and theeues

into the same conspiracie: Sabinus incamping himselfe in a convenient place, kept his fouldiers within the rampier. But Viridouix, being lodoed within lesse then two miles of Sabinus his campe, brought out his forces daily, and putting them in battell gaue him oportunitie to fight if he would : which Sabinus refused in such sort, that he began not onely to be suspected by the enemie of cowardice, but to be taunted with the reprochfull speeches of his owne souldiers; which opinion of feare being once setled in the mindes of the enemie, he wed all meanes to increase it, and caried it so wel, that the enemie durst approch the verie rampier of the campe. The colour that he pretended was, that he thought it not the part of a Legate, in the absence of the Generall, to fight with an enemie of that strength, but woon some good oportunitie, or in a place of advantage. In this generall perswasion of feare, Sabinus chose out a subtile witted Gall, whom he perswaded with great rewards, and further promises, to flie to the enemie, and there to carrie himselfe, according to the instructions, which he should give him. This Gall comming as a revolter to the enemy, laide open unto them the feare of the Romans: the extremitie that Cafar was driven into by the Veneti; and that the night before, Sabinus was about to withdraw his forces fecretly out of his campe, and to make all the haste he could to relieue Casar. Vpon which aduertifement, they all cried out with one confent, that this oportunity was not to be omitted; but setting apart all other deutses, to go and assault the Roman campe. Many circumstances personaded the Galles to this resolution; as first the lingering & doubt which Sabinus had made, when he was offered battell: secondly the intelligence which this fugitiue had brought: thirdly the want of victuals, wherein they had bin negligent and unaduifedly carelesse: fourthly the hope they conceived of the warre of Vannes; and lastly, for that men willingly beleeve that which they would have come to passe. The force of these motives was so strong, that they would not suffer Viridouix, nor the rest of the captaines, to dismisse the councell untill they had permitted them to take Armes, and go to the Roman campe. Which being granted, they gathered rubbish and fagots to fill up the ditch, and with cheerefull harts, as though the vicforie were alreadie gotten, they marched to the place where Sabinus was incamped, which was the toppe of a hill rifing gently from a levell, the quantitie of 1000 paces: hither the Gals hasted with all expedition; and to the intent the Romans might not have so much time, as to put on their armour, the Galles for haste ran themselves out of breath.

Sabinus

Sabinus incouraging his fouldiers, gaue the signe of battell, and fallying out at two severall gates of his campe, it fell out that through the oportunitie of the place, the wearines and unexperience of the enemie, the valour of the Roman foldier and their exercise in former battels, that the Galles could not indure the brunt of the first incounter; but presently tooke themselves to flight, of whom veriefew escaped. And so it happened that at one time, Sabinus had newes of the overthrow at sea, and Casar of Sabinus victory by land. Vpon these victories, all the cities and states yeelded themselues to Titurius: for as the Galles are prompt to undertake a warre; so are they weake in suffering, and impatient of the consequents and calamities thereof.

OBSERVATIONS.



His practile of a counterfeit feare was often put in vie by the Roman The vie leaders, as well to disappoint the expectation of an enemie, as to phich the draw them into an inconvenience, & so to defeat them of their grea-Romansmadi of Cicero made such vse of this Art, that he put to route a great Armie of the

Galles, with a handfull of men: which I will referre vnto the place, where it is

particularly fet downe by Cæfar.

The chiefest thing in this place, which brought them to their ouerthrow, was disappointment: for it is a thing hardly to be digested in businesses of smal consequence, to be frustrated of a settled expectation, when the minde shall dispose her selfe to one only intent, and in the vpshot meete with a counterbusse to crosse her purposes, and so defeat her of that hope which the strength of her reason hath entertained : how much more then in things of such importance, when we shall proceede in a course of victorie, and humour our conceites with that we wish and would have to happen; and in the end meete, either with bondage or death; must our best wittes be appauled? having neither respite nor means, to thinke how the euill may be best preuented. Which the wise Romans well vnderstood, and counted it no dishonour to be reproched with shamefull cowardice, by fuch as knew not the fecrets of wifedome; while they in the meane time forefaw their good fortunes, shrowded under the cloake of a pretended distrust.

Let these examples instruct a leader, so to take the oportunitie of any such fortune, that in the execution he omit not the chiefest points of order and difcipline, as well for the better effecting of the deffigne, as for his owne fafery and the securitie of his Armie. For order is as the sinewes and strength of martiall discipline, vniting the particular members into the firme composition of a well proportioned bodie: and so it maketh it more powerfull then any number of difunited partes, how able or infinite soeuer. I might here alleadge infinite examples to confirme this truth: but let the battell of Drux serue for all; wherein the protestantes ouercharging the catholike Army, followed the retrait so hard, that they quickly became mafters of the field: and then neglecting martiall difcipline, fell in confusedly with the broken multitude, to make the victorie more

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glorious by flaughter and mortalitie: the Duke of Guife all this while bouged not a foot: but in vnexampled patience kept his regiment close together, and would not fuffer them to rescue their general that was taken, untill the regiment of the Prince of Condie was likewise dispersed and broken; and then perceiuing no difference of order, betweene the Victor Protestant, and the vanquished Catholike; he dissolued that terrible cloud that had hung so long in suspence, and fo changing the fortune of the daie, that he tooke the chiefest of their Princes prisoners, with little or no losie of his owne men: so powerfull is order in the deedes of Armes, and of fuch confequence in obtaining victorie. And thus we haue first seene the inconveniences, which a counterfet seare well dissembled, may cast vpon a credulous and vnaduised enemie, when pretence and appearance hath brought them into an errour, which their owne credulitie doth afterward auouch: and fecondly, what strength and safetie consisteth in order; and how powerfull it is to throw downe, and to fet vp.

CHAP.IX.

The Proceedings of Crassus in Aquitanie.

his cariages, he thought that his affaires required no meane diligence : and therfore

having made provision of corne, and mustered many Auxiliarie forces, and sent for

many valiant and prudent men from Tolouse and Narbone, he carted his Army in-

siege unto it; the siege grew hot on both sides; the Romans approched the walles.

with vines, turrets and mounts: the towne [men defended them selucs some time, by

fallying out; sometimes, by undermining the mounts and fortifications, wherin the

austani are very skilfull. But when they perceived the industry of the Romans

to exceed all that they were able to do, they intreated Crassus to accept their rendry:

Cafar.



I the same instant of time it happened also, that Pub. Crassus comming into Aquitania (which both in regard of the large extension of the countrey, as also for the multitude of the inhabitants, was named the third part of Gallia) and considering that he was to make warre in those partes, where L. Valerius Preconius the Legate was flaine, and the Armie overthrowen; and where Lucius Manilius was faine to flie with the leffe of

to the confines of the 'Sontiates, which was no somer knowne but they leuted oreat forces both of horse & foote, and with their horse charged upon the Romans in their march: which being easily repelled, as they followed the retrait, the infanterie of the Galles shewed it selfe in a valley as it laie in ambush. These setting upon the Romans renewed the battell, and there the fight continued hot along times the Sontiates being animated with the former victories, saw all the hope of Aquitanie relie upon their vertue : and the Romans on the other side, desired to shew what they were able to doe of themselues, without their grand Captaine, and under the conduction of a young fouldier: At length the enemy ouerwaged with provelle, and wearied with woundes, betooke themselucs to flight; of whom the Romans slewe a great number. And then marched directlie to the towne of the Sontiates, and laid

* Euocati.

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which being granted, and al the armie intending the delivery of their Armes: Adcantuanus their chiefe mugistrate, fled out in the meane time at an other port of the citie, with 600. denoted companions whom they called Soldury : but as they attempted to escape, the soldiers that kept that part of the fortification, as they signified his enasion by a clamour and shout, the rest betooke themselves to armes; and so repelled him againe into the towne, where he defired to bee taken in the number of the submissive multitude . Crassus bauing taken hostages of them, went into the con-

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

fines of the Voconti.

Hele skilfull and experienced men, which Crassus sent for out of all the Cities in Aquitaine, were those, whom the Romans called Euocati: Euocati. fuch as were free from warfare, and exempted by their lawes from gining their names in musters, either by reason of their yeares, or the magistracy which they had borne, or for some other causes, which gaue them that priuiledge: And in that regard were fent for by letters, intreating their affiftance in the carriage of that war, as men wel acquainted with the nature of fuch businesses. Their places were nothing inferiour to the Centurions, for aduife and direction. although they had no part in command or authority.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

N this fight we may further observe, their maner of defence against Mountes, and Caualieros; which we find chiefly to bee mines. Iofephus in the lewish warre faith, that the Romans hauing raised an exceeding high mount, the lewes undermined the fame with fuch Art,

that as they digged vinderneath, they supported the mount with huge props and planks, that it might not shrinke : and watching a time of greatest aduantage, they fet all the timber worke, which underpropped the mount, on fire, which taking fire with the helpe of brimftone and pitch, the mount fell vpon a sodaine, to the great terrour and amazement of the Romans.

At the fiege of Auaricum, we find how the Galles by vndermining, did take Libr. de bel the earth from the mount, as fast as it was caried vnto it by the Romans; and so le Gall. kept it from rising, and made it vnessectuall. But if it were for the most parte made of woode, or other combustible matter, they fought then by all meanes to burne it; as it happened at the fiege of Maffilia: and oftentimes when both burning and undermining failed, they confronted it, with an other mount within the walles, to disappoint the disaduantage by equal contesting of it; and so made it unprofitable. Concerning mines, this much may I faie, without preiudice to that Art: that the chiefest points to be respected are these: First, the true distance to a dessigned place, which is best got by instrument and helpe of Geometrie, where other markes of certainty are wanting: fecondlie, the direction of the myne, that wee may not erre in our course which the compasse affoordeth: thirdlie, the strengthening of the mine with timber worke,

if neede require: lastly, the countermining and crossemesting: All which parts haue very many circumstances, and require a larger discourse, then may bee thought pertinent for this place.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He strange contract betweene these Soldurij, and their chiefetaine, may wel deferue a place amongst these observations, especiallie confidering the obligatorie conditions, which either party flood bound to obserue: for the Captaine was to make his Soldurij partakers of

all his happines in this life; in regard whereof, they were to take part of whatfoeuer ill chance or disaster shoulde happen to befall him. If death, which is the last end of all sensual miserie, tooke hold of their head, these denoted were tied voluntarilie to follow him the felfe fame way: neither in any memory was there euer man found, that refused to die, if he to whom he was denoted, chanced to be flaine. Which bloudy league of amitie, as it was repugnant to the course of nature, multiplying particular destinie to a generall calamitie: fo was it dangerous in a well ordered state, if the ringleader were either ambitious, or fought to practife any thing contratie to good gonethement: for hee himfelfe would prefume much vpon the affiftance of his Soldurij; and they on the other fide, must needs wish well to his attempts that were so inseressed in his life & death.

The Galles raise new forces, against Crassus.



He barbarous Galles were much troubled, that a towne of that A strength should so soone bee taken and therefore they sent ambassadours into all quarters, conjured one with another, confirmed their couenants with mutuall hostages, and levied what power they were able to make: sending for aide out of Spaine, and from other states that bordered upon Aquitaine; at the comming of the fe forces they began to make warre, with a great

power, and with many foldiours of great fame. For they appointed such leaders as had seene the experience of Sertorius his warres, and were great in the opinion of men, for their skill and knowledge in the arte militarie: thefe according to the cu-Stome of the people of Rome, beganne to take places of advantage, to fortific their campe, and to intercept the Romaines from free passage of convoies, and necessary entercourses. Which when Crassus perceived, and considering withall, that his ovone forces were so few, that hee could not well dismember them upon any service or aduantages and that the enemy went out at his pleasure, kept the passages, and left notwithstanding, a sufficient garison in his campe; by which meanes their corne and provision would in time grow scarce, and the enemy waxed every daie stronger: he thought it his best course not to linger any longer, but presently to give them battel.

The matter being referd to a councel of warre, when hee understoode that all men were of the same opinion, he appointed the next daie to give them battaile; and in the dawning putting his men in a double battaile, and placing the Auxiliarie forces in the middest, he attended to see what the enemy would doe. The Galles, although they were persuaded that they might aduenture battel both in regard of their multitude and ancient prowes of warre, as also in respect of the paucitie of the Romains; vet they thought it better to blocke up the passages, and so cut off all carriages, and conuoies of corne; and so the victory would follow without bloud hed: and if the Romans for want of corne should offer to make a retreit they would then set upon them as they marched, wearied with tranell, and heaville laden with their burthens This resolution being approved by the whole councell of the Galles, when the Romans imbattailed their forces, they kept their men within their campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius and Cinna, and Sertorius. when Syila had ouerthrowne both the elder and yonger Marius, hee fled into Spaine, and there maintained the quarrell on foote against

Pompeie and Metellus; and ouerthrew them in many battels : but in the end was trecheroufly flaine by Perpanna at a banket. He was a man of great spirit, and of admirable dispatch; and vnder him were these captaines brought vp, which Cæfar commendeth for their skil in armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



fifteth in peace and loue.

N histories, propounding to our consideration the deedes and moni-ments of former ages, we may observe two especiall meanes, which the great commanders of the world have entertained to atchieue victory, and ouermaster their enemies: the first by cunning and wise carriage of a matter, to ouermaster before it come to triall by blowes: the tecond, by forceable meanes & waging of battel; the one proceeding from wildom and the better faculties of the foule; and the other depending upon the strength and ability of the body. Concerning the first, it hath ener bin held more honorable, as better suting the worth of the fpirit and the divine effence of our nature, so to direct the course of an action, that the aduerse part may be weakened by wit, and preuented in the projects of their better fortunes, by anticipation of meanes and occasions, & so through aduantages taken from their owne proceedings, to be driven to that exigent, which may determine of the controuerfie before they come to blowes, & conclude the matter by tearmes of arte, taken from the directions of good prouidence. For to speake a truth, the action of battel, as it is the last part in that facultie; so it is the worlt in regarde of christian duty, and better fitteth the progeny of Lamech his fecond wife, which the Dinines do note to be borne to the ruine and destruction of mankind, then the children of grace, whose ioy con-

their enemies

by war and Naamah by the floud,

Cæfar

Cæfar in the first of the civil warres respected the same thing, but from o ther grounds: for having thut vp Afranius, and Petreius in a place of difaduantage, and might haue cut them off without further trouble; yet forafmuch as he forefaw the victorie comming towards him without blow or wound, he thus answered his Captaines that were earnest upon the enemie: Cur etiam secundo pralio aliquos ex suis amitteret?cur vulnerari pateretur optime de se meritos milites? cur denique fortunam periclitaretur? And this course did these Galles take. which under Sertorius had learned the Romaine Arte, and the Romaine induftry; and were now become so expert, that they had almost beaten the Romains at their owne weapon. This first meanes is principally to be imbraced, as the fafest waie in these vncertaine and casual euentes: for that which resteth vpon corporall strength, and maketh execution the meanes to a conclusion, is verie terrible euen to the better party, full of hazard and of little certaintie. For it were a miracle of fortune neuer heard of yet, fo to carrie a battaile vpon what aduantage or meanes whatfoeuer, that the victor army shoulde buie so great a fortune without bloudshed or losse of men; and erect a Trophee to honour at the fole cost of the enemy, without losse or expence of his owne treasure. And for the vncertaintie in a battell, who knoweth not what infinite chances and changes may happen in enery small moment of time, to turne the fortune of the day to this or that party, and make both fides vnconstant in their affections. by prefenting them interchangeably with hope and feare, joy and forrow? and therefore Cæfar thought it not best to tempt the waie-wardnes of fortune, when by other meanes he might obtaine his defires. This I say is chiefely to be imbraced, if our meanes wil affoord vs that happineffe: but howfoeuer I holde it wisedome so to entertaine this course of victorie, that we omit not the chiefest helpes of furtherance when it commeth to blowes, but to thinke of this conquest by arte and wit, as necessarie, if our meanes will serue vs to compasse it; and of the other, as necessarie whether we will or no: for the historie maketh it plaine, that when Brutus found himfelfe destitute of meanes to vndertake that course of victorie, which proceedeth from prouidence and discreete cariage; hee then betooke himselfe necessarilie to the latter, and by the helpe of battell, fought to free himselfe from those disaduantages, into which the Galles had

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Not to forgo an aduantao

brought him.

Observe further out of this place, that what course soever be taken, a discreet leader wil not easily forgo an aduantage, without great assurance of a better fortune : nor change the certainty of a benefit, vpon probabilities of other hopes, vntill it haue paid him the interest of his expectation, and wrought that effect which it promifed to performe. For fo he might forgo his fortune by prefuming too much vpon the fauour of future chances, which are oftner feene to croffe our purpofes, rather then to further the way which is taken. \

THE

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.



Vrther I obserue, this double battell to be answerable to the paucity of the Roman forces: for their viuall manner was, to make a triple battell, that the first might have a second, and a third helpe: but where their number would not affoord that commoditie, they then made two battels, that there might be the fuccour of a fecond fupplie. But they neuer fought with one single battell, for ought that may bee gathered by their histories.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.



He last thing which I observe, is the place, where Crassus bestowed The place the Auxiliarie forces, in the disposition of his troupes to battell; where susper which is here faid to be, in mediam Aciem: for as their Armies were Eted forces

divided into three battels; so everie battell was devided into three are best bepartes; the two cornets, and the battell, wherein these Auxiliarie forces were in formed in bat this feruice bestowed: of these he afterward faith, that in as much as he durst not put any confidence in them, he commanded them to ferue the Romans in time of battell, with stones and weapons, and to carrie earth and turfe to the mount. The reason why suspected troupes are placed in the battell, rather then in either of the cornets, is, for that the battell hath not fuch scope to fling out, or take advantage of place to doe mischiefe, as the cornets have: for wheresoever there hath beene fet battels fought, the strength of their armie consisted alwaies in the cornets, as the two principall instruments of the battell; and as long as these stood found, the victorie went alwaies certaine on that part: for the cornets kept the enemie both from incompassing about the bodie of their Armie, and had the aduantage also of charging vpon the open side of their aduersarie. At the battell of Cannas Hanniball put the weakest of his forces in the battell, and advancing them towards the enemie, left the two corners behind: fo that, when the enemie came to charge vpon the battell, they eafily beat them backe, and as they followed the retrait fell in betweene the two cornets, wherein the strength of the Armie consisted, and being by them incompassed on each side, were defeated and ouerthrowen. And thus we fee the aduantage which a Generall hath, when his two cornets stand firme; although the battell shrinke in the incounter. Hanniball in the battell he had with Scipio in Africke, placed the strangers in the front and in the rereward, according peraduenture as he found their number and the vic of their Armes, which are circumstances to be considered in this case, and depend rather upon the judgment of a generall, then of anie prescription that can be given in this matter.

Q iij.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Crassus taketh the campe of the Galles: and with their overthrow endeth that

warre.

Cafar.

R ASSVS understanding their drift, and finding his men willing to fet upon their campe, incouraged his foldiers; and to the contentment of all men, went directly to the place where they were lodged : and as some began to fill up the ditch; and others with casting weapons to beate the Galles from the rampier, he commanded the Auxiliarie forces, of whom he had no great affu-

rance, to bring stones and weapons to the soldiers that fought, and to carrie earth and turfe to the mount; that fothey might make a shew of fighting. And on the other side, as the enemy began valiantly to make resistance, and to caste their weapon from the higher ground, to the great hurt of the Roman Souldier; the horsemen in the meane time riding about the campe of the Galles, brought worde to Crassus that the rampier at the Decumane port, was not fortified with such diligence, as they found it in other places, but would admit an easie entrance. Crassus dealt earnestly with the commanders of the horse, to incourage their men with great promises and rewardes; and instructed them what he would have done : they, according to their instructions, tooke four ecohorts that were left in the campe, and carrying them a further waie about, that they might not be discourred by the enemy; while all mens eies and mindes were intent upon the fight, they speedely came to the place of the fortifications, which the horfmen had found to be weake, which being eafily broken down, they had entered the campe before the enemie could well tell what was done. And then a great clamour & Shout being heard about that place, the Roman legions renuing their force, as it falleth out alwaies in hope of victorie, began to charge them a fresh with great furie: the Galles being circumuented on each side, and despairing of their safetie, casting themselves over the rampier, sought by slight to escape the danger . But for as much as the country was open and champion, the korfemen pursued them with that execution, that of 50000 there scarce remaineth the fourth part.

THE OBSERVATION.

Lib. 3. Auertiment secundo.

Rom this place Brancatio taketh occasion to dispute, how an enemie that is ftrongly incamped, and for some aduantage wan not may be dislodged, whether he will or no. A point of great cosequence, in matter of warre: and therefore descrueth due consideration. Consideration and the source for a maxime, that all forts and strong holds are taken by the foot, and that campes and lodgings are taken by the head: By

COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

which is meant, that he who purpofeth to winne a fortrelle well manned and provided, must first get the foot and take hold of the ditch; and then sease himfelfe vpon the rampier, and fo get the place : for he faith, that mounts and eminent elevations are of little vie against fortreffes or fconfes, vnleffe they ouertop them; which may be eafily preuented by raising the paraper of the fortressein front, and the curtaine in flanke, according as the enemy shall carie his mounts aloft; and so they shall never come to overtop the holdes. But all campes and lodgings are taken by the head: That is, by mountes and eleuations, which by the advantage of their height command the champion. For he holdeth it impossible, to raise amount within the campe in so thort a time, to contest that, which the enemie shall make without. This foundation being laide, he proceedeth to discouer a waie, how to raise a mount mangre the enemie, which shall diflodge them by force of Artillerie, or murther them all within their trenches. And this he taketh from Cæfar at the fiege of Gergobia. The Substance of the Lib. de bello matter confifteth in a double ditch, running like vitto the line which the Geo-Callies.

metricians call Helicall; by this double dirch, he maketh his approch to anie place of most aduantage, where he maie in a night, raise a mount high enough for the ordinance to plaie vpon any quarter of the campe. The centure of this practife, I referre to our indicious fouldiers, which may, if it pleafe them, take a better view of the particularities of this stratagem in Brancatio himselfe. This much I dare affirme in the behalfe of these workes, that they were of highesteeme amongst the Romans, when daily experience and exigents of hazard had taught to finde out the readiest meanes, both for security and victorie. And if our fouldiers could be brought to tafte the commoditie of these workes, either by perswasson or impulsion, it were the best part of their warlike practises: but

CHAP. XII.

our men had rather flie vpon desperat aduentures, and seeke victory in the lawes

of death, then to cleare all hazard, with paines and diligence.

Cæfar vndertaketh the warre with the Menapy and Morini.

I the same time also, although the sommer was almost at an end, yet for as much as all Gallia was in peace, and the * Morini * Terouine only with the * Menapy stood out in armes, and had never either | Cleve and one ambassadour, or otherwise treated of peace; Casar think-Gueldres. ing that warre might quickly be ended, lead his Armie into their country. At his comming he found them to carrie the wars

farre otherwise, then the rest of the Galles had done : for understanding that the greatest nations of Gallia, which had waged battell with the Romans, were beaten and overthrowen; and having whole continents of woods and bogs in their territories, they convaied both themselves and their goods into those quarters:

Casar comming to the beginning of the woods, began to fortifie his campe, not discouering any enemy neare about him; but as his men were dispearfed in their charges. they Suddenly fallied out of the woods and affaulted the Romans; but being speedely driven in againe with the loffe of manie of them, as the Romans followed them farre into the woods, had some few of their men slaine . The time that remained, Casar refolued to spend in cutting downe the woods; and least the foulders might bee taken vnawares, while they were bussed in that worke, he caused them to place all the trees which they cut downe, on either side of the Armie; that they might serue for a defence, against sudden assaultes. A great quantitie of ground was thus rid within a few daies; so that their goods and cattell was taken by the Romans: but they themselves were fled into thicker woods. At which time there happened such a continuall raine, as forced them to leave of the worke; and the souldiers could no longer indure. to lie in tentes of skins : and therefore Cafar, after he had wasted and spoiled their country, burned their townes, and their houses, he carried backe his Armie, and placed them in such citties to winter in, as were subdued by the late warres.

ORSERVATIONS.

He Irish rebels, having the like commoditie of woods and bogs, doe entertaine the like course of warre, as the Morini did with Czfar: the meanes which he yied to disappoint them of that practife, far: the meanes which he vied to dilappoint them of that practile, was to cutte downe the woods, which if it be thought monstrous in

this age, or ridiculous to our men of warre; let them confider that the Roman discipline wrought greater effectes of valour, then can bee made credible by the vse of these times. For besides their exquisite discipline, which of it selse was able to frame patterns of vnexampled magnanimitie; their industrie was admirable in the execution thereof, and carried it with such vncessant trauell, that the fouldiers thought it great happines when they came to wage battell with the enemie; and could have meanes to quit their continuall travell, with the hazard of their liues. Neither let it seeme strange, that the Romans vndertooke to cut down the woods; but rather let vs admire their facilitie in so difficult a taske: for as the historie witnesseth: magno spacio paucis diebus confecto, incredibili celeritate: a great quantitie of ground was rid in a few daies with incredible speede. And after the woods were cut downe, they tooke more paines in placing it on each fide of the legions, to hinder anie fudden affault, then they did in cutting it downe: which deserueth as great admiration, as the former part. There is another place in the fixt booke of these Commentaries, which expresseth more particularly the nature of fuch warres, and may ferue to acquaint vs with that which Cæfar did in thefe difficulties.

The Eburones or the men of Liege, had the like commoditie of woods and bogges, and made vie of them in the warre they had with Cæfar: The matter (faith hee) required great diligence, not so much in regard of the perill of the whole Armie, (for there could no danger come from an enemie that was frighted and dispersed) as the safetie of euerie particular souldier, which in part did

pertaine to the welfare of the whole Armie. For the defire of bootie caried manie of the fouldiers farre from the bodie of the Armie: and the woods being full of vnknowne and secret passages, would not suffer them to go either thicke together or close imbattailed. If he defired to have the warre ended, and the race of those wicked men to bee rooted out, hee must of force make manie small companies, and deuide his men into many bodies: but if hee would have the maniples to keepe at their enfignes, as the discipline and custome of the Roman Army required; then the place was a shelter and defence to the enemie: neither did they want courage to laie ambushments, and to circumuent such as they found alone, stragling from their companies. In these difficulties, there was as much done as diligence could doe; prouiding rather to be wanting in the offenfiue part (although all mens mindes were fet on fire with reuenge) then to hurt the enemie with the losse of the Roman fouldier. Cæsar sent messengers to the bordering states, to come out and sacke the Eburones, and they should haue all the praie for their labour: that the life of the Galles rather then his legionarie fouldiers might be hazarded in those woods; as also that, with so great a multitude, both the race and name of that people might bee quite extinguifhed.

There are many particularities in this relation, which concerne the true motion of the Irish warres, which may be better observed by such as know those warres by experience, then by my felfe that vnderstand them onely by relation: and therefore to preuent fuch exceptions, as my rule shall make of the parallell in these two cases: I will leaue it to be done by themselues. And thus endeth the third Commentarie.



Rj.

THE

THE FOVRTH COM-MENTARIE.

THE ARGUMENT.

He Vsipetes, and Tenchtheri are driven to seeke newe feates in Gallia; they drive the Menapij out of their territories: but in the end are ouerthrowen by Casar. That

warre being ended, he made a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carried his Armie ouer into Germanie. He taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri; and giueth libertie to the Ybij: returneth into Gallia, and carrieth his Armie ouer into Britanie, with the occurrences of that warre.

CHAP. I.

*Those of Zutphen. *Of Hassia.

Cafar.

The *Viipetes, and * Tenchtheri bring great multitudes of peoples, ouer the Rhene into Gallia: the nature of the Sueui.

HE winter following, Pompeie and Crassus being Confuls, the Vsipetes and Tenchtheri, two Germaine nations, passed ouer the Rhene, with great multitudes of people; not far from the the Rhene, with great multitudes of people; not jar from the place, where it falleth into the sea. The reason of their flitting, was the ill intreatie, which for manie yeares together they had received of the Sueui, the greatest or warlikest nation among states the Germains. For these Sueui had one hundred Cantons or

shires, which yearely furnished their warres, with 1000 men a piece; and kept as manie at home to maintaine both themselves, and their Armies abroad: and these the yeare following were in Armes; and the other stated at home, and performed the like dutie; and so by this meanes, they all continued their experience both of tillage, and matter of warre. They lived chiefly upon cattell and milke, and used much hunting, which was the cause (what through the qualitie of their diet, their continuall exercife, and libertie of life, being neuer tied to any discipline, nor wreed to any thing against their disposition) that they were strong and of a large stature, using skins and hides for their cloathing, which couered but part of their body, the rest being naked. Their horsmen oftentimes, in time of battell, for sook their horse, and sought on soot;

being taught to stand still in one place, that when they would they might returne vnto them . Neither was there any thing more base, or dishonest in the course of their life, then to ve furniture for horses: Swould adventure to charge upon great troups of horse, that vied Equipage, with a few of their owne qualitie. They admitted no wine to be brought in onto them, least it might effeminate their warlike inclination. or make them unapt for labour . The greatest honour in their opinion, was to have their bordering Territories lie wast and desolate : for so it would be thought, that manie states together, would not resist their conquering valour : and it was reported, that the country laie wast from them one waie 600 miles together.

THE OBSERVATION:

Y this practife of the Sueui, it appeareth, how little a naked refolution of valour anaileth, when it wanteth the ornaments of moral A carriage and civill diferetion, to make vie of that greatnesse which prowesse hath obtained : for notwithstanding that they were a nation both warlike, and of good abilitie, they were fo vainly carried on with a conceit of manhood, that it forted to no other ende, then to maintaine barbarisme at home, and defolation abroad; where as true valour is alwaies fubordinate to the preservation of common weales, and is as the defensive armes of civill societie. Which I have the rather noted, in as much as it resembleth an humour that aboundeth in this age, especially in the particular haulour of our young galants, whose naked valour reuelling it selfe onely in the lie and in the stabbe, for want of other affiltant vertues to temper the heat of fo brittle a mettall, leadeth them into fuch inconveniences and difordered actions, that it changeth the nature thereof, into giddie headed raffnesse; and in lieue of vertues guerdon, is repaide with irrifion.

CHAP. II.

The motives, inducing the Vipetes to come ouer the Rhene into



EXT unto these Sueui, inhabited the Vbij, a very ample and potent state and through their entercourse and trafficke with marshants, somewhat more civill, then the rest of the Germins. With thefe, the Sneni had often waged battell : and albeit they could not expell them out of their country, for a smuch as their state was very great and populous; yet by continuall incursions they brought them wider, and much weakned their estate Inthe

(ame safe were the Vigetes and Tenchtheri: for having made head against the Sucui

Geldres and Cleene. for many yeares together, they were constrained in the end to for sake their possessions; and wandering the space of three yeares through the continent of Germanie, at last they arrived where the * Menapy inhabited the bankes, on both sides the river Rhene: but being terrified with the arrivall of such a multitude, they for sooke all their dwellines beyond the river, and planted themselves on this side of the water, to hinder the Germans from further pasage.

The Pipetes with their associates, having tried all meanes, and not finding them-selves able to passe over by force, for want of boates; nor by stealth, by reason of the diligent watch of the Menapy, fained a retrait to their olde habitation : and after three daies iourney, their horsemen in one night speedely returned againe, and slew the Menapy, both ungarded and unprovided. For they upon the departure of the Germans, feared not to returne over the river into their townes and houses: these being slaine, and their shipping taken, they got over the river, before the rest of the Menapy had anie notice of their comming : by which meanes they easily dispossesed them of their dwelling places, and lived that winter upon the provision they found there.

Cafar understanding of these thinges, and fearing the weakenesse of the Galles in as much as they are sudden and quicke in their resolutions, and withall desirous of noueltie: he durst no waie trust their vnconstancie; for it was their practise and custome to state travellours and passenvers, and inquire of them what they either heard or knew, concerning anie thing that had happened; and the common people would flock about marchants in faires and markets, and learne of them whence they came, and what newes they brought from thence : and by these rumours and hearesaies they directed the maine course of their actions; wher of they could not but repent themselves, being grounded upon such weake intelligence, as was usually coined to please the multitude. Which custome being knowne, Cafar to preuent a greater warre, hasted to his Armie fooner then he was woont to doe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Vch as haue spent their time in the contemplation of nature, and haue made diligent search of the temperature & quality of climates have made diligent fearch of the temperature & quality of climates and nations, haue all with one consent made choler the regent of the French complexion; diffinguishing the people, with such attributes, as the faide humour viually breedeth. Neither have these conditions, which Cæfar fo long agoe observed in the ancient Galles, anie disresemblance

from that, which the learned of this age have delinered, concerning the nature of the faid inhabitants: but that irrefolute confliction, which breedes fuch no notices and contrarieties of actions, continueth the fame unto these times, in the inhabitants of that country, notwithstanding the alteration of customes, and people, or what els to long a time hath changed; which argueth the vnrefiftable power of celestrall influence, establishing an uniformitie of nature according as the fite of the place beth capable of their powerfull aspect.

The cause of the diversity in the temperature of nations, which are differenced

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by North and fouth, is not without apparant cause, attributed to their propinquitie, or distance from the course of the sunne, which distinguisheth by heate and cold the Northren and Southerne climates of the earth; and separateth the inhabitants thereof, by the dominion of their actine qualities. But the reason while two nations which are both in the fame climate, and under the fame parallel, receiting the virtue of the celeftial bodies, by the same downefal and rebound of their beames, being differenced only by East and West; are so much difunited in nature, and so vnlike in disposition, is not so apparant: whether it be as some haue imagined, for assuch as the all inclosing spheare, which remaineth quiet and immoueable about the circuit of the first motor, hath his parts dinerfly diffinguished with varietie of properties; which by continuall reference and mutuall aspect, are imprinted in the correspondent quarters of the earth; and so keepe a perpetuall residency of one and the same quality, in one and the same place; and make also the varietie of fashions in such partes, as otherwise are equall fauorites of the heatiens maiestie, by receiting an equall measure of light, heat and vertue; or whether the saide quarters of the earth are in themselves diversly noted, with severall qualities, which appropriate the felfe same influence to their particular nature, and so alter it into many fashions, or whether there be some other vnknown cause: I wil leave enery man to satisfie himselfe with that which seemeth most probable vnto him, and proceed to the discouerie of this cholericke passion. Wherein I will indeuor to shew how impatiencie, fodaine refolution, and defire of noueltie, are naturall adjuncts of this humor: And if Cælar made vie of this philosophie in the managing of that warre, let it not be thought impertinent to the knowledge of a Generall to enter into the confideration of this learning. Wherein first, I must laie for a maxime that which long experience hath made authenticall, that the motions of the minde are either quicke or flow, according as the complexion is tempered, either with heat or cold: for as the flegmaticall humor, is of a moift, cold and heavy nature, begetting weake and groffe spirits, and benumining the instruments with a liueles disability; so is the motion of the internal faculties, proceeding likewife after a flow maner, according to the qualitie of the inftruments, whereby it moueth: and therefore men of this watrish constitution, are no way apt to receive an impression, nor to entertaine any sensible appresionfion, vales it be beaten into them, with often and strong repetitions; and then also they proceede as slowlie in discoursing of the consequence, and linger in the choise of their resolutions. On the contrary part, this stand bilis, being of a hote piercing nature, and refembling the active vertue of the fire, doth to purifie the instruments of sense; and quicken the spirits with the viuacity of motion, that they take the first impression as perfectly, as if it had beene oftentimes prefented vnto them, with many strong circumstances. And thence if happeneth, that inalmuch as the Species is fo readily received, and possesset the apprehending facultie, with fuch facility of entrance, that it moueth the other powers of the foule, with as great efficacie at the first conception, as if it had beene brought in with troupes of probabilities, and strengthened with manifest arguments of vindoubted truth: It followeth therefore (by reason of the subtile and fit disposition of the instrumentes, which proceedeth from heate the chiefest qualitie in choler) that the object is at the first moment so strongly settled, in the first receiuing facultie, that the other powers of the minde, with as great speed manifest their offices, concerning the apprehensions, and deliuer a sentence answerable to the strength of the first conception: which maketh them so impatient of delaie, and so sodainly to alter their former resolutions, not suffering the discoursive power to examine the substance thereof, by conference of circumstances, nor to give independent according to the course of our intellectual court. It behoovet therefore every man, in that writeady disposition, espe-

cially in matter of moment, to be suspicious of his owne credulity, and nor to

giue place to resolution, before his judgement be informed, by discourse of the strength or weakenes of the conceined opinion.

But to leave these speculative meditations, to Philosophers of learned conceit: for as much as the right vse of passions is either true wisdome, or commerch neerest to the same; I will onely touch in a worde what degree of choler best befitteth a foldier; or howe it auaileth, or disaduantageth in matter of warre, And first it cannot bee denied, that there is almost no passion, that doth more eclips the light of reason, or sooner corrupterh the sinceritie of a good judgement, then this of anger, which we now speake of: Neither is there any motion that more pleaseth it selfe in his owne actions, or followeth them with greater heate in the execution. And if the trueth chance to shewe it selfe, and conuince a falle pretended cause, as the authour of that passion, it oftentimes redoubleth the rage euen against truth and innocency. Pifo condemned a foldier for returning from forraging, without his companion, being perfuaded that he had flaine him: but at the inflant of the execution, the other that was miffing, teturned, and with greation of the whole army, they were carried to the generall, thinking to have much gratified him, with the manifestation of the truth: but hee through shame and despight, being yet in the torture of his wrath, redoubled his anger, and by a subtilty which his passion furnished him withall, he made three culpable for that he found one innocent; the first, because the sentence of death was past against him, and was not to bee recalled without the breach of law : the second, for that hee was the cause of the death of his companion: and thirdly, the executioner, for not obeying his commandement.

Concerning matter of warre, as it conflitted of differenced partes; so hath choler, diuers effectes. In case of discourse and confultation, when as the powers of the minde ought to bee cleere of all violent, affections, it greatly darkeneth the widerstanding, and troubleth the sincerity of a good judgement, as Carlar noted in his speech to the senate concerning Careline: and therefore a commander must by all meanes indeuor to auoid, euen the least motions of so huttill a passion; and sealon his affections, with that grauity and constancy of spirit, that no turbulent disposition may, either hinder his understanding, or with hold his will from following that course, which reason, appointent, as the best means to a fortunate successes are presented upon a stage, and passe the censure of many curious beholders, which appland graue and patient motions, as the greatest proofe of true wisdoms, which appland graue and patient motions, as the greatest proofe of true wisdoms,

and difallow of passionate, and headthrong affection, as derogating from the fincere cariage of an action, how just societ otherwise it seemeth.

Concerning execution and furie of battaile, I take anger to be a necessarie instrument to set valour on foote, and to ouerwage the difficulties of terrour, with a furious resolution: for considering that the noblest actions of the minde, thande in neede of the impulsions of passions, I take anger to bee the fittest meanes, to aduance the valiant carriage of a battaile: for as feare is trecherous and vnfafe, fo anger is confident and of an vnquenchable heate; and therefore a Commaunder ought by all meanes, to fuggest matter of anger against an enemie, that his men may behold them with a wrathfull regard, and thirst after the daie of battell, to fatisfie their furie with the bloud of their aduersaries. If any vige that it hath beene heretofore observed of the Galles, that in the beginning of a battel they were more then men, and in the latter end they were leffe then women; and therfore a cholerick disposition is not so fit for fernice, as we feem to make it. I answere, that there is a difference between a difposition to choler, such as was observed in the Galles, and the passion of anger, wel kindled in the minde: for the first is subject to alteration and contrarietie of actions; but the other is furious, inuincible, neuer fatisfied but with reuenge. And so that of Aristotle is proued true, that anger serueth oftentimes as a weaponto vertue; whereunto some answere very pleasantly, saying, it is a weapon of a ftrange nature: for wee doe manage other weapons, and this doeth manage vs; our hande guideth not it, but it guideth our hande; it possesset vs; and not wee it, as it happened in the raigne of Tyberius, amongst the mutinous legions at Vetera: and therefore a Commaunder ought to take greate Tacit. heede, whome he maketh the object of that anger, which kindleth in his army: for as it is a passion of terrible execution, and therefore needeth to bee wiselie directed; so is it dangerous in regarde of obedience, which was the only thing which Cæfar required in his foldiors.

But to leave this haftie matter, and fall neerer that which we seeke after. I may not omit the prognostication, which Cæsar made of the consequence of this accident, by the naturall disposition of the people; the event whereof proved the trueth of his predictions; which sheweth what advantage a learned general that hath bin somewhat instructed in the schoole of

nature, hath gained of him, whom only experience hath taught the active rudiments of the war, & thinketh of no further leffon in that art, then that which the office of a feriant or lanceprizado containeth.

CAP.

Salust.

CHAP. III.

Cæfar commeth to his armie, marcheth towards the Germaines, and by the way treateth of conditions of peace.

Cefar.

*Liege.

*Colonia A-

AESAR being come to his armie, found that to have happened which he before suspected: for some of the States of Gallia had fent messengers unto the Germaines, to leave the bankes of Rhene, and to come further into the continent, where they should find ready, what soener they desired. Whereupon the Germaines began to make further incursions, and to waste the lande as far as the confines of the Eburones. The Princes of the Galles

beeing salled together, Cafar thought it best to dissemble what hee had discouered, concerning their revolt; and confirming their mindes with an approbation of their losaltie, hee commanded certaine troupes of horse to be levied and resolved to make warre upon the Germains; and having made provision of corne, hee directed his march towards them. From whom as he was on the way, within a few daies iourney of their campe, he received this message: The Germains as they were not willing to make warre upon the Romains, so they would not refuse to make triall of their manhood, if they were instly prouoked; for their ancient custome was to answere an enemy by force, and not by treaty; yet this much they woulde confesse, that they came thither very unwillingly, being driven by violence out of their possessions. If the Romaine people would accept of their friendship, and either give them territories to inhabite, or (uffer them to keepe that which they had got by the lawe of armes, they might proue profitable friends onto them. They only yeelded to the Sueui, to whome the Gods in feates of armes were inferior; any other nation they wold easily conquer.

To this Cafar answered what hee thought fit; but the purport of his speech was, that he could not make any league with them, if they continued in Gallia: neither was it probable, that they that could not keepe their owne, would get possessions out of other mens hands. Gallia had no vacant place to entertaine fo great a multitude: but if they would they might find a welcome, amongst the "Vbij, whose agents were at that instant in his campe, complaining of the insurie of the Sueui, and desiring aide against them, this much he himselfe would intreat of the Vby. The messengers went backe with these Mandates, promising within three dates to returne againe to Cafar: in the meane time, they defired him, not to bring his armie any neerer their quarters; which request Casar denied: for understanding that a fewe dates before, a great part of their Caualrie were passed ouer the Mosa, he suspected that this delay imported nothing more then the returne of their hor semen.

When Casar was come within twelve miles of their campe, their Ambassadors returned; and meeting him on the way, entreated him earnestly to march no further towardes them: but being denied of their suite, they be fought him to sende to those troupes of horse, which marched before the army, that they should not fight nor make anie hostile incounter; and that he would give them leave to send messengers to the Vbij, of whose entertainement they would e willingly accept, if the, Princes COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

and senate would sweare faith & safe continuance unto their people: Neither would they require more then 3, daies, to negotiat this busines. Casar conceined this treatie to import nothing elfe, then the returne of their horsemen that were absent in pillage, whom they expected within 3. daies, not with standing hee promised them to march but four emiles further that day, to a convenient watring place: in the meane time he fent to the commanders of the horse that were before, not to prouoke the enemy to fight; and if they were set upon to sustaine the charge, until he came neerer with the armie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irlt we may observe his diffebling of the practife of the Galles, with the Germans; & the incouragement which he gaue them in a faithful and loial affection to the people of Rome, when he himselfe knew they had flarted from that duty, which both their honor and a good respect of their friendes required: for he well understood that his presence did take away al scruple of any further motion in that kind; & therfore to have obiected vnto the their errors had not been to heale, but to discouer their wound: only he tooke the way, to cut off their hopes of any practifes, which they might attempt against the Romaine people; and held them in the mean time in the apparance of faithful friends, that they might not bee discouraged, by the detection of their renolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Econdly, vpon this resolution that there was no league to be made with the Germans, if they continued on this fide the Rheneswe may obserue how he entertained a treaty of peace, with fuch confents and denials, as might manifest his readines to further what he made shew of, & not weaken the meanes of his best aduantage. For as he was content they should take a quiet farewel of Gallia, and plant themselves in the possessions of the Vbij; so was he loath to yeeld to any condition, which might difaduantage his forcible coftraint or weaken his command, if perswasson failed: for he well knewe that powerfull means to effect that which he required , would further the course of a peaceable conclusion, and carry more authoritie in a parlee, then any other motive howe reasonable soeuer.

Moreouer wee may observe, howe carefull hee was not to impose vpon the Germaines a necessity of fighting; but opened a passage (by propoun-band gratis ding vnto them the affociation of the Vbij) by which they might avoide invulo qui the hazarde of battaile. Which thing was alwaies observed by Comman-pronocat boders of ancient times, who diligently fearthing into the nature of thinges, stem. founde that neither of those noble instruments, whereby man worketh such wonders (I meane the hande and the tongue) had euer brought fo many excellent works to that type of perfection vales they had bin forced thereunto by

Lin. lib. o.

Lindib.7.

necessitie : and therefore wee are wisely to handle the course of our actions, least while we stand too strict vpon a violent guarde, we give occasion to the enemy, by the way of Antiperistasis, to redouble his strength; and so furnish him with that powerfull engine, which Vetius Mescius calleth vitimum and maximum telum, the last and greatest weapon; the force whereof shall better

appeare by these examples.

Some few of the Samnites, contrarie to the articles of peace between them and the Romans, having made incursions into the territories of the Ramaine confederates; the senate of that state sent to Rome, to excuse the fact, and to make offer of fatisfaction:But being rejected, Claudius Pontius generall of their forces, in an excellent oration which he made, shewed how the Romans would not harken to peace, but chose rather to be reuenged by war: and therefore necessity constrained them to put on armes: iustum est bellum (saith he) quibus necessarium, pia arma quibus, nisi in Armis, spes est.

Caius Manlius, conducting the Roman legions against the Veij, part of the Veian armie had entered the Romaine campe, which Manlius perceiving, hee hasted with a band of men to keepe the breach, and to shut in the Veij: which they no fooner perceived, but they fought with that rage and fury, that they flew Manlius; and had ouerthrown the whole campe, had not a Tribune opened the a passage, by which they sled away.

In like manner Camillus, the wifelt of the Romaine Captaines, beeing entered into the citie of the Veij, that hee might take it with greater facilitie, and disarme the enemie of that terrible weapon of necessitie, hee caused it to bee proclaimed, that no Veian shoulde bee hurt, that was founde vnarmed. Whereupon euery man cast away his weapon, and so the towne was ta-

ken without bloudshed.

Let a foldiour therefore take fuch holde of occasions, and oportunities that are offered vnto him, that in time of battaile hee may seeme to cast necessitie vpon his own cause, and retaine it in his paie : considering how the power therof altereth the workes of nature, and changeth their effects into contrary operations, being neuer subject to any ordinance or lawe; and yet making that lawful which proceedeth from it.

CHAP. IIII.

The Germans, contrary to their owne request made to Cafar, set upon the Romaine horse-men, and ouerthrew them.

Cafar.

ME Otwithstanding the Germans request, concerning the truce, assoone as they saw the Romaine horsemen, which were in number 5000, (whereas the Germans had not aboue 800. herse) they charged upon the Romains, not expecting any hostile incounter, inasmuch as their ambassadours were newly departed from Casar, and had obtained that daie of truce; but

being let upon, they made what resistance they could. The Germans, according to their viuall custome, for sooke their horse, and fighting on foote, did easely put the Romains to flight, who never looked backe, untill they came into the fight of the legions: in that battell were flaine 74. Romaine horsemen. After this battel, Cafar thought it not safe, either to harken to anie conditions, or to receive any message from them, that by fraud and deceit had fought for peace, and ment nothing but war: And to attende any longer until their horsemen returned, was but to give them that advantage against him, especially considering the weakenesse of the Galles, among ft whom the Germans by this battel had gained great reputation; and therfore he durst not give them space to thinke wponit.

OBSERVATIONS.

His cunning of the Germans offereth occasion to speake somewhat, concerning that maine controuerfie of policie, which is, whether the actions of Princes and great commanders, are alwaies to bee attended with integrity, and faithful accomplishment thereof, Wher-

in I wil only fet down fuch arguments, and grounds of reason, which vertue and morall honesty on the one part, (for we wil make it no question to a Christian minde) and the daily practife of states men on the other side, alleadge, to make

good their contrary affertions.

The great Polititians of the world, that commend vertue in a flew, and not in effe and being, and study to maintaine their states onely with humane reason, not regarding the authority of dinine ordinance, fet this downe as a maxime in their Art; That he, that is to negotiate a matter, and meaneth to bring it to an ende forting to his contentment, must in all respects bee like qualified, both in indgement and disposition, as the party is, with whom he dealeth: otherwise he cannot be fufficiently prepared, to hold himselfe strong in the matter, which he vndertaketh. For a wraftler that cometh with meere strength to incounter an other that hath both strength & cunning, may be shrew his strength that brought him thither, to be cast by skil, and be laught at, as an vnworthy chapion for serious fborts: in like maner in this vniuerfall confusion of infidelitie, wherein subtilty flieth at fo high apitch, he that thinketh with simplicitie of spirit to winde through the labyrinths of falshood, and avoide the snares of deceit, shall finde himselfe too weake for so difficult a taske, and beshrew his honesty, if he regard his commodity: for it is the course that every man taketh, which must bring vs to the place to which every man goeth and he that opposeth himselfe against the current of the world, may stand alone in his own conceit, and neuer attaine that which the world feeketh after. For a fmuch therfore, as craft and deceit are fo general, it behooueth a man of publike negotiations, to carry a mind apt & difpoied to these qualities. This was signified by that, which anciet writers report of Achilles, who was fent to Chiron the Centaure, half a man & half a beaft, to be instructed in the rudimets of princely cariage; that of the brutish part, he might learn to strengthen himself, with force & courage; & of the humane shape, so to

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar marched directly to the campe of the Germans, and cut them all in pieces, and fo ended that warre.

PON these considerations, Cesar manifesting his resolution to the Legates, and Questor; there happened a very fortunate accident. For the next daie, very early in the morning, most of the Princes and chiefest of the Germans came vato Cesar into his campe, to excuse their fraudulent practise, and withall to continue their petition of truce. Whereof Cesar was exceeding glad, and caused them to be kept in hold; and at the same instant.

brought his Armie out of the campe, commanding his horsemen to follow the legions, because they had beene daunted with so late an overthrow : And making a triple battell, marched speedely eight miles and so came upon the Germans, before they had notice what had happened; and being terrified with our sudden arrivall, and the departure of their owne leaders, knew not whether it were their best course, to bring forth their forces, or to defend their campe, or otherwise to seeke their safety by flight. Which tumult and feare was no sooner perceived by the Roman souldier, but calling to mind their perfidious trecherie, they brake into the campe, and were at first a little resisted; in the meane time, the women and children fled every one awaie: which Cafar perceiuing, sent his horsemen to pursue them. The German's hearing the clamour and schrichings behinde their backes, and seeing their friends pursued and staine, did cast awaie their weapons, and fled out of the campe, and comming to the confluence of the Mase and the Rhene, such as had escaped cast themselves into the river; where, what through feare, and wearinesse, and the force of the water, were all drowned. In this conflict the Romans lost not a man: the number of the enemie was 430000 with women and children . To them, whom he had retained in his campe, he caue leave to depart; but they fearing the crueltie of the Galles, desired that they might continue with the Romans : which Cafar agreed unto.

OBSERVATIONS.

His relation affoordeth little matter of warre, but onely a feuere reuenge of hatefull trecherie: notwithstanding I will hence take occassion, to discouer the offices of the Questor and the Legates; and
shew what place they had in the Armie. And first concerning the
Questor, we are to vinderstand, that he was elected by the common voice of the
people, in the same court, which was called to creat the Generall. His office
was, to take charge of the publike treasure, whether it came out of their Ærarium, for the paie of the Armie; or otherwise was taken from the enemie. Of

manage reason, that it might bee a fit instrument to answere or preuent, what some mans wit might forge to ouerthrow it. Neither ought a private man to wonder at the strangenesse of these positions; considering that the government of kingdomes, and Empires is caried with another bias, then that which concerneth particular affaires in a well ordered state: wherein truth-breakers and saithlesse are worthely condemned, inasmuch as they necessarile ensorce the ruine thereof. But these that sit at the helme of government, and are to shape the course of a state, according to the variation of times and fortunes, derive their conclusions from other principles, whereof inseriour subjects are no more capable, then men are able to vnderstande the workes of the Godes: and therefore they are called arcana imperij, to bee reverenced rather,

then lookt into.

To conclude the affaires of particular persons are of so short extension, and incircled in so small a compasse, that a meane capacitic may easily apprehend the aduantages or inconveniences, which may ensite upon the contract: and therefore it is requisite they should stande to the aduenture, and their sudgement is worthely taxed with the losse: but the businesses of a common weale are, both subject to so many casualties of so rune, and relie upon such unexpected accidents, that it is impossible for any spirit, howe provident socuet, to foresee the issue, in that variety of chances. Besides that, every particular subject is much interessed in the fortune of the event, and may instructed a alteration of the intended course, rather then suffer shipwracke through the errour of their Pilot: And so the safety of the state doth balance out the losse of credit in the Gouernor.

On the other fide, fuch as zealoully affect true honour, affirme vertue to be the fame both in prince and people; neither doth condition of state, or calling, or the qualitie of publike or prinate businesses, after the nature and effence of goodnes: for to deprine the toing of truth and fidelitie were to breake the bond of civill societie, which is the basis and ground plot of all states and commonweales. They doe not denie but that a wise Prince maie so carrie a treatie, that he maie seeme to affect that most which he least intendeth; or answere doubtfully concerning the propositions; and that he maie we with great honour the practices and stratagems of warre, when the fortune of both parties consistent you their owne industrie: but to breake any couenants agreed yoon, may well get a kingdome, but neuer honourable reputation.

And thus they contend concerning the meanes, whereby a state is continued in happie gouernment: whereof this much I dare say by the warrant of this historie, that he who salssieth his words upon aduantage, howsouer he regardeth his honour, had neede to paie them home in regard of his owne safetie: for if they once recourt he losse, and get any aduantage against those truth-breakers,

they will finde as little fauour, as the Germans did with Cæfar.

CHAP.

him the fouldiers received their stipend both in corne and money; and what other bootie was taken from the enemie, he either kept them, or folde them, for the vie of the common-weale.

The Legates were not chosen, by the people, but appointed by the Senat, as affiftants & Coadiutors to the Emperor, for the publike service, and were altogether directed by the Generall, in whose absence they had the absolute command: and their number was for the most part vncertaine; but proportioned according to the number of legions in the Armie.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar maketh a bridge vpon the Rhene, and

carrieth his Armie ouer into Germanie.

Cafar.



HE German warre being thus ended: Cafar thought it neces-Sarie, to transport his Armie over the Rhene into the continent of Germanie, for manie causes: whereof this was not the least, that seeing the Germans were so easily perswaded, to bring their colonies and their vagrant multitudes into Gallia : he thought it good to make knowen unto them, that the Roman people could, at their pleasure, carrie their forces over the Rhene into

Germanie . Moreouer, those troupes of horse, which were absent at the late overthrow of the Germans, were fled into the confines of the Sicambri; to whom, when Cafar fent meffengers to demand them to be fent unto him, they answered, that the Roman Empire was limited by the Rhene: and if the Germans were interdicted Gallia, why should Cafar challenge any authority in their quarters? Lastly, the Vby, who among st all the rest of the Germans had only accepted of Casars friendship, and given pleages of their fidelitie, had made earnest suit onto him, to send them aid against the Sueui; or at the least to transport his Armie over the Rhene: for the name and opinion of the Roman Armie was fo great, and of such fame, what with Arionistus ouerthrow, and this last service, that it sounded honourable among st the furthest nations of Germany. For these reasons, Casar resolved to passe the Rhene : but to carrie his Armie over by boate, was neither safe, nor for the maiestie of the people of Rome. And albeit it seemed a matter of great difficultie, by reason of the breadth, swiftnes, and depth of the river, to make a bridge; yet herefolved to trie what he could doe, otherwise he determined not to passe over at all: and so he built a bridge after this maner.

At two foote distance, he placed two trees of a foot and halfe square, sharpened at the lower end, and cut answerable to the depth of the river: these he let downe into the water with engines, and drove them in with commanders, not perpendicularly, after the fashion of a pile, but gable wise and bending with the course of the water: opposite unto these he placed two other trees, joyned together after the same fashion, being 40 foote distant from the former, by the dimension betweene their lower parts COMMENT ARIES, LIB. IIII.

in the bottome of the water, and reclining against the course of the river: these two paire of couples thus placed, he joyned together with a beame of two foote square, equall to the distance betweene the said couples, and fastened them at each ende on either side of the couples, with braces and pins : whereby the strength of the worke, and nature of the frame was such that the creater the violence of the streame was and the faster it fell upon the timber worke, the stronger the bridge was united in the couplings and iointes. In like manner, he proceeded with couples, and beames, untill the worke was brought unto the other side of the river: and then he laide straight planks from beame to beame, and coursed them with hurdles; and so he made a floore to the bridge . Moreouer, on the lower side of the bridge, he drove downe supporters, which being fastened to the timber worke, did strengthen the bridge against the force of the water; and on the upper side of the bridge, at a reasonable distance, he placed piles to hinder the force of trees or boates, or what els the enemie might cast downe to trouble the worke: within ten daies, that the timber began to be cut downe and carried, the worke was ended, and the Armie transported. Casar, leaving a strong garrison at ei-

OBSERVATIONS.

ther end of the bridge, went into the confines of the Sicambri.

T shall not be amisse, to enter a little into the consideration of this bridge; as well in regard of the ingenious Architecture therof, as also that we may somwhat imitate Cæsar, whom we may observe to insist with as great plenty of wit & eloquece, in presenting vnto vs the subtilty of his inventio in such maner of handy works, as vpon any other part of his actios; as this particular description of the bridge; may sufficietly witnes: besides the fortifications at Alesia, and the intrenchments in Britanie, for the safetie of his shipping, with many other workes, which he might well record, as the greatest destignes of an heroick spirit, and the wonderfull effectes of magnanimous industrie; that succeeding ages might not boast either of Arte or prowes, which his vertue had not expressed; or otherwise might wonder at that worth, which they themselues coulde not attaine vnto: And to that purpose hee entertained Vitrunius, the father of architecture, and as worthilie to bee imitated in that facultie, as his maister Cæsar is in seates of armes. By whose example a great commander may learne howe much it importeth the eternitie of his fame, to beautifie his greatest destignes with arte, and to esteeme of such as are able to intreat the Mathematicall muses, to show themselves under the shape of asenfible forme; which albeit through the rudenesse of the matter, fall faire short of the truth of their intellectuall nature, yet their beautie expresseth such a maiestie of Arte, that no time will suffer the memorie thereof to perish.

The workmanship of this bridge consisted chiefely in the oblique situation of the double postes, whereof the first order bending with the streame, and the lower ranke against the streame, when they came to be coupled together with ouerthwart beames, which were fastened in the couplings with braces, which he nameth Fibulas; the more violent the streame fell vpon the worke, the faster

Lıb.de

Machi.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS the jointes of the building were vnited, as may better appeare by a modell of that making, then can be expressed by any circumstance of wordes.

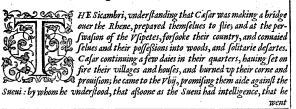
I might hence take occasion to speake of the diversitie of bridges, and of the practifes which antiquitie hath deuifed to transport Armies ouer rivers: but inassimuch as it is a common subject for all that undertake this militarie taske, and hath beene handled by Lipfuis, vpon the occasion of this bridge; I will refer the reader to that place; and only note the fingular disposition of this action, in as much as Cæfar made the meanes correspondent to that end which he intended. For confidering that the chiefest end of his passage was, to let the Germans vnderstand, that the power of the Roman Empire was not bouded with the Rhene; and that a river could not to separate their Territories, but that they were able to ioine both the continents together, and make a common roade waie, where it feemed most vnpassable: he thought it best to passe ouer his Anny by a bridge, that so the Germans might know the power of his forces, and also conceit their Territories, as vnited vnto Gallia; or to be vnited at the pleafure of the Romans, with a firme Ishmus & plaine passage by soot, which in times past had alwaies been separated by a mightie river. Neither would a transportation by boat have wrought that effect, for as much as the daily vie thereof was fo familiar to the Germans, that it nothing altered their imagination, of an vnacceffible paffage: but when they faw fo strange a thing attempted, and fo suddenly performed, they would eafily understand, that they were not so farre off, but that they might be ouertaken; and so direct their demeanour accordingly.

Let this suffice therfore to proue, that a passage ouer a river by a bridge, is more honourable, fafe, and of greater terror to the enemy, then any other way that can be deuiled; especially if the river carrie any depth, such as the Rhene is: otherwise, if it have either shallowes or foordes, whereby men may wade over, without any great incombrance, it were but loft labour to frand about a bridge, but rather to thinke of it, as of a place incombred with fuch hindrances, as men often meete with in a march.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri: giueth libertie to the Ubij; and returneth againe into Gallia.

Cafar.



went about to make a bridge, calling a councell according to their maner they fent unto all quarters of their state, that they should for sake their townes, and carie their wives and children, and all that they had, into the woods : and that all that were able to beare Armes, should make head in one place, which they appointed to bee the midst of their countrey, and there they attended the comming of the Romaines, and were refolued in that place to give them battell . Which when Cafar understood, hauing ended all those thinges, in regard whereof he came into Germanie, which was chiefely to terrifie the Germans, to be revenged upon the Sicambri, to fet the Vbij at libertie; having spent in all 18 daies beyond the Rhene, as well in regard of his owne honour, and the good of the common-weale: he returned into Gallia, and brake up the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar thinketh of a voiage into Britanie: he enquireth of marchants, concerning the nature of that people.



LTHOVGH the sommer was almost spent, and that in those partes the winter hasteneth on a pace, inasmuch as all Galliainclineth to the North; notwithstanding he resolved to go over into Britanie: forasmuch as he understood, that in all the former wars of Gallia, the enemie had received most of their supply from thence. And although the time of the yeare would not suffer him to finish that warre; yet he thought it would be to good

purpose, if he went only to view the Iland, to understand the qualitie of the inhabitants, and to know their coast, their portes, and their landing places; whereof the Galles were altogether ignorant : for seldome any man, but marchants, did trauell unto them. Neither was there any thing discourred but the sea-coast, and those regions which were opposite unto Gallia: And therefore calling marchants together from all quarters, he neither could understand of what quantitie the Iland was, what nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what vie or experience of warre they had; what lawes or customes they wied; nor what havens they had to receive a nauie of great [hipping.

OBSERVATIONS.



S the Germans had oftentimes stirred vp motions of rebellion amongst the Galles, by sending their superfluous multitudes into their kingdome; so the Britaines had veheld most of their warres, by furnifhing them with fuch supplies, as from time to time they stood in neede of . So that if Cæsar, or the Roman people, would rest secure of their quiet and peaceable gouernment in Gallia, as they had chastised the insoCHAP. IX.

Cæsar sendeth C. Volusenus, to discouer the coast of Britanie; and prepareth himselfe for that voiage.

AES AR fent out Caius Volusenus, with a gallie to discouer what he could concerning these thinges; and to returne againe Teroanne, or unto him very speedely : he himselfe marched in the meane time, Monstrell. with all his forces, unto the Morini; forasmuch as from thence laie the shortest cut into Britanie. Thither he commanded that shippes should be brought from all the maritimate cities of that

Cafar.

quarter, and namely that fleete, which he had built the yeare before for the warre at Vannes. In the meane time his resolution being knowen, and carried into Britanie by merchants and others, manie private states of that Iland sent ambassadours unto him, promising him hostages of their localtie, and signifying their readinesse to submit themselves to the Roman Empire . To these he made liberall promises, exhorting them to continue in that obedience; and so sent them backe againe: And with them he fent Comius, whom he had made king of Arras, whose wisdome and vertue he held in good account, and knew it to be of great authoritie in those Regions: to him he gaue in charge to go to as many of the states as he could, and perswade them to accept of the friendship of the Roman Empire, and that Casar himselfe would presently follow after.

Volusenus, having taken what view of the country he could; for he durst not go on shore to commit himselfe to the barbarisme of the enemy; after five daies returned to Casar : and while he stated in those places for the furnishing of his fleete, the Morini sent mesengers unto him, excusing their former faultes, and manifesting their readinesse to obey his mandates. Casar not willing to leave any enemy behinde him. or to neglect his voiage into Britanie, for such small matters; hee willingly accepted of their submission, having first received manie hostages of them, and having made readie eightie shippes of burthen, which he thought sufficient to transport two legions, he deuided the Galleies to the Questor, the Legates and the commanders of the horse . There were also eighteene shippes of burthen more, which laie windbound at a port eight miles off, and them he appointed for the horsemen: the rest of the Armie he committed to Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculeius Cotta, commanding them to go to the confines of the Menapy: and appointed P. Sulp. Rufus, a Legate, to keepe the port, with a sufficient garrizon.

rations, as any internall ficknesse whatsoeuer. In the fecond Commentarie, I briefely touched the commoditie of good discouerie; but because it is a matter of great consequence, in the fortunate cariage of a warre, I will once againe by this example of Cæfar, remember a Generall not to be negligent in this dutie. Suctonius in the life of our Cæfar reporteth, that he neuer vndertooke any expedition, but he first received true intelligence of the particular fite, and nature of the country, as also of the maners and qualitie of the people; and that he would not vndertake the voiage into Britanie, vntill he had made perfect discouerie by himselfe, of the magnitude and fituation of the Iland. VVhich Suetonius might understand by this first voiage, which Cæsar would needes vndertake in the latter end of a sommer, although it

fo was it necessarie to make the Britains know, that their affishance in the warre of Gallia would draw more businesses vpon them, then they were well able to

manage. For as I have noted in my former discourses, the causes of an unpeaceable government are as well externall and forraine, as internall and bred in the

bodie; which neede the helpe of a Philition, to continue the bodie in a perfect state of health, and require as great a diligence to qualifie their malicious ope-

were as he himselfe faith, but to discouer.

It is recorded by auncient writers, that those demigods that gouerned the world in their time, gaue great honor to the exercise of hunting, as the perfect image of warre in the refemblance of all parts, and namely in the discouerie and knowledge of a country; without which all enterprises, either of sport in hunting, or earnest in warres were friuolous and of no effect. And therefore Zenophon in the life of Cyrus, sheweth that his expedition against the king of Armenia. was nothing but a repetition of fuch sportes, as he had yied in hunting. Howfocuer, if the infinite examples registred in historie, how by the dexteritie of some leaders it hath gained great victories, & through the negligence of others, irreconerable ouerthrowes; are not sufficient motines to perswade the to this duty: let their owne experience in matters of small moment, manifest the weakenesse of their proceedings, when they are ignorant of the chiefest circumstances of the matter they have in hand. But let this suffice in the second place, to proue the necessitie of good discouerie; and let vs learne of Cæsar, what is principally to be inquired after in the discouerie of an vnknowne country; as first the quantitie of the land: fecondly, what nations inhabite it: thirdly, their vse of warre: fourthly, their civill gouernment: and lastly, what havens they had to receive a nause of great shipping. All which circumstances are such principall Arteries in the bodie of a state, that the discouerie of any one of these demaundes would haue giuen greatlight, concerning the motion of the whole bodie.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar saileth into Britanie, and landeth

Cafar.

HESE thinges being thus dispatched: having a good winde in the third watch, he put out to sea, commanding his horsmen to imbarke themselves at the surther port, which was but slow-lie performed: hee himselfe arrived upon the coast about the fourth houre of the daie, where he sound all the clistes possessed with the forces of the enemie. The nature of the place was such.

The nature of the place was fuch, the new the fea, that a weapon might easily be cast, from the higher ground upon the lower shore: and therefore he thought it no fit landing place; not with standing he cast anker untill the rest of the nauie were come up unto him. In the meane time calling a councell of the Legates and Tribunes. he declared unto them what advertisements he had received by Volusenus, and told them what he would have done; and withall admonished them that the course of militarie affaires, and especially sea matters, that had so sudden and an unconstant motion, required all thinges to be done at a becke, and in due time. The Councell being dismissed, having both wind and tide with him, he waighed anker, and failed eight miles from that place, unto a plaine and open shore. The Britaines perceiving the Romans determination, sent their horse and chariots before, and the rest of their forces followed after, to the place where the Romans intended to land. Cafar found it exceeding difficult to land his men, for these respectes : the ships were so great, that they could not be brought neere unto the shore: the souldiers in strange and unknowne places, having their hands laden with great and heavie weapons, were at one instant to go out of the shippe, to withstand the force of the billow, and to fight with the enemie; whereas the Britaines either standing upon the shore, or making short sallies into the water, did boldly cast their weapons in knowen and frequented places, and managed their horses as accustomed to such services.

The Romans being terrified with these thinges, and altogether vnskilfull of this kinde of fight, did use the same courage, as they were woont to doe in land services: which when Casar perceived, he caused the Galleies, that were both strange to the Britaines, and readier for vse, to be removed from the shippes of burthen, and to bee rowed up and downe, and laide against the open side of the enemie; that from thence with slinges, engines & arrowes, the enemy might be beaten up from the water side, which stood the Romans in good sleede: for the Britaines, being troubled with the strangenesse of the Galleies, the motion of their Oares, and the vnussual kinde of engines; were somewhat dismaied, and began to retire backe, and give waie to the Romans: but the soldiers still lingering and especially for feare of the depth of the sea, the Eagle-beaver of the tenth legion descriptions the Gods, that it might fall out happely to the legion: If you will (saith he) for sake, your Eagle, O ye souldiers, and betraie it to

the enemy, for mine owne part I will do my duty both to the common weale, and to my Imperator , and having spoken this, with a loud voice, hee cast himselfe into the sea. and carried the Eagle towarde the enemy; the Romaines exhorting one another. not to suffer such adishonour to be committed they all leaped out of the ship: which when others that were neere at hande perceived, they followed them with as great alacritie, and pressed towards the enemy to incounter with them . The fight on both partes was very eager, the Romaines not being able to keepe any order of battell nor to get any firme footing, nor to follow their ensignes, for asmuch as every man kept with those ensignes, which he first met withal, were wonderfully troubled: But the enemy acquainted with the flats and shallowes, as they beheld them from the shore to come single out of their ships putting spurs to their horse, woulde set upon them incombred and unprepared, and many of them would overlay a few; others would get the advantage of the open side, and cast their weapons among st the thickest troupes. of them: which when Cafar perceived, he caused the shipboates and smaller vessels to be manned with soldiours, and where he sawe neede of helpe, he sent them to re-(cue such as were over charged. As soone as the Romaines got footing on the firme land, they made head together and charged the enemy, and so put them to flight; but they were not able to follow them nor take the Iland at that time, for want of horsemen, which thing was only wanting to Gasars fortune.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Pon this circumstance of landing, I may justly take occasion to handle that controuerlie, which hath beene often debated by our English Captaines, which is, whether it be better in question of an inuation, and in the absence of our shipping, to oppose an enemy at his landing youn our coast; or quietly to suffer him to set his men on shore, and retire our forces into some inland place, and there attend to give him battell? It seemeth that such as first set this question on foot, and were of an opinion, that we ought not by any meanes to encounter an enemy at his landing; for so wee might much endanger our selues and our countrey; did ground themfelues vpon the authority of Monfieur de Langey, not obseruing the difference betweene an Iland and a continent. For where he fetteth down that position, he plainly aimeth at fuch Princes, as border one vpon an other in the fame continent: but where their territories are disionned by so great a barre as the Ocean, and have not fuch meanes to supprise one an other, it were meere folly to hold good that rule, as shall better appeare by the sequell of this discourse. Wherein I will first laie downe the reasons, that may be vrged to proue it vnsafe to oppose an enemy athis landing, not as beeing viged by that party; for I neuer hearde any probable motive from them which might induce any fuch opinion, but fet down by fuch as haue looked into the controuerfies, both with experience and good judgement.

And first, it may be obiected, that it is a hard matter to resist an enemy at his landing, as well in regard of the vincertaintie of place, as of time: for beeing ignorant in what place hee will attempt a landing, wee must either desende all

11].

place

places of acceffe, or our intentions wil proue meere friuolous; and to performe that , it is requilite that our defensive forces be sufficient, according to the particular qualitie of enery place subject to danger: which considering the large extension of our maritimate parts, and the manie landing places on our coast, will require a greater number of men, then this Iland canne affoord. And although it coulde furnish such a competent number, as might seeme in some fort sufficient; yet the vicertainty of the time of the enemies arrivall, would require that they should be lodged, either vpon or neere the places of danger, manie daies at least, if not many weekes, before the instant of their attempt, which woulde exhauft a greater maffe of treafure, then could bee well affoor-

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

Secondly, it may be objected, that all our landing places are of fuch difaduantage, for the defendantes; that it were no fafetie at all to make heade against him at the landing: for in asmuch as such places are open and plaine, they yeelde no commodity to shelter the desendantes from the sury of the artillerie, wherewith the enemy will plentifullie furnish their long boates and landing veffailes; which beating vpon the beach (for most of our landing places are of that quality) will so scatter them, that no man shall bee able to indure the

inconvenience thereof.

ded by the state.

The thirde objection may arise from the disparitie both of numbers, and condition of the forces of either partie: for the first it must needes bee granted, that the defendantes being to garde fo many places at once, cannot furnish such numbers to euerie particular place for defence, as the assailants may for offence. Concerning the qualitie of the forces, it is without question, that a great and potent Prince, (for such a one it must bee, that vndertaketh to inuade the territories of so absolute and well obeied a Princesse as her Maiestie is) woulde drawe out the floure of his solderie wheresoeuer; befides the gallant troupes of voluntaries, which do commonly attend fuch feruices. Now these being thus qualified, and drawne into one head, and being to make as it were but one body: how can it be reasonably imagined (the time and place of their attempt being vncertaine) that the defendants should equal them with forces of like vertue and experience?

These are the reasons, which may be drawne from the disaduantage, which they have that go about to oppose an enemy at his landing: the rest that have beene vrged, by fuch as maintaine this opinion, are either impertinent to the question, or taken altogether from falle grounds. But before I proceede to the answere of these reasons, I will lay this downe for a principle. That it is imposfible for any forraine Prince how puiffant foeuer, to make fuch a preparation as that be fitting to inuade a state so populous, and respective of their soueraigne, (notwittfanding the pretentes denifed to delimble the fame) but it must of neceffitie be discouered, before it can be made able to put any thing in execution: which I might enlarge by particularizing the infinite equipage, which is required for fo great a fleete. But I will rest my selfe in the example of the yeere 88, which proueth the discouery of the pretended inuation, before it could

come to execution.

Concerning

Concerning therefore the first objection: it cannot indeed bee denied, but the place of the enemies landing will be doubtfull, and therefore our care must the first ob generally extend it selfe to all places of accesse: but that our defensive forces veltion. are not fufficient in a competent maner to garde all fuch places, according as the necessitie of them shall require, that is the point in question. To prooue that our forces are fufficient: wee must necessarily enter into particularities, wherein I will take Kent for a prefident, as not altogether vnacquainted with the state thereof; which, if I deceive not my felfe, is a shore of as large extension vpon the maritimate partes, as any other within this kingdom, for the breadth thereof enlarging it selfe from the point of Nesse by Lyd, which is the vitermost skirt vpon the coast of Sussex, vnto Margate vppon the coast of Essex; is by computation about twenty foure miles: but notwithstanding this large circuit, who knoweth not that the fixt part thereof is not subject to the landing of such an enemy, as wee speake of partly in regarde of the hugenesse of the cliffes, which do inclose a great part of that skirt; and partly in regard that much of that quantitie, which may be landed upon, bath fuch eminent and difficult places neere adioyning, as an armie that shoulde put it selfe there on shore, shoulde find it felfe being opposed but by a small force, so straitened, as they would not easily find a way out, without apparant ruine of their whole forces. Further it cannot be denied, but that generally along the coast of Kent, there are so many rocks, shelues, flats, and other impediments, that a nauce of great ships canne haue no commodity to anchor neere the shore: and for the most part the coast lieth to open to the weather, that the least gale of wind will put them from their Anchor: all which particularities duly confidered, it wil appeare that this large skirt of Kent will affoord a far lefter part fit for the landing of an army, then was thought of at the first. And were it that so publike a treatise as this is, would admit with good discretion such an exact relation, as falleth within my knowledge concerning this point, I would undertake to make it to euident, by the particular description both of the number, quantity and qualitie of the places themfelues; as no man of an indifferent judgement would imagine our forces to be infufficient, to affoord every of them fuch a fafe and fure garde, as shall bee thought requifite for the fame. But for a fmuch as it is vn fitting to give fuch particular fatisfaction in this publike discourse, give me leave, submitting my selse alwaies to better judgements, to give a generall tafte of that meanes as woulde fecure all places, with a competent number of men.

Hauing shewed you before the circuit of the maritimat parts of Kent, I would observe this order: first, to make a triple division of all such forces, as shall be appointed for this feruicesas for example, I wil suppose the number to be 12000 of which I would lodge 3000, about the point of Nesse, and 3000, about Margate, & 6000. about Foulkston, which I take to be as it were the center: for my greatest care should be so to dispose of them, as they might not only succor one an other in the same shire, but as every shire bordereth one vpon an other; so they should mutually give helpe one vnto an other, as occasion should bee offered: as if the enemy shoulde attempt a landing about Nesse, not onely the 6000. lodged as before, shoulde march to their succours, but such also of the

Suffex forces as were neere vnto that part; and so likewise of the rest: by which you may fee how great a force would in few houres bee affembled, for the renforcing of any of these our skirts; and the rather, for asmuch as the one halfe of the whole forces are thus lodged in the center of the shire, which is neerer to all parts then any other place whatfoeuer. There woulde also in the quartering of them, an especiall care bee had to the places of daunger, as might bee answerable to the importance thereof: for my meaning is not to lodge them close together, but to stretch them out along the coast by regiments and companies, as the country might affoord best oportunity, to entertaine them.

Now concerning the latter part of this objection, which vigeth the vincertainty of time, when the enemy shall make his approches : I holde it most requisite that our defensive forces should be drawne into a heade, before the enemy should be discouered neere our coast ready to put himselfe on shoare: for it were a groffe abfurdity to imagine, that companies coulde vppon fuch a fodaine be affembled, without confusion; and make so long a march, with such expedition, as the necessity of the occasion would require. Nowe for that hufbanding respect of her Maiesties coffers, which is vrged to such extremity, as it would be vnfupportable for this state to beare: as I doubt not but good intelligence would much qualifie that supposed immoderate expence; so I assure my felfe, that men of found judgement, will deeme it much out of feafon to difpute about vnneceffary thrift, when the whole kingdome is brought in question of being made subject to a stranger:

Vt iugulent homines surgunt de nocte latrones, Non expergesceris, vt te psum serues?

the enemy (peraduenture) hath kept 30000, men in paie 2, months before, to make hauocke of our countrey, and to bring vs into perpetuall thraldome; shall we thinke it much to maintaine sufficient forces vppon our coast, to assure our felues, that no fuch enemy shall enter into our countrey? the extremity of this charge woulde bee qualified by our good espiall, which would proportion our attendance, with the necessity which is imposed vpon vs to bee carefull in busineffes of this nature. Let this fuffice therefore to proue, that our forces are fufficient to keepe the sea cost; and that the vucertainty of time, when the enemy will make his attempts, ought not to hinder vs from performing that dutie, which the care and respect of our Prince and countrey imposeth vpon euerie good subject, which is the substance of the first reason, which I fet downe in the beginning of this discourse.

Now concerning the second reason, which vrgeth the disaduantage of the place, in regarde of the fury of the enemies artillery. True it is, that fuch places as yeelde the enemy commodity of landing, are for the most parte plaine and open, and affoord naturally no couert at all. What then? shall a soldiour take every place as hee findeth it, and vie no arte to qualifie the difaduantages thereof? or shall a man forgo the benefit of a place of aduantage rather, then hee will relieue with industry the discommoditie of some particular circumflance? I make no question but an ingenious commander, being in seasonable time lodged with convenient forces vpon any of those places, yea vppon the

beach it felfe, which is vnapt to make defenfible, as anie place whattoener; woulde vie fuch industrie as might give sufficient securitie to his forces, and ouerwaie the enemie with advantage of place; especially considering that this age hath affoorded fuch plentifull examples of admirable inventions in that behalfe: but this cannot be done, if our forces doe not make head before the instant of the enemies attempt, that our commanders may have some time to make readie store of Gabions, handbaskers, with such moueable matter as shall be thought fit for that feruice.

Neither let this trouble anie man, for I dare anough it, that if our forces are not drawne into a heade before the enemie bee discouered yppon the coast, although wee neuer meane to oppose their landing, but attende them in fome inlande place, to give them battaile; our Commanders will bee farre to feeke of manie important circumstances, which are requisite in a matter of that confequence. And therefore let vs have but a reasonable time to bethinke our selues of these necessaries, and we will easilie ouercome all these difficulties, and vie the benefit of the firme lande to repell an enemie, weakened with the sea, to fled with the billow, troubled with his weapons, with manie other hinderances and discouragementes, which are presented vnto him both from the land and the fea. He that faw the landing of our forces in the Iland of Fiall, in the yeere 97. can somewhat judge of the difficulty of that matter: for what with the working of the fea, the steepnesse of the cliffes, the troublefomnes of their armes, the foldiors were to incombred, that had not the enemie beene more then a coward, he might wel with 200, men haue kept vs from entering any part of that Iland.

Concerning the thirde objection, this briefelie shall bee sufficient, The answere that wee are not so much to regarde that our forces doe equal them in num-tothethird ber, as to see that they bee sufficient for the nature of the place, to make reason. it good against the enemies landing: for wee knowe that in places of aduantage and difficult accesse, a small number is able to oppose a great; and wee doubt not but all circumstances duelie considered, wee shall proportionablie equalithe enemie, both in number and qualitie of their forces: alwaies presupposed, that our state shall neuer bee destirute of sufficient forces trained, and exercised in a competent maner, to defende their Countrey from forraine enemies. For the neglect thereof, were to drawe on fuch as of themselues are but too forwarde, to make a praie of vs; and to make vs vnapt, not onelie to oppose an enemies landing, but to defende our selues from beeing ouerrunne, as other nations liuing in fecurity, without due regarde thereof, haue beene.

And this much concerning the answere to those three reasons, which feeme to prooue that an enemie is not to bee refifted at his landing. Nowe if we do but looke a little into the discommodities, which follow vpon the landing of an enemy, we shall easilie discouer the dangerousnesse of this opinion: as first, we gine him leave to live vpon the spoile of our countrey, which cannot be preuented by any wasting, spoiling, or retiring of our prouisions, in so plentiful a countrey as this is, especially confidering that wee haue no strong townes

The answere to the second reason.

at all to repole our felues vpon. Whereof wee neede no further testimonie, then is delivered vnto vs out of the feuenth booke of these Commentaries, in that war which Cæfar had with Vercingetorix.

Secondly obedience, which at other times is willingly ginen to Princes, is greatly, weakened at fuch times; whereby all necessary meanes to maintaine a war is hardly drawn from the subject. Thirdly, oportunity is given to malecontents' and ill disposed persons, either to make head themselves, or to flie to the enemy. Fourthly, the madnes to aduenture a kingdom vpon one stroke, having it in our disposition to do otherwise, with many other disaduantages, which the oportunity of any fuch occasion would discouer.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Of the name Imperator.

3. Annal.



He worde imperator, which the Eagle-bearer attributeth to Cæfar, was the greatest title that could be given to a Romaine leader: and as Zonaras in his fecond Tome faith, was neuer given but voon fomegreat exploite, and after a just victorie obtained; and then

in the place where the battaile was fought, and the enemie ouerthrowne, the Generall was faluted by the name of Imperator, with the triumphant shoute of the whole armie; by which acclamation, the foldiours gaue testimonie of his worth; and made it equivalent with the most fortunate Com-

This ceremonie was of great antiquitie in the Romaine Empire, as appeareth by manie histories, and namelie by Tacitus, where hee faith, that Tyberius gaue that honour to Blefus, that hee should be saluted Imperator by the legions; which hee sheweth to bee an ancient dignitic belonging to great Captaines, after they had foiled the enemy, with an eminent ouerthrowe. For euerie victorie was not sufficient, whereby they might chalenge so great an honour, but there was required (as it feemeth) a certaine number of the enemies to beflaine. Apian in his fecond booke faieth, that in olde time, the name of Imperator was neuer taken, but vpon great and admirable exploits: but in his time 10000 of the enemy being flaine in one battell, was a fufficient ground of that honour. Cicero faith, that 2000 flaine in the place, especiallie of Thracians, Spaniards or Galles, did worthely merit the name of Imperator. Howfoeuer it feemeth by the fame anthor, that there was a certain number of the enemy required to be flaine, where he faith, Se insta victoria Imperatorem appellatum.

Phil. 14.

Lib.z.epist.9

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Britains make peace with Cæfar, but breake it againe, upon the loffe of the Romain hipping.



HE Britaines being ouerthrowne in this battaile; affoone as they had recovered their fafety by flight, they prefently diffat. ched me fengers to Cafar to intreate for peace, promifing hostages and obedience, in what soeuer he commanded And with thefe ambaffadors returned Comius of Arras, whom Cafar had fent before into Britanie. Cafar complained, that, whereas they

lent unto him into Gallia to desire peace , not with standing at his comming they made warre against him, without any cause or reason at all; but excusing it by their ignorance, he commanded hostages to be delivered wnto him: which they presently performed in parte; and the rest being to bee fet further off, shoulde like wife be rendered within a short time; in the meane while, they comman. ded their people to returne to their possessions, and their Rulers and Princes came out of all quarters to commende themselves and their states to Cafar. The peace be ing thus concluded; foure daies after that Cafar came into Britanie, the eighteen Shippes which were appointed for the horsemen, put out to sea with a gentle winde, and approaching so neere the coast of Britanie, that they were within viewe of the Remaine campe: there arose such a sodaine tempest, that none of them were able to holde their course, but some of them returned to the porte from whence they came; other some were cast upon the lower part of the Ilande, which lieth to the West warde; and there casting anchor tooke in such seas, that they were forced to commit themselves againe to the sea, and direct their course to the coast of Gallia. The same night it happened, that the moone being in the full, the tides were werie high in those seas; whereof the Romaines being altogether ignorant, both the Gallies which were drawne up upon the shore were filde with the tide, and the shippes of burthen that late at anchor, were shaken with the tempest, neither was there anie helpe to be given unto them: so that many of them were rent, and split in peeces, and the rest lost both their anchors, Gables and other tackling: and by that meanes became altogether unseruiceable. Whereat the whole armie was exceedinglie troubled; for there was no other shipping to recarrie them boke againe: Neither had they anie necessaries to newe furnish the olde: and euerie man knew that they must needes winter in Gallia; for as much as there was no provision of corn in those places where they were . Which thing beeing knowne to the Princes of Britanie, that were affembled to confer of Juch thinges as Cafar had commanded them to performe, when they under flood that the Romaines wanted both their horsemen, shipping, and provision of corne, and coniecturing of the paucitie of their forces, by the [mall circuit of their camp; and that which was more important then all the rest that Casar had transported his soldiours without such necessarie cariages, as they veed to take with them: they thought it their best course to rebell, and to keepe the Romaines from corne and convoies of provision, and so prolong the matter, until winter came on. For they thought that if these were once overthrown

Cæfar.

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

and cut off from returning into Gallia, neuer any man would afterward aduenture to bring an army into Britanie: therefore they conspired againe the second time, and convaied them selves by stealth out of the campe, and got their men privily out of the fields to make head in some convenient place against the Romans.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Oncerning the ebbing and flowing of the fea, and the causes thereof; it hath already beene handled in the second booke, to which I will adde this much, as may ferue to fhew, how the Romaines became lo ignorant of the spring tides, which happen in the full and

new of the moone. It is observed by experience, that the motion of this waterie element is altogither directed by the course of the moon, wherin the exerciseth her regency, according as thee findeth the matter qualified for her influence. And for alimuch as all mediterrean leas, and fuch gulfes as are inclosed in finues and bosomes of the earth, are both abridged of the liberty of their course, and through the smallnes of their quantity are not so capable of celestiall power; as the Ocean it selfe: it consequently followerfisthat the Tuskane seas, wherwith the Romains were chiefly acquainted, were not so answerable in effect to the operation of the moon, as the maine fea, whole bounds are ranged in a more spacious circuit; and through the plenteous abundance of his parts, better answereth the vertue of the moone. The Ocean therfore being thus obedient to the course of the celestial bodies, taking hir course of flowing from the North falleth with fuch a currant between the Orcades, and the maine of Noruegia; that the filleth our channel between England and France, with great fwelling rides; and maketh her motion more eminent in these quarters, then in any other partes of the world. And hence it happeneth, that our river of Thames, lying with her mouth so ready to receive the tyde as it commeth, and having withall a plaine levelled belly, and a very fmal fresh currant, taketh the tide as far into the land, as any other known river of Europe. And for this cause the Romans were ignorant of the fpring tides in the ful of the moone.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Vch as either by their own experience, or otherwise by observation of that which hiftory recordeth, are acquainted with the gouernment of common weales, are not ignorant with what difficulty a nation, that ei-

ther hath long lived in liberty, or bin governed by comanders of their own chofing, is made subject to the yoake of bondage, or reduced under the obediece of a stranger. For as we are apt by a naturall inclination to civill societie; so by the fame nature wee defire a free disposition of our selues and possessions, as the cheefest end of the saide society. And therefore in the government of a subdued flate, what loffe or difaduantage happeneth to the victor, or how indirectlie

focuer it concerneth the bond of their thraldome, the captine people behold it as a part of their aduersaries ouerthrow; and conceine thereupon such spirites, as answere the greatnes of their hope, and fort with the strength of their will, which alwaies maketh that seeme easie to be effected which it desireth, And this was the reason, that the Britaines altered their resolution of peace, vpon the losse which the Romans had received in their thipping

CHAP. XII.

Cæfar new trimmeth his late shaken nauje : the Britaines let upon the Romans as they haruested. but were put off by Cæfar.



AES AR although he had not discourred their determination, yet coniecturing of the event by the loffe of his shipping, and by their delay of giving uppe hoftages; hee provided against all chances: for he brought corne daily out of the fields into his camp; and tooke the huls of such ships as were most dismembred, and with the tymber and braffe thereof hee mended the rest that were beaten with the tempest causing other necessaries to bee

brought out of Gallia. Which being handeled with the great industrie and travell of the Souldiers, he lost onely twelve shippes, and made the other able to abide the sea. While thefe thinges were in action, the feuenth legion being fent out by courfe, to fetch in corne, and little suspecting any motion of warre; as part of the souldiers continued in the field, and the rest went and came betweene them and the campe; the station that watched before the gate of the campe, gaue advertisement to Casar, that the Same way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dust then was viually seene. Cafar suspecting that which in deede was true, that the Britaines were entered into some new resolution, he tooke those two cohorts which were in station before the port. commanding other two to take their place, and the rest to arme themselves, and prefently to follow him, and went that waie, where the dust was descried. And when he had marched some distance from the campe, he saw his men overcharged with the enemie, and scarce able to sustaine the assault the legion thronged together on a heape. and weapons cast from all partes among st them. For when they had harvested all other quarters, there remained one piece of corne, whither the enemie suspected the Romans would at last come; and in the night time convaied themselves secretly into the woods, where they continued, untill the Romans were come into the field, and as they faw them disarmed, dispersed and occupied in reaping; they suddenly set upon them, and flaying some few of them, rowted the rest and incompassed them about with their horsemen, and chariots. Their manner of fight with chariots, was first to ride up and downe and cast their weapons, as they saw advantage; and with the terrour of their horses or ratteling of their wheeles, to disorder the companies; and when

they had wound themselves betweene, anie troupes of horse, they forsooke their chariots and fought on foot : in the meane time the quiders of their chariots would drive a little aside, and so place themselves, that if their maiskers needed ame helpe, they might have an easie passage voto them. And thus they performed in all their fightes, both the nimble motion of horfemen, and the firme flabilitie of footmen; and were foreadie with daily practife, that they could staie in the declinitie of a steepe hill, and turne short or moderate their going, as it seemed best unto them; and runne along the beame of the coach and rest upon the yoake, or harnesse of their horses, and returne as speedely againe at their pleasure. The Romans being thus troubled, Cafar came to refcue them in verie good time : for at his comming, the enemie stood still; and the fouldiers gathered their spirits vnto them, and began to renew their courage that was almost frent . Cafar, thinking it an unfit time, either to prouoke the enemy, or to give him battell; he continued a while in the same place: And then returned with the legions into the campe While thefe, thinges were a doing, and the Romaines thus bufied; the Britaines that were in the field, conuaied themselves all awaie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Y this wee plainely finde, that there were viually two cohortes (which according to the rate of 120 in a maniple, amounted to the number of 720 men) which kept the daie watch before the gate of the campe, and were alwaies in readinesse vpon any seruice. The commoditie whereof appeareth by this accident, for confidering that the aduertisement required haste and speedie recourse, it greatly furthered their rescue to haue so manie men readie to march forward at the first motion, that

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

they might give what helpe they could, vntill the rest of their fellowes came in.

Heir manner of fight with chariots, is very particularly described by Cæfar, and needeth not to bee stood vpon any longer: onely I obferue, that neither in Gallia, nor any other country of Europe, the vse of chariots is neuer mentioned: but they have ever beene attri-

buted, as a peculiar fight, vnto the easterne countries, as sutable to the plaine and leuell fituation of the place, whereof we finde often mention in the scripture: which may serue for an argument to Gesfrey of Monmouth, to proue the Britaines descent from Troie in Asia, where we likewise finde mention of such chariots.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly we may obserue, the discreete or moderate temper of his valour, and the meanes he vied to make his fouldiers confident in his directions: for notwithstanding the Britaines had exceedingly vrged him, to make hazard of a prefent reuenge; yet finding it an vnfit time, (inafmuch as his men had beene somewhat troubled, with the furie of the Britaines) hee thought it best to expect some other oportunitie. And againe, to avoid the inconveniences of a fearefull retrait, he continued a while in the same place, to imbolden his men with the fight of the enemie. And this manner of proceeding wrought a full perswasion in his souldiers, that his actions were directed with knowledge, and with a carefull respect of their safetie; which gave his me resolution when they were carried upon service, being assured that what service somer they were imploied upon, was most diligently to bee performed, as a matter much importing the fortunate iffue of that warre: wheras if they had perceived that headlitrong furie, which carrieth men on with a defire of victorie, and neuer looketh into the meanes wherby it may be obtained, had directed the course of their proceedinges, they might with reason have drawne backe from fuch imploiments, and valewed their fafetie aboue the iffue of fuch an enterprise. And hence ariseth that confident opinion, which the soldiers have of a good Generall; which is a matter of great importance in the course of a warre.

CHAP. XIII.

The Britaines make head, with their forces; and are beaten by Cæsar: his returne into Gallia.



FTER this; for manie daies together, there followed such tempests and foule weather, that both the Romans were con-(frained to keepe their campe, and the Britaines were kept from attempting any thing against them: But in the meane time, they sent messengers into all quarters, publishing the small number of the Roman forces, and amplifying the great-nesses of the bootie, and the easte means offered vinto them of perpetuall libertie, if they could take the Roman campe. Shortly upon this, having gathered a great companie, both of horse and foote; they came to the place where the Romans were incamped. Cafar (although he forefaw the event by that which before had happened, that if the enemie were beaten backe, he would avoide the danger by flight) yet having some 30 horse, which Comius of Arras had carried with him, at his

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comming into Britanie; he imbattailed his legions before his campe; and so gave them battell. The enemie not being able to beare the affault of the Roman fouldiers, turned their backes and fled: the Romans followed them, as farre as they could by running on foote; and after a great slaughter, with the burning of their townes farre and neare, they returned to their campe. The same daie the Britaines sent messengers to Calar. to intreat for peace; whom he commanded to double their number of hostages, which he commanded to be carried into Gallia. And for a fmuch as the Aequinoctium was at hand; he thought it not fafe to put himselfe to the winter sea, with such weake shipping : and therefore having got a convenient time, he hoifed faile a little after midnight, and brought all his ships safe unto the continent . Two of these ships of burthen, not being able to reach the same haven, put in somewhat lower into the land : the soldiers that were in them being about 300, being set on shore, and marching towardes their campe: the Morini with whom Cafar at his going into Britany had made peace, in hope of a bootie, first with a few of their men stood about them, commanding them wpon paine of death to late downe their weapons; and as the Romans, by casting themfelues into an Orbe; began to make defence, at the noise and clamour among st them. there were suddenly gathered together about 6000 of the enemy. Which thing being knowen. Cafar fent out all the horsemen to relieve them : in the meane time the Romans sustained the force of the enemie, and fought valiantly the space of foure houres; and receiving themselves some few woundes, they slew many of the enemie. After the Roman horsemen came in sight, the enemie cast awaie their weapons and sled, and a great number of them fell by the horsemen.

OBSERVATIONS.

F al the figures which the Tactici have chosen to make vse of in militarie affaires; the circle hath ever beene taken for the fittelt, to be applied in the defensive part, as inclosing with an equal circuit on all partes whatfoeuer is contained within the circumference of that Area: and therefore Geometrie tearmeth a circumference a simple line, for as much as if you alter the fite of the parts, and transport one arch into the place of another; the figure notwithstanding will remaine the same, because of the equall bending of the line, throughout the whole circumference. Which propertie, as it proueth an uniformitie of strength in the whole circuit, so that it cannot be faid that this is the beginning, or this is the end; this is front, or this is flanke. So doth that, which Euclide doth demonstrate in the 3 of his Elements. concerning the small affinitie betweene a right line, and a circle (which being drawen to touch the circumference, doth touch it but in a point only) shew the greatnes of this strength in regard of any other line, by which it may be broken. Which, howfocuer they feeme, as speculatine qualities, conceined rather by intellectuall discourse, then manifested to sensible apprehension; yet forasmuch as experience hath proued the strength of this figure, in a defensive part, aboue any other maner of imbattailing; let vs not neglect the knowledge of these naturall properties, which discouer the causes of this effect: neither let vs neglect this part of militarie knowledge; being so strong a meanes to maintaine valour, and the sinew of all our abilitie: for order correspondent to circumstances, is the whole strength and power of an Armie. Neither ought there any action in a well ordered discipline, to be irregular, or voide of order: and therefore the Romans did neither eate nor sleepe, without the direction of the Consull, or chiese commander; otherwise their valour might rather haue beene tearmed furie then vertue: but when their courage was ranged with order, and disposed according to the occurrences of the time; it neuer failed as long as the said order continued perfect.

It appeareth therfore, how important it is for a commander to looke into the diuerfitie of orders for imbattailing, and to waigh the nature thereof; that hee may with knowledge apply them to the quality of any occasion. The Romans tearmed this figure Orbis, which signifieth a round body both with a concaue, and a connex surface: in resemblance whereof, I vnderstand this Orbe of men imbattailed to be so named; which might peraduenture consist of fue or more or sewer rankes, inclosing one another after the nature of so manie circles, described about one Center: so that either the middest thereofremained voide, or otherwise contained such cariages, and impediments, as they had with them in their march. This forme of imbattailing was neuer vsed, but in great extremities for as it was the safest of all other; so it gaue suspition to the souldiers of exceeding danger, which abated much of their heat in battell, as will herafter appeare by the testimonic of Cæsar himselse, in the fift Commentarie, ypon the occasion which happened vnto Sabinus and Cotta:

CHAP. XIIII.

HE next daie, Cafar fent Titus Labienus a Legate, with those legions which he had brought out of Britanie, against the rewolted Morim; who having no place of resuge because their bogs to fens were dried up, where they had sheltered themselves the yeare before; they all fell under the power of his mercie. 2. Titurius, and A. Costa the Legats, who had lad the legions against the Menapy, after they had wassed their fieldes, cut up their corne, burned their houses, for the Menapy were all hid in thicke woods; they returned to Casar these thinges being thus ended, Casar placed the wintering campes of all his segions amongst the Belga; to which place two only of all the cities in Britanie, sent hossages winto him: the rest neglecting it. These wars being thus ended: upon the relation of Casar setters, the senate decreted a supplication for the space of 20 daies.

OBSERVATIONS.

N the ende of the fecond Commentarie, we reade of a supplication granted by the senate, for 15 daies; which was never granted to anie man before that time, since the first building of the citie: but foraf-much as in this sourth yeare of the warres in Gallia, it was augmented from 15 X i. vnto

Cafar.

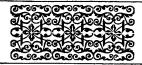
Li. 15. fam.

Cicero,

vnto 20 daies, I thought it fit to referre the handling thereof, vnto this place. We are therfore to vinderstand, that whensoeuer a Roman Generall had carried himselfe well in the warres, by gaining a victorie, or enlarging the boundes of their Empire; that then the senare did decree a supplication to the Gods, in the name of that captaine. And this dignitie was much fought after, not onely because it was a matter of great honour, that in their names the Temples of their Gods fhould be opened, and their victories acknowledged, with the concourse and gratulation of the Roman people: but also because a supplication was commonly the forerunner of a triumph, which was the greatest honour in the Roman government: And therfore Cato nameth it the prerogative of a triumph. And Liuie in his 26 booke faith, that it was long disputed on in the senate, how they could denie one that was there present to triumph, whose absence they had honoured, with supplication, and thankesgiuing to the Gods, for things happily effected? The maner of the Ceremonie was; that after the Magistrate had publikely proclaimed it with this forme or stile, quod bene & faciliter rempublicam administrasset; the Roman people cloathed in white garmentes and crowned with garlands, went to all the temples of the Gods, and there offered facrifices, to gratulate the victorie in the name of the Generall. In which time they were forbidden all other businesses, but that which pertained to this solemnity. It seemeth that this time of supplication, was at first included within one or two daies at the most, as appeareth by Liuie in his third booke, wherehe saith, that the victorie gained by two feuerall battels, was spitefully shut up by the senat in one daies supplication: the people of their owne accord keeping the next daie holie and celebrating it with greater denotion then the former.

Vpon the victorie which Camillus had against the Veij, there were granted foure daies of supplication; to which there was afterward a daie added, which was the viuall time of supplication vnto the time that Pompei ended the warre, which they called Mithridaticum; when the vsuall time of fine daies was doubled, and made 10, and in the fecond of these Commentaries, made 15, and now brought to 20 daies. Which setteth foorth the incitements and rewardes of wel doing, which the Romans propounded both at home and abroad, to fuch as indenoured to enlarge their Empire, or manage a charge, to the benefit of their

common-wealths. And thus endeth the fourth Commentarie.



THE

THE FIFT COMMENTARIE OF THE WAR, WHICH CÆSAR MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.



Æfar caused a great nause to be built in Gallia:he caried 5 legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the river Thames: at his returne in-

to Gallia, most of the Galles revolted; and first the Eburones vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, fet vpon the campe of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumuented by subtilty; and then besieged the campe of Cicero: but were put by, and their Armie ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæfar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great ftore of shipping made by the souldiers, and commandeth them to be brought to the hauen Iccius.



VCIVS Domitius, and Appius Claudius, being Confuls, Cafar at his going into Italie, gaue order to the Legats to build as manie ships that winter, as possibly they could; commanding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are vsed in the mediterranean sea, for the speedier lading & unlading of the and because the tides in these feaswere verie great : and for a fmuch as he was to transport great

store of horse, he commanded them to be made flatter in the bottome then such as were vsuall in other places, and all of them to be made for the vse of Oares, to which purpose their low building served verie conveniently. Other necessaries and furniture for rigging he gave order to have it brought out of Spaine. Cafar after the affembly of the States in Lombardie, and that he set free Illiricum from the incursions of the Pirusta, he returned into Gallia; where he found 600 ships built, by the extraordinarie indufrie of the fouldiers, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessarie matter, with 28 Gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanched : having commended the foldiers and overfeers of the worke, he commanded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britanie, was not aboue thirtie mile ouer.

THE

His Iccius Portus Floide thinketh to be Caleis; others take it to bee Saint Omer, partly in regard of the situation of the place, which being in it selfe verielowe, hath notwithstanding warm. which incompasse the towne about; and in times past was a verie

large hauen. To this maie be added the distance from this towne, to the next continent of the Hand of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320 stadia, which agreeth to the French computation of 13 leages. Cæfar maketh it thirtie mile: this is the hauen, which Pliny calleth Britannicum portum Morinorum.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar saileth into Britanie: landeth his forces. and seeketh the enemie.

Cafar.

AES AR having prepared all things in readinesse, he left Labienus in the continent with three legions, and 2000 horse, both to keepe the hauen and make provision of corne; and also to observe the motion of the Galles: and with five legions and the like number of horse, as he left in the continent, about sun-setting he put out to sea, with a soft south winde, which continued untill midnight; and then ceasing, he was carried with the tide untill

the morning, when he perceived that the Iland laie on his left hand: and againe, as the tide changed, hee laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where he had found good landing the yeare before: wherein the souldiers deserved great commendation; for by strength and force of Oares, they made their great ships of burthen to keepe waie with the Galleies. About high noone, they arrived in Britanie, with all their ships: neither was there any enemie seene in that place; but as afterward Cafar understood by the captiues, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrified with the infinite number of shipping, which they discoursed from the shore (for there were in all aboue 800) they for sooke the shore, and hid themselves in the upland countrie. Cafar having landed his men, and chosen a convenient place to incampe, assoone as he understood by the captives where the enemy laie, in the third watch of the night, he marched towards them; leaving ten cohortes and 300 horse, for a garizon to his shipping: which he the lesse feared, because it lay at anchor in a soft and open shore : he marched that night about 12 mile before he found the enemie: The Britaines sending out their horse, and chariots to a river that ran betweene them and the Romans, and having the advantage of the upper ground; began to hinder the Romans, and to give them battell, but being beaten backe with our horsemen, they conuaied themselues into a wood. The place was strongly fortified both by art and nature, and made for a defence (as it feemeth) in their civill wars: for all the entrances were

thut up with great trees, laid ouerthwart the passages. And the Britaines shewed themselves out of the wood but here and there not suffering the Romans to enter the fortification : but the foldiors of the seauenth legion , with a Testudo which they made, and amount which they raised, tooke the place and drove them all out of the woods, without any losse at all; fauing some fewe wounds which they received. But Casar forbadhis mento follow after them, with any long pursuit, because hee was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that date being spent, he would imploy the rest thereof in the fortification of his campe.

OBSERVATIONS.



Æfar, having taken what affurance of peace he could with the Galles, both by carrying the chiefest of their Princes with him, and by leauing three legions in the continent, to keepe the vulgar people in obedience: he imbarked al his men at one place, that they might be

all partakers of the same casualties, and take the benefit of the same adventures. which being neglected the yeare before, drew him into many inconveniences, for want of horse, which being imbarked at an other hauen met with other chaces, and faw other fortunes; and neuer came to him into Britanie: The place of landing in this fecond voiage, was the fame where he landed the yeere before: and by the circumstances of this history, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is faid that Cæfar landed. In the first yeere we finde, that he neuer remoued his campe from the sea shore, where he first seated himselfe; although his men went out to bring in corne, as far as they might wel returne againe at night : but now hee entered further into the Iland, and within twelue miles march came vnto a river, which must needs be that of Canturbury, which falleth into the fea at Sandwich.

In that he faith that the garizon of his shipping consisted of ten cohortes, which I have faid to be a legion : we must vnderstande, that Cæsar left not an entire legion in that garizon; but he tooke ten cohorts out of his whole forces, peraduenture two out of euerie legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his shipping.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar returneth to his nauies to take order for fuch losses as had happened by tempest the night before.



HE next daie earlie in the morning, hee deuided hie forces into 3, com-panies, and fent them out to pur fue the enemy: but before they had marthe cover of the enemy in which we have the rereward of the enemy in which whom he left the ten

Cafar.

cohorts, and the charge of the shipping, that the night before there was such a tempess at sea, that the whole nawy was either fore beaten or cast on shore, and that neither anchor nor Gable coulde holde them, nor yet the Sailers indure the sorce of the weathers, and that there was great sosseling in the shipping, by running against one another, in the wiolence of the tempest. Vpon these newes, Casar caused the legions to be called backe againe, and to cease for that time, from sollowing the enemy any surthers, he himselfe returned to the nawy, where he sound 40, ships soss, and the rest not to be repaired but with great industry and paines: sinft therefore he chose shipwrites and Carpenters out of the second, and caused others to bee sent for out of Gallia; and writ to Labienus to make ready what shipping he could. And although it seemed a matter of great difficulty and much labour; yet he thought it best, to hale up all the ships on shore, and to inclose them within the sortification of his campe: in this business so should be some ten daies, without intermission either of night or day, until hee had drawn up the ships, and strongly fortified the camp; seauing the same garrison which was there before to defend it.

THE OBSERVATION.

Hetein we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible industry (as Tully tearmeth it) which hee vied to preuent fortune of her stroke in his busines, and comprehende cassalties and future contingents, within the compas of order and the bounds

of his owne power, being able in tenne daies space, to set almost eight hundred ships from the hazarde of winde and weather; and to make his campe the Roade for his nauie, that so he might rest secure of a meanes to return e at his pleasure.

CHAP. IIII.

The Britains make Cassiuellaunus generall in this warre: the Iland, and the maners of the people described.

AES AR returning to the place from whence hee came, founde far greater forces of the Britans there aßembled, then he left who he went to the nauie. And that by publike consent of the Britaines, the whole gouernment of that war was given to Caßinellaunus, whose kingdom lay devided from the maritimate states, with the river Thames, beginning at the sea. Se extending it selfe 80. mile into the Iland. This Caßivellaunus, made continuall war

with his neighbor states: but upon the comming of the Romans, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and cast the whole gouernment upon his sholders, as the sittest to direct that war.

The inner part of Britanie is inhabited, by such as memory recordeth to be borne in the Iland; and the maritimate coast by such as came out of Belgia, either to make incursions or inuasions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the possession ons they had gained, and were called by the name of the cities from whence they came: the countrey is very populous, and well inhabited with houses, much like unto them in Gallia. They have great store of cattell, and use brasse for money, or yron ringes waighed at a certaine rate. In the mediterranean partes there is found great quantity of Tyn, and in the maritimate parts yron: their brasse was brought in by other nations. They have all forts of trees that they have in Gallia, excepting the figge and the Beech. Their religion will not suffer them to eate, either Haire, Hen, or Goofe; not with standig they have of all forts, as well for nonelty as variety. The country is more temperate, and not so colde as Gallia. The Ilande lieth triangle wife , whereof one side confronteth Gallia, of which side that angle, wherein Kent is pointed to the East, and the other angle to the South: this side containeth about 500 mile. An other fide heth toward Spaine and the West; that waie where Ireland lieth,being an Ilande halfe as big as England; and as farre diftant from it as Gallia: in the midway between England & Ireland, lieth an Iland called Mona, be fides many other smaller Ilands, of which some write that in winter time for 30. daies together, they have continuall night, whereof we learned nothing by inquirie, only we found by certaine measures of water, that the nights in England were shorter then in the Continent. The length of this side according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth 700. mile. The thirde side lieth to the North and the open sea sauing that this angle doth somwhat point towards Germanie; this side is thought to contain 800 miles: And so the whole Iland containeth in circuit 2000 miles. Of al the inhabitants, they of Kent are most curteous and civill; altheir countrey bordering upon the fea, and little differing from the fastion of Gallia. Most of the inlande people fow no corne, but live with milke and flesh, clothed with skins, and having their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may seeme more terrible in fight: they have the baire of their head long, having alother parts of their body shaven, saving their upper lip. Their wives are common to ten or twelve, especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put unto them, unto whom the mother was first given in mariage.

OBSERVATIONS,

N the descriptions of the ancient Britains, we may first observe their pedegree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we must vinderstand that in those ages, the Ntiaons of the worlde thought it no small honor, to derive their descent from a certaine beginning, and to make either some of their Gods, or some man of a famous memorie, the father of that progenie, and founder of their state; that so they might promise a fortunate continuance to their government, being first laide and established by so powerfull a meanes. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and cast all their glory vpon the fertility of their soile, being so strong and fruitful, that it yeelded of it selfe such a people, as they were: and so we read howe the Athenians, for as much as they were ignoraunt from whence they came,

Cefar.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

ware an Oaken leafe, in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And hereupon also grew the controuersie, betweene the Egyptians and the Scythians, concerning antiquity: wherein the Egyptians feemed to have great aduantage, because of the fertility and heat of their countrey; whereas the Scythians inhabited a colde climate, unfruitfull and an enemy to generation. Of this fort were the Britains, that inhabited the mediterranean part of the Ilande: who not knowing from whence they came, nor who first brought them thither, fatisfied themselves with that common received opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The lea coast was possest by such as came out of the continent and retained the names of the cities from whence they came, as a memo-

riall of their progenitors.

The forme of the Iland is very well described, and measured out, according to the scale of our moderne Geographers. For concerning the difference of longitude between the Easterne angle of Kent, and the furthest point of Cornewal, they make it eight degrees; which in a maner iumperh with Cafars dimenfuration: the other fides are fomewhat longers and therefore Tacitus in the life of Agricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that fide which bordereth vpon France to refemble the Edge; and the other two fides to incline by little and little, one towardes an other; and fo make the Ilande narrower at the top, according to the forme of that instrument. Hee setteth downe the whole compasse of the Iland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers, who by the quantity of the circuit, did viually judge of the content, not confidering that the Area of every figure dependeth as well of the quantity of the angle, as the length of the fide. Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the colde winters in France, we must vide frand that Britanie hath euer beene found of a more temperate constitution, in regarde of sharpe and colde winters, then any other countrey lying under the fame parallell: whether the cause thereof may bee imputed to the continual motion of the sea about the lland, which begetteth heat, as some haue imagined; or to the site thereof. in regard of other Continents from whence the winde alwaies rifeth, and carieth with it the nature of the countrey by which it passeth; and so the Ilande hauing no other continent lying North to it, from whence the winde may rife, but all for the most part vpon the South, hath no such colde windes to distemper it, as other parts of Germany, which are vnder the fame parallel; but the Southern wind, which is so frequent in Britany, tepereth the ayre, with a mild disposition, and so keepeth it warme; or whether it be some other vnknowne cause, our Philosophers rest vnsatisfied. But as touching Gallia, it may bee faide, that forasmuch as it beareth more to the South, then this Iland doth, the aire thereof by reason of the continuall heate, is of a farre purer disposition; and so pierceth more then this groffer aire of Britany, & carieth the cold further into the pores; and so seemeth sharper and of a far colder disposition.

This Iland, which Caefar nameth Mona, is known at this time by the name of Man, and lieth betweene Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemie calleth it Monada, Tacitus calleth Anglesey by the name of Mona, peraduenture from the nomination of the Britains, who calleth it Tyr mon, the land of Mon.

Concer-

COMMENTARIES, LIB. V.

Concerning those places, where the night continueth in the midit of winter for 30. daies together, they must be fited 6. degrees beyond the circle Articke, and have a day in summer of like continuance, according to the rules of Astronomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie shorter then in the continent, we must vnderstand it to be only in summer: for the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnall circles which it cutteth; and the neerer it commeth to a right horizon, the neerer it commeth to an equality of daie and night: and hence it happeneth, that in fummer time, the nights in France are longer then here in England; and in winter shorter. The like wee must vnderstand of al Southerne and Northerne countries.

To conclude, I may not omit the civility of the Kentish men, and their curteous disposition, aboue the rest of the Britains, which must be imputed to that ordinarie course which brought civility vnto all other nations : of whom such as were first scated in their possessions, and entertained societie, were the first that brought in civill conversation, and by little and little were purified, and so attained to the perfection of civill government. So we find that first Affirians and Babilonians (as neerest to the mountaines of Armenia where the Arke refted, and people first inhabited) reduced their states into common weales of monarchies of exquisite government, florishing with al maner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other countries laie either waste, or ouerwhelmed with Barbarilme. From thence it flowed into Egyptiout of Egypt into Greece; out of Greece into Italie; out of Italie into Gallia; and from thence into England: where our Kentishmen first entertained it, as bordering upon France; and frequented with marchants of those countries:

CHAP. V.

Divers skirmishes betweene the Romans and the Britaines.

HE Caualrie of the enemy and their chariots, gaue a sharpe conflict to the Romaine hor femen, in their march: but fo, that the Romaines got the better every way driving them with great flaughter to the woods and hils, and loofing also some of their owne men, beeing too wenturous in the pursuit. The Britaines after some intermission of time, when the Romans

litle thought of them, of were busied in fortifying their cape, came sodainly out of the woods and charged upon those that kept station before the campe. Cafar fent out two the chiefest cohorts of two legions, to second their fellowes: these two cohortes standing with a small alley betweene them, the other that were first charged, being terrified with that strange kinde of fight, boldelie brake through the thickest of the enemy, and so retired in safetie to their fellowes. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune of the soldiours, was slaine; the Britaines were repelled with moe cohortes, which Cafar fent to fecond the former. Cafar.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

And for a smuch as the fight happened in the wewe of all the campe sit was plainly perceived, that the legionarie soldiors, being neither able for the waight of their armor, to follow the enemy as he retired, nor yet daring to go sar from his ensigne; was not a sit adversaries contest this kind of enemy: and that the horsemen likewise sought with no less edunger, inassmuch as the enemy would retire backe of purpose, and when they had drawne them a little from the legions, they would ethen light from their chariots and incounter the, with that advantage, which is between a sooteman and a horseman. Furthermore, they never sought thicke and close together, but thin and in great destances, having stations of mento succour one another, to receive the wearie, and to send out fress supplies.

OBSERVATIONS.

Ppon this occasion of their heavie armour, I will describe a legionarie soldior in his compleat furniture, that we may better indge of their maner of warfare, and understand wherein their greatest strength consisted. And first we are to learne, that their legionarie foldiors were called Milites grauis armatura, foldiors wearing heavie armour to distinguish them from the Velites, the Archers, slingers, and other light armed men. Their oftensiue armes were, a couple of Piles, or as some wil, but one Pile, and a Spanish sword, short and strong, to strike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defensive armes were, a helmer, a corslet, and boots of braffe. with a large Target; which in some fort was offensive, in regarde of that vmbonem which stucke out in the middest thereof. The Pile is described at large in the first booke, and the Target in the second: the sworde (as Polybius witneffeth) was thort, two edged, verie tharpe, and of a ftrong point: and therefore Liuie in his 22. Booke faieth, that the Galles vsed veric long swordes without pointes; but the Romaines had short swordes, readier for vse; these they called Spanish swordes, because they borrowed that fashion from the Spaniarde. The olde Romaines were fo girt with their swordes, as appeareth by Polybius, and their monuments in Marble, that from their left shoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vse of these times, which as I have noted before, was in regard of their target, which they caried on their left arme: this fworde was hung with a belt of leather, befet with studs as Varro noteth, and these were their offensue weapons.

Their Helmet was of braffe, adorned with three Oftrich feathers of a cubite in length, by which the foldiour appeared of a larger stature, and more terrible to the enemie, as Polybius saieth in his 5. booke. Their brest plate was either of brasse, or Iron, joynted together after the maner of scales, or platted with little ringes of yron: their bootes were made of barres of brasse, from the soote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionarie soldiours armed, to stand firme rather then to vse any nimble motion, and to combine themselues into a bodie of that strength which might not easilie recoile, at the opposition of anic confrontment; for agilitic standeth indifferent to helpe either a retreit

or a pursuit, and nimble footed foldiors are as readie to flie backe, as to march forward; but a waighty body keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffe: fo that when foeuer they came to firme buckeling, and felt the enemy stand stiffe before them, such was their practife, and exercise in continual workes, that they never fainted under any such taske; but the victorie went alwayes cleere on their fide . But if the enemy gaue waie to their violence, and came not in but for advantage, and then as speedilie retired, before the counterbuffe were well discharged; then did their nimblenesse much helpe their weakenesse, and frustrate the greatest parte of the Romaine discipline. This is also proued in the ouerthrowe of Sabinus and Cotta, where Ambiorix finding the incontience of buckeling at handy blowes, commaunded his men to fight a far off; and if they were affaulted, to give backe; and to come on againe as they faw occasion: which so wearied out the Romaines, that they all fell under the execution of the Galles. Let this suffice therefore to shew, how vnapt the Romans were to slie vpon any occasion, when their armour was fuch, that it kept them from al starting motions, and made the furable to the staied and wel assured rules of their discipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a standing battaile; and therefore not so fit either for a pursuit, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betweene a horseman and a footeman, it may be thought strange, that a footeman shoulde have such an advantage against a horseman, beeing ouermatched, at least with a Sextuple proportion both of strength and agilitie: but wee must vinderstande, that as the horse is much fwifter in a long cariere; fo in speedie and numble turning at hand, wherein the substance of the combare consisteth, the sooreman farre exceedeth the horseman in advantage, having a larger marke to hit by the Horse, then the other hath. Besides, the horseman ingageth both his valour, and his fortune in the good speede of his horse, his woundes and his death doe consequentlie pull the rider after, his feare or furie maketh his maifter either desperate or flowe of performance, and what defect foeuer rifeth from the horse, must bee answered out of the honour of the rider. And furely it seemeth reasonable, that what thing foeuer draweth vs into the focietie of fo great a hazard, should as much as is possible, be contained in the compasse of our owne power. The fword which we manage with our owne hand, affoordeth greater affurance then the harquebuse, wherein there are many partes belonging to the action, as the pouder, the stone, the spring, and such like; whereof if the least faile of his part, we likewise faile of our fortune: but howe probable soeuer this seemeth, this is certaine, that in the course of the Roman wars, the horse were ever defeated by the foot, as is manifeltly proued in the first of these bookes.

Lib.4. Pli.lib.10

X ii

CHAP

Cafar.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar giueth the Britains two seuerall

ouerthrowes.

HE next daie, the enemie made a stand upon the hils a far off from the campe, and shewed themselves not so often neither were they so busie with our horsemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, when Cafar fent out three legions, and al his Caualry to get forrage sunder the conduction of the Caius Trebonius a legate, they made a sodaine asault upon the forragers, and fell in close with the Ensignes, and the legions. The

Romans charged very fiercely upon them, and beate them backe; neither didther make an end of following them, untill the horsemen trusting to the succour of the legions which were behinde them, put them all to flight, with the slaughter of a great number of them; neither did they give them respite either to make head, to make a stand, or to for sake their chariots. After this overthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romans with any great power. Cafar understanding their determination, caried his armie to the river Thames, and so to the confines of Cassivellaunus, which river was passable by foot but in one place only, and that very hardly; at his comming hee found a great power of the enemy to be imbattailed on the other side, and the banck fortified with many sharpe stakes, and many other also were planted couertly under the water. These things being discouered to the Romans by the Captines and fugitines; Cafar putting his horse before, caused the legions to followe sodainlie after, who not with standing they had but their heades cleere about the water, went with that violence, that the enemy was not able to endure the charge, but left the bancke and betooke themselves to flight.

THE OBSERVATION.



His attempt of Cæfar feemeth fo strange to Brancatio, that hee runneth into as strange conclusions, concerning this matter, as first that he that imitateth Cæfar, may doubt of his good fortunes : for his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war;

and that a great commander hath nothing common with other leaders: but efpecially, he crieth out at the basenesse of the Britains, that woulde suffer themfelues to cowardly to be beaten. But if wee looke into the circumstances of the action, we shal find both Art & good direction therein; for being assured by the fugitives, that the river was paffable in that place,& in that place onlie, he knew that he must either adueture ouer there, or leave Cassinellaunus for an other sumer, which was a very strong inducement to vrge him to that enterprise. The difficultie wherof was much relieued by good direction, which confifted of two pointes, first, by sending ouer the horsemen in the front of the legions, who might better indure the charge of the enemie, then the footmen coulde, that were vppe to the necke in water; and withall, to shelter the footmen from the furie of the enemie. Secondly, he fent them ouer with that speede, that they were on the other fide of the water, before the enemie coulde tell what they attempted: for if he had lingered in the service, and given the enemie leave to find the aduantage which he had by experience, his men had neuer bin able to haue indured the hazard of fo dangerous a feruice. It is hard to coniecture at the place, where this seruice was performed; for fince the building of London bridge, manie foordes haue beene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time carried not fuch a depth as now they doe.

CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of the Brittish warre: Cæsar returneth into Gallia.



Asiuellaunus hauing no courage to contend anie longer, difmifsed his greatest forces, and retaining onely foure thousand chariots, observed their iourneies, keeping the wood countries, and driving men and cattell out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans; and as their horsemen straied out either for forrage or bootie, hee sent his chariots out of the woods by unknowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill : in regard

whereof, the horsemen durst neuer adventure further then the legions, neither was there anie more spoile done in the countrey, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselves. In the meane time, the Trinobantes, being almost the greatest state of all those countries (from whom Mandubratius had fled to Casar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was flaine by Cassiuellaunus) fent Ambassadours to Cesar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppression of Cassiuellaunus, and sent unto them to take the kingdome. Cafar having received from them fortic pledges, and corne for his Armie, sent Mandubratius vonto them. The Trinobantes, being thus kept from the violence of the souldiers, the Cenimagni, Seguntiaci, Anacalites, Bibrocassi, yeelded themselves to Casar. By these he understood, that Cassiuellaunus his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and borges, and well stored with men and cattell. The Britaines call a towne a thicke wood inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retrait when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cafar with his Armie, and found it well fortified both by arte and nature: And as he affaulted it in two feuerall places, the enemie unable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe waie, and so he tooke it. Where he found great flore of cattell, and slew manie of the Britaines.

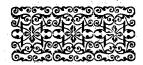
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While

While these thinges were a doing, Cassiuellaunus sent messens into Kent, wherin there were soure several kinges, Cingetorix, Caruilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, them he commanded with all the power they could make, to set open the campe where the nauie was kept. These kinges comming to the place, were overthrowne by a sallie which the Romans made out upon them, manie of them being slaine, and cingetorix taken prisoner. This battell concurring with the former losses, and especially moved thereunto with the revolt of the forenamed cities, Cassiuellaunus intreated peace of Casar by Comius of Arras. Casar being determined to winter in the continent, for feare of sudden commotions in Gallia, and that the summer was now farre spent, and might easilie be lingered out, hee commanded pledges to be brought unto him, and set downe what yearely tribute the Britaines should paie to the Romans: the hosses being taken, he caried backe his Arme to the sea, imbarked his men and arrived sife with all his ships upon the coast of Gallia.

THE OBSERVATION.

of the Britaines themselves, who after they had set the strength of the Britaines themselves, who after they had set the strength of the Britaines themselves, who after they had set the strength of the Britaines themselves, who after they had set the strength of the Roman legions, would never adventure to buckle with them in any standing battel, as also in regard that there were no suchtowness in Britany as are recorded to have been in Gallia, which might have given great honour to the warre, if there had been any such to have been besieged, and taken in by Cæsar. And although Tacitus saith, that Britanie was rather viewed then subdued by Cæsar, being desirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we finde here, that the Trinobantes, which were more then either the skirt, or the heart of Britanie, (for our Historians doe vnderstand them to have inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkeshire and Lancashire) were brought vnder the Roman Empire by Cæsar: who was the first that ever laide tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalse of the people of Rome; or cast vpon them the heavier and subdued people.





TO THE VV OORTHIE KNIGHT SIR ROBERT DRVRIE.

IR, my purpose was to have concluded these discourses, with the ende of the Brittish warre: reserving the latter part of this fift booke, for an entrance vnto such observations, as may be ga-

thered from the fixt and seauenth Commentaries, which I intend to make a second part of this worke: but your desire to see the errours of Sabinus and Cotta discouered, and the samous fight of Q. Cicero in his wintering campe, hath brought them forth som what before their time, annexing that to the first part which was meant for the latter. If my labour shall be found too weake to deserve well of militarie designes; yet I thinke it verie well imploide in that it pleaseth you to give it the reading, and so rest

Readie to doe you service,

C. EDMVNDS.

CHAP.

COMMENTARIES, LIB. V.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their wintetering campes.

Cafar. Either Cam bray, Amiens or S.Quintin



FTER he had put his ships in harbour, and held a councell of the Galles at * Samarobrina; for a fmuch as that yeare by reason of the drought there was some scarcitie of corne in Gallia; he was constrained to garizon his Armie, and to disperse them into more cities then he had done the years before. And 1 he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be led among the Morini; another to Q. Cicero, to be carried to the Nervij ; another

to L.Roscius, to be conducted to the Essui; a fourth he commanded to winter amongst the men of Rheimes, in the marches of the Treuri under T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia, with whom hee fent Marcus Crassus his Questor, L. Munatius Planus, and C. Trebonius Legates; he fent one legion, that which he had last inrolled, beyond the river Po in Italie, with five cohortes, unto the Eburones, the greatest part of whose countrie lieth betweene the Maze and the Rhene; with them he sent 2. Titurius Sabinus, and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta . By distributing his legions in this maner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of corne ; and yet the garrizons of all these legions, excepting that which Roscius carried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of 100 mile: and until his legions were settled, and their wintering campes fortified, he determined to abide in Gallia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Haue heard it oftentimes contradicted by fome, that understand not the waight of a multitude, when it was faid, that an Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthenfome to the common-wealth in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was dispersed into particular cities and families, before the time of the muster and involement: for (fay they) in the generall account of the publike weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000 men be maintained with necessarie prouisions in one intire body together, or dispersed particularly throughout euerie part of the countrie: forafmuch as euerie man hath but a competent quantitie allotted vnto him, which hee cannot want in what fort or condition of life foeuer he be ranged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnited together, but in regard they amount to fuch a multitude wherefoeuer. But fuch as looke into the difference with judgement. shall finde a maruellous inequalitie, both in regarde of the portion of victuals

which is fpent, and the meanes whereby it is prouided: for first we must vnder-

fland, that an armie lying continually in one place, falleth to heavie vpon that part, that it quickly confumeth both the fatte and the flesh (as they fay) and leaneth nothing volpent, which that part can affoord them; and without further supply of prouisions, would in a small time come to vtter destruction. This want then must be relieved by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to furnish the wants of so great a multitude: wherin there cannot be observed that proportion of moderate taking, to vittaile the Armie with a sufficient competencie, but the partiall respect which the purueiers, and vittailers will have to their privat commodity, wil quickly make an inconvenience either in the countrey, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is prouided; according as the errour may best advantage their particular, what discipline soeuer be established in that behalfe. Whereas on the contrarie part, when everie particular man of that multitude shal be billeted in a seueral family, throughout all parts of the kingdome, the charge will be so intensible, in regard of the expence of the faid families, that the country will never feele any inconvenience. And if everie housholder that had received into his house one of the said army. should give a true account of that which rifeth about his ordinary expence; by the addition of one man, it would fall farre short of that treasure, which is neceffarily required, to maintaine the faide number of men vnited together into one bodie. Neither doth the difference confift in the quantitie of vittailes, which euerie man hath for his portion, whether they be dispersed or vnited; but in the maner of prouifion, and the meanes which is vied to maintaine them: wherein enery mafter or steward of a familie, endenoureth to make his provisions at the best hand, & so to husband it, that it may serue for competencie, and not for superfluitie; and by that means, the general plenty of the country is maintained, & the comon-wealth florisheth by well directed moderation. But in the victualing of an army, there is no fuch respect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for there the gaine of the purueier rifeth by experience & fuperfluous wasting, rather then by thrift and fauing frugalitie: and so the commonwealth is weakned by the il husbanding of that great portion of vittaile, which is allowed for fo great a multitude. And if they should have such varietie of viands in an Armie, as they have when they are in feuerall families, it were vnpossible it should continue any time together. And therefore the Romans, notwithstanding the exactnesse of their discipline, could affoord their armies no other prouision but corne, and larde, as well in regard of the commoditie which that kinde of diet affoorded them in the course of their warres, as also for the good of that countrey, wherein they were refident. And if it fo fell out, that the extremitie of the scason, or any other cause, had brought a dearth into the lande, there was no readier waie to helpe that inconvenience, then by dispersing their Armies into divers quarters; which Cæfar disposed with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Oncerning the choice of their fouldiers and their maner of inrolement, I had rather referre the reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular discourse of that action; which was carried with such grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might best serue to possesse their mindes of the waight and confequence of that businesse: but for as much as the largenesse of their Empire, and the necessitie of their occasions would

not admit, that the enrolment should still be made at Rome amongst the citizens, as it appeareth by this legion which was inrolled beyond the river Po; it confequently followeth, that fuch Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot speake of that which the olde Romans did in that part of their discipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæfars time. But he that defireth to fee the maner of their choife, with fuch complements as might adde both a reuerent respect, and a Maiestie to the worke; let him reade Polybius of that argument.

CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to surprise the campe of Sabinus and Cotta; and failing, practiseth to take them by ouile.



Wintering campes, there began a ludden tumult and rebellion

Wintering campes, there began a ludden tumult and rebellion by the meanes of Ambiorix, and Catiunculus, who, having receiued Sabinus & Cotta into their confines, and brought them in corne to the place, where they laie; at the inducement of Induciomarus of Triers, they stirred up their people to rebellion: and suddenly surprising those that were gone abroad to get wood, came with a great power to affault the campe. But when our men had tooke Armes, and were got uppe upon the rampier, and had overmatched them in a skirmish of horse, which made a sallie out of the campe upon the Galles: Ambiorix despairing of good successe, withdrew his men from the asault; and then after their manner, they cried unto us, that some of our companie should come and speake with them: for they had somewhat to discouer touching the publike state, whereby they hoped all controuersies might be ended. Whereupon Caius Carpineius a Roman horseman, and one of Titurius his familiar friendes, and one Iunius a Spaniard, who COMMENTARIES, LIB. V.

divers times before had beene fent by Cafar to Ambiorix; were fent out to treat with them . Ambiorix first acknowledged himselfe much indebted to Casar; for manie curtesies, in that by his meanes hee was freed from a pension which hee paied to the Aduatici; and for that both his own sonne, and his brothers sonne, whom the Aduatici had held in prison under the name of hostages, were by Casar released and sent home againe. And touching the assault of the campe, hee had done nothing of himselfe, but by the impulsion of the state, among whom such was his condition, that the people had as great authoritie over him, as he himselfe had in regard of the people: who were likewise inforced to this warre, because they could not withstand the sudden insurrection of the Galles, whereof his small meanes might be a sufficient argument. For his experience was not so little, to thinke himselfe able with so small a power to over throw the people of Rome, but it was a general appointment throughout all Gallia, upon this daie to assault all Casars garrizons, to the end that one legion might not give reliefe unto another: Galles could not eafily denie the request of Galles, especially when it concerned their publike libertic. Nowe having satisfied that duetie which he owed to his countrey, hee had respect to Casar and his benefites, in regard whereof, he admonished them, and praich Titurius for the hospitalitie that had beene betweene them, that he would looke to the safetie of himselfe. and his fouldiers . There were a great number of Germaines that had alreadie paßed the Rhene, and would be here within two daies: and therefore let them adulfe themfelues, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceived it, to depart with their foldiers out of their wintering places, either to Cicero or Labienus, of who the one was not past fiftie mile off, and the other a little further: for his owne part, he promised them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they should have safe passage through his territories; for so he should both doe a pleasure to his countrey, in disburdening it of garrizons, and shew himselfe thankefull to Casar for his benefits. This speech being ended, Ambiorist departed, and Carpineius and Iunius made report thereof to the Legates.

OBSERVATIONS.



Eander his counsell, to vie the foxes skin where the lyons faileth, doth shew that the discourse of our reason is sooner corrupted with errour, then the powers of our bodie are ouercome with force. A For oftentimes the minde is so disquieted, with the extremitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehension can take found instructions, nor the judgment determine of that which is most for our good: but according as any passion shall happen to raigne in our disposition; so are we caried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without fense of errour, or mistrust of welfucceeding: where as the bodie continueth firme in his owne strength, and is subject onelie to a greater waight of power, by which it maie bee subdued and ouerthrowen. It behooueth vs therefore to take good heed, that our furest holde bee not vnfastened by the subtiltie of the foxe, when it power or oportunitie, hath gained in our actions. Wherein a commander

cannot have a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of passion doe not hinder the course of found deliberation; and withall, to bee

iealous of whatfoeuer an enemie shall, either by speech or action, seeme to

thrust vpon him, how colourable soeuer the reasons maie be, which are alleadged to induce him thereunto. For first, if the minde be not confirmed by the

vertue of her better faculties, to relift the motion of fruitlesse apprehensions,

it may eafily bee feduced either by feare or vaine imagination, diffident conceptions or ouer easie credulitie, with manie other such disturbing powers,

from that waie, which a good discretion and an understanding, free from pas-

fion, would have taken. First therefore I holde it necessarie, to have the con-

fiftorie of our judgment well fettled, with a firme refolution, and with the pre-

fence of the minde, before wee enter into deliberation of fuch thinges, as are

made happie vnto vs by good direction. And then this, amongst other cir-

cumstances, will give some helpe to a good conclusion; when we consider how

improbable it is, that an enemie, whose chiefest care is to weaken his aduersa-

rie, and bring him to ruine, should aduise him of anie thing that maie concerne

his good; vnlesse the profite, which he himselfe shall thereby gather, doe farre

exceede that which the contrarie part may expect. I grant that in civill warres,

where there are many friendes on either partie, and haue the aduerse cause as

decre vnto them as their owne; there are oftentimes many advertisements gi-

uen, which proceede from a true and fincere affection, and maie aduantage the partie whom it concerneth, as well in preuenting any danger, as in the fur-

therance of their cause; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but

to be waied by circumstances, and accordingly to be respected; whereof wee

haue manie pregnant examples in the civill warres of France, and particularly

in Monsteur La Nou his discourses: But where there are two Armies, different

in nation, language and humor, contending for that which peculiarly belon-

geth vnto one of them; where care to keepe that which is dearest vnto them,

possesset the one, and hope of gaine stirreth up the other; there is commonlie

fuch an vniuerfall hatred betweene them, that they are to looke for small

CHAP. X.

The Romans call a councell vpon this advertifement, and resolue to depart, and ioyne themselues to some other of the legions.

HE Romans being troubled at the sodainnesse of the matter, albeit those thinges were spoken by an enemie, yet they thought them no way to be neglected; but especially it moved them, for that it was incredible that the Eburones, beeing base and of no reputation, durft of themselves make war against the people of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a coun-

cell, wherein there grew a great controver sie among them: L. Arunculcius and most of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the first orders, thought it not good to conclude of any thing rashlie, nor to depart out of their wintering campes, without expresse commandement from Casar; for asmuch as they were able to relift neuer fo great a power yea even of their Germans , having the garizons wel fortified: an argument whereof was, that they had valiantly with stood the first affault of the enemy, and given themmany wounds. Neither wanted they anie victuals, and before that provision which they had was spent, there would come succor fro other garizons and from Cafar . Ind to conclude, what was more dishonorable, or sauored of greater inconstancy, then to consult of their maightiest affaires, by the advertisement of an enemy? Titurius vrged vehementlie to the contrarie, that it then would be too late for them to feeke aremedie, when a greater power of the enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were affembled against them; or when anie blow were given to anie of the next wintering campes hee : tooke Gafar to be gone into Italie, for other wife the Eburones, would not have come fo proudly to the camp. Let them not respect the authour, but the thing it selfe; the Rhene was not far off, and hee knewe well that the ouertbrow of Ariouistus, and their former victories, were greeuous to the Germans. The Galles were vexed with the contumelies they hadreceised, being brought in subjection to the Romaine Empire, and having loft their former reputation in deedes of armes. And to conclude, who would imagine that Ambiorix should enterprise such a matter, without any ground, or certaintie thereof? but how soeuer thinges stoode, his counsell was fure, and could bring no harme: for if there were no worse thing intended, they should but goe safelie to the next garizons; or otherwise, if the Galles conspired with the Germans, their onelie safetie consisted in celeritie. As for the counsell of Cotta, and such as were of the contrarie opinion, what expectation could be had thereof? wherein if there were not present danger; yet assuredly famine was to be feared by long siege. The disputation being thus continued on either part, and Cotta with the Centurions of the first orders, earnestly repugning it; doe as please you, since you will needes have it fo, faith Sabinus; and that he fpake with a loud voice, that a great part of the foldiours might well heare him. For I am not he that most feareth death among you,

aduantage, by aduertisements from the enemie: which if the Romans had well confidered, this fubrile Gall had not disposses them of their strength, nor brought them to .

CHAP

let these be wise: and if any mischance happen unto them, they shall aske account thereof at thy hands, inasmuch as if thou wouldest let them, they might toine themselues within 2 daies to the next garizons & with them sustaine what chance soener their common destinie should allot them; and not perish with famine and sword, like a people cast off and abandoned from their fellowes. After these wordes, they began to rife out of the councell; but holde was laide upon them both; entreatie was made that they would not obstinatelie bring all unto a desperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or staied fo that they all agreed upon one thing; wheras in disagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the disputation was prolon-

ged untill midnight; at length Cotta yeelded, and the sentence of Sabinus tooke place. And thereupon it was proclaimed, that they should set forth by the breake of day: the rest of the night was spent in watching, every soldior sought out wwhat he had to carry with him, and what he should be constrained to leave behind him of such necessaries, as he had prepared for winter : all things were disposed in such sort to make the foldsours beleeve, that they could not stay without danger.

OBSERVATIONS.

Y the resolution in this disputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wife deliberation availeth, when it is impugned with the violence of paffion, according to the truth of my former observations, on; for the matter was well reasoned by Cotta, and his positions

were grounded vpon thinges certaine, and well knowne to the whole councell: and yet the feare of Sabinus was fuch, that it carried the conclusion by fuch supposed affertions, as the qualitie of his passion had ratified for true principles; being grounded altogether upon that which the enemy had suggested, and not vpon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often seene, when a Councell disputeth vpon matters of such consequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from fuch troublesome motions, but that it will somwhat incline to the partialitie of a strong affection; so powerfull is passion in the gouernment of the foule, and so interessed in the other faculties. And this is one cause of the vncertainty of mans judgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do arise. Neither is this so strange a matter, that a councell of warre should so much varie in case of deliberation, when as many especial points of military discipline remaine yet vndecided; having the authoritie of the great Commaunders of all ages, to ratifie the trueth on either parte; whereof I coulde alleage many examples. But concerning the iffue and event of our deliberations, what can bee more truelie faide then that of

> Et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallax, Nec fortuna probat causas, sequiturque merentes; Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur: Scilicet est alind quod nos cog atque regatque Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.

> > Notwithstan-

COMMENTARIES, LIB. V.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as our wisdome is not so subject to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it felfe, the good direction of most of the occurrences, which fall within the course of our businesse; or if we must needes miscarrie, yet it somwhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went vpon best probabilities; it shall not be amisse to set down some rules for the better directing of a mature confultation. Wherein we are to understand, that as all our knowledge ariseth from some of our senses, and our senses comprehende onely particularities, which being caried vnto the apprehension, are disposed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or difagree in their feuerall properties: from whence there arise intellectual notions, and rules of Arte: wherein the science of the said particulars consisteth: so hee that intendeth to debate a matter, with found deliberation, must descend from confused conceptions and a knowledge in generall, to the exact distinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiall substance of enery action : he therfore that can give best direction, either by experience, or indicious discourse, concerning such particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can best aduse which is the safest way to avoid the oppofition of contradicting natures. But to make this fomewhat plainer, I will alleage 2. examples: the one moderne in case of consultation; the other ancient, and may feeme not so pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meere Apology, vet for a fmuch as it freely cenfureth the quality of particular circumstances, it may give great light to that which we feeke after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the wattes which Lewis the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the state of Ferrara and the Duchie of Milan: wherein there arose a controuersie among the French captaines, whether it were better to go directlie to feeke the enemy, who albeit were lodged in a strong and secure place, yet there was hope, that with the virtue of armes and importunitie of artillerie, they might bee diflodged and driven to a retreit: or otherwise, to take the way either of Modina or Bolognia, that fo the enemy for feare of loofing either of those townes, might quit their holde, and by that meanes. Ferrara should bee freed from the warre. Monfieur Chaumont the Generall of the French, inclined to the former aduise: But Triuulce, a man of great authoritie and experience, hauing beene an executioner in 18. battailes, reasoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (faith he) to go feeke the enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great captaines holde this as a firme principle: Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vnlesse there be either an offer of an especiall advantage, or otherwise, compulsion by necessitie. The rules of warre give it to the enemy that is the inuader, and hathvndertaken the conquest of Ferrara, to feeke to affaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is fufficient to defende our felues, it cannot be but impertinent to vndertake an action, contrary to all direction and discipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by enident reason, that there is no possibility to execute that deuise, but to our harmes and disaduantage: for we cannot go to their campe but by the side of a hill, a streight and narrowe way, where all our forces cannot be imploied; and yet

Lib.9.

they with finall numbers will make refittance, having the oportunitie of the place fauourable to their vertues: wee must march by the rising of a hill, one horse after another; neither haue we anie other waie to draw our Artillerie, our baggage, our cartes and bridges, but by the streight of the hill: and who doubteth not but in a waie so narrowe and combrous, euerie artillerie, euerie carte, or every wheele that shall breake, will not stay the Armie a whole houre at the least? By which impediments eueric contrarie accident may put vs to disorder. The enemie is lodged in couert, prouided of victuals and forrage; and wee must incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which should serve for our necessarie nouriture, but expect the things to come after; which in reafon ought to go with vs. To attempt newe enterprises, whereof the victorie is leffe certaine then the perill, is contrarie to the granitie and reputation of a leader; and in actions of the warre, those enterprises are put to aduenture, that are done by will and not by reason. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our aboade there, two or three daies; year the showes and raines loyned with the extremitie of the feafon, may fuffice to detaine vs : how shall we then doe for victuals and forrages? What shall we be able to doe in the warres, wanting the thinges that should give vs strength and sustenance? What is he that considereth not, how dangerous it is to go feeke the enemie in a strong campe, and to be driven at one time to fight against them, and against the discommoditie of the place? If we compell them not to abandon their campe, wee cannot but be inforced to retire; a matter of great difficultie in a countrey fo wholy against vs, and where enerie little disfauour will turne to our great diladuantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that grave discourse, in the discoverie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterprife; which being laied open to their confufed judgments, did manifestly point at the great disaduantages, which were to be

vndergone, by that attempt.

Anal.6.

The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneth the araignment of certaine lenatours, for the friendship that had past betweene Scianus and them. Amongst whom M. Terentius thus answered for himfelfe; according as it hath of late been published by translation.

It would be peraduenture lesse behoovefull for my estate to acknowledge, then to denie the crime I am charged with : but happe what happe maie, I will confesse that I have beene Seianus friend, and that I desired so to bee, and that after I had obtained his friendship, I was glad of it. I had seene him joint officer with my father, in the gouernment of the pretorian cohort; and not long after in managing the cittle affaires, and matters of warre: his kinsemen and allies were aduanced to honour, as euerie man was inward with Scianus, so he was graced by Cæsar: and contrariwise, such as were not in his fauour, liued in feare, and diffressed with pouertie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not privile to his last attempts, with the danger of my onely estate I will defend: not Scianus the Vulfinienfis, but a part of the Claudian and Iulian familie, which by alliance hee had entered into; thy fonne in law Cælar, thy companion in the Confulfhip, and him, who tooke vp. on him thy charge of administring the common-wealth, wee did reuerence and honor. It is not our part to judge of him, whom thou doest exalt about the rest, nor for what considerations: to thee the highest judgement of thinges the gods have given; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. We looke into those thinges which we see before our eies, whom thou doest inrich, whome thou doest aduance to honours, who have greatest power of hurting or helping, which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about any fecret drift, it is not lawful to found, and dangerous; neither shalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. Thinke not onely Lordes of the fenate, of Seianus last daie; but of fixteene yeeres, in which wee did likewile fawne vppon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be knowne vnto his freed men and partners, was reckoned for a high fauour. What then? shall this defence bee generall, and not distinguished, but a consusion made of times past, and his latter actions? no, but let it by just boundes and tearmes be deuided: let the treafons against the common wealth, the intentions of murdering the Emperour bee punished; but as for the friendships, dueties, pleasures and good turnes, the same ende shall discharge and quit thee, O Cæsar, and vs! The constancie of this Oration prevailed so much, that his Accusers were punished with exile. And thus wee see howe particularities decide the controuersie, and make the waie plaine to good direction.

CHAP. XI.

The Romaines take their iourney towardes the next legion; and are set upon by the Galles.



some as the daye lyght appeared, they set foorth of their Campe, like men persuaded that the counsell had beene given them not by an enemie, but by Ambiorix an especial friende, with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Galles understanding of their journey, by their noise and watching in the night; secretlie in the woodes some two miles off layed an Ambuscado, in two severall places of aduan-

tage, and there attended the comming of the Romaines; and when the greatest part of the troupes were entered into a valley, sodainlie they shewed themselves on both sides the vale, pressing harde uppon the rerewarde, and hindering the formost from going uppe the hill; and so beganne to charge uppon the Romaines in a place of as great disaduantage for them as coulde bee . Then at length Titursus, as one that had provided for nothing before hande, began to tremble, ran

up and down, and disposed his cohorts, but so fearefully and after such a fashion, as if all things had gone against him, as it happeneth for the most part to (uch as are forced to consult in the instance of execution.

THE OBSERVATION.



T nowe plainelie appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for incounter which the Galles gaue the, that feare had ratified in the judgment of Sabinus the sinooth fuggestion of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth; and laied that for a principle, which a discourse free from pas-

fion would have discerned to be but weake, and of no probabilitie: which fo much the more amazed Titurius, by howe much his apprehenfion had erred from the truth, and betraied good counfell to a course full of danger; which as Cæsar noteth, must needes fall vpon such, as are then to seeke for direction when the businesse requireth execution. I have handled alreadie the inconveniences of difappointment; and therfore at this time wil but bring it only into remembrance, that wee may take the greater care to preuent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the best remedie for an euill is to foresee it, according to the faying, prausa percunt mala; so the greatest mischiese in an enill, is when it commeth vnthought of, and belides our expectation; for then it falleth vpon vs with a supernaturall waight, and affrighteth the minde with a superstitious astonishment, as though the divine powers had prevented our deffignements, with an irremediable calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: although peraduenture the thing it selfe carie no such importance, but might be remedied, if wee were but prepared with an opinion. that such a thing might happen. It were no ill counsell therefore, what resolution focuer beeraken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to

ctoffe our intentions, as that which is likelie to happen from the direction of our chiefest projects; and so we shall be fure to have a present mind in the middest of our occasions, and feele no further danger, then that which the nature of the thing inforceth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Romans cast themselves into an Orbe: and are much discouraged.



T Cotta, who had before thought that thefe things might happen by the waie, and for that cause would not bee the author of the tourney, was not wanting in anie thing that concerned their common safetie : for both in calling uppon the foldiours and incouraging them, hee executed the place of a Commaunder; and in fighting, the dutie of a soldiour. And when they found, that by realon of the length of their troupe,

they were not able in their owne perfonsto fee all thinges doone, and to give direction in euerie place; they caused it to bee proclaimed, that they should all forsake their baggage, and cast themselves into an Orbe: which direction, alshough in (uch a case bee not to be reprooued; yet it fell out ill sauoredlie: for it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gave the enemie greater incouragement, inafmuch as it seemed that that course was not taken, but uppon a great feare and in extremitie of perill. Moreoner, it happened, as it coulde not otherwise chose, that the foldiours went from their Ensignes, to take from the cartages such thinges as were most deere unto them: and there was nothing heard among st them but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne howe to carrie themselues: for their Commaunders caused it to bee proclaimed, that no man (houlde furre out of his place; for the praie was theirs, and all that the Romaines had laide aparte, was reserved for them: and therefore let them suppose that althings consisted in the victorie. The Romans were equal to the Galles. both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were destitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they reposed in their manhoode al the hope of their (afety : and as often as any cohort issued out they failed not to make a great slaughter of the enemy on that part.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Haue alreadie handeled the nature of an Orbe, with fuch properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I shewed the conueniencie of this figure, in regarde of fafe and strong imbattailing: I will nowe adde this much concerning the vie thereof, that as it is the best manner of imbattailing for a defensive

strength, and therefore neuer vsed but in extremitie; so we must be very carefull, that the fodaine betaking of our felues to fuch a refuge, doe not more difmaie the foldiours, then the advantage of that imbattailing canne benefit

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

them. For vnlesse a leader be carefull to keepe his men in courage, that their hearts may bee free from despaire and amazement, what profit can there arise from any disposition or bodie souer, when the particular members shall bee sencelesse of that duty, which belongeth vnto them? for order is nothing but an assistance to courage, giuing meanes to manage our valour with aduantage. In the warre of Africke wee reade, that Cæsars legions being incircled about with great multitudes of enemies, were forced to make an Orbe; but he quicklie turned it to a better vse, by aduancing the two Cornets two contrary waies, and so deuided the enemy into two partes; and then beate them backe to their great disaduantage.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Neede not stand upon this order which the Galles heere tooke, concerning pillage, that no foldior should forfake his station, or distanke himselfe in hope of spoile; which is a thing that from the very infancie of warres hath often changed the fortune of the day, and solde

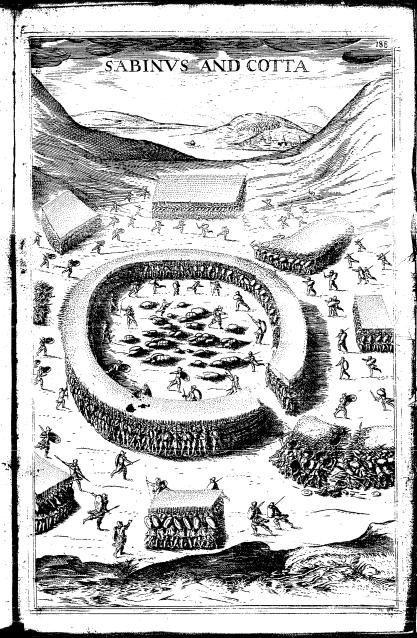
the honor of a publike victorie, for prinate lucre and petty pilfeting. Amongst other examples, let that which Guichardine reporteth of the battell of Taro, suffice to warne a well directed armie, as well by the good which Charles the eighth of that name, King of France, received at that time, as by the losse which the Italians selt by that disorder, not to seeke after pillage vntil the victory be obtained.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He infufficiency of these Commanders, whereof Cæsar now complaineth as the only want, which these Romans had to cleere themselues of this daunger; bringeth to our consideration that which former times haue made a question, which is, whether it were the

verue of the Roman leaders, or the valor of their foldiers, that inlarged their Empireto that greatnes, and made their people and fenate Lords of the world? Polybius waighing the causes of a victorie, which the Carthagineans gained of the Romans, by the counsell and good direction of one Zantippus a Grecian, hauing before that time received divers overthrowes, during the time of those warres in Africke; concluded, that it was more in the worthines of the Commanders, then in any extraordinary vertue of the soldiours, that the Romans atchieued so many conquests. And besides the present example of Zantippus, he confirmed his opinion with the proceedings of Hanniball, who from the beginning of the second punicke watre, still gained of the Roman Empire, enlarging the territories of Carthage, and streightening the inrissidiction of mightie Rome, vntill it had got a leader matchable to that subtle Carthaginean, and sound a Scipio to confront their Hannibal. To this may be added that



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famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the last Latines; wherein both parties were equally ballaunced, both in number and quality of their souldiers, hauing both the same Armes, the same vse of their weapons, and the same discipline, as if it had beene in a Ciuill warre: neither could fortune tell by the presence of their Armies, where to bestowe her fauour, or where to shewe her disdaine; but that the worthinesse of the Roman leaders brought the oddes in the triall, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of an Armie, to haue a leader worthie of the place which he holdeth: forasimich as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequalitie betweene two equall Armies, then the wisedome and experience of a graue commander, or the disabilitie of an vnskilfull leader; which are so powerfull in their seuerall effectes, that there is greater hope of a heard of Hartes led by a Lyon, then of so many Lyons conducted by a Hatte.

CHAP. XIII.

Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might best fight with aduantage, and frustrate the weapons of Romaine solutions.



HE which thing when Ambiorix perceived; he commanded his men to throwe their casting weapons a farre off, and keepe themselves from comming neare at hand, and where the Romans charged upon them to give waie; and againe, as they save them retire to their ensgenes, then to pursue them. Which commandement was so diligently observed by the Galles, that

the enemie gaue backe as falf as they could; and in the meane time there was no help, but that part must be left naked and open to the inconvenience of casting weapons; and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumvented as well by them that had given place wnto them, as by such as stood next about them: And if they went about to keepe their ground, they could neither helpe themselves by their manhood; nor standing thicke together, avoide the dartes that such a mulitude cast when and yet notwithstanding these inconveniences besides the woundes which they had received, they stood still at their defence, and having so spent the greatest part of the daie (for they had sought eight houres together) they counted nothing dishonourable or unworthie of themselves.

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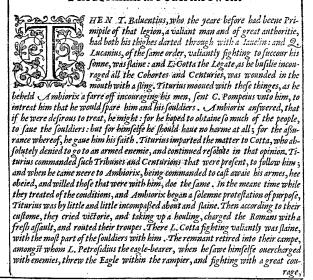
Cafar.

THE OBSERVATION.

Haue fpoken alreadie of the manner of the Roman fight, confifting altogether in good difposition of imbattailing, and in firme standing, and buckling at handy-blowes: as may appeare by this circumbutto giue backe and follow on againe; as the lightnesse of their Armes gaue them oportunitie. In like manner in the first booke of the Civill warres, in the battell betweene Cæsar and Affranius; it appeareth, that Cæsar his souldiers were bound to keepe their araie, not to leaue their ensignes, nor without a waightie occasion to forsake their stations appointed them: whereas the Astranians fought thinne, and scattered here and there; and if they were hard laied vitto, they thought it no dishonour to retire and giue backe, as they had learned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous nations.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Romans are ouerthrowen.



rage, before the campe was flaine. The rest with much adoc indured the assault untill night, and in the night being in despaire of all succour slewe themseliues cueric man: a fem, that escaped from the battell, came by unknowne waies through the woods to Labienus, and certified him how all things had fallen out.

OBSERVATIONS.

Nd thus have we heard of the greatest losse, that ever fel at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that hee was first Proconfull in Gallia, vnto the ende of his dictatorship . For in the two ouerthrowes at Dirrachium, he loft not aboue 1000 men, and in that at Gergouianot fo manie: but here fifteene cohortes were cut in pieces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Which maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more hatefull, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharfalia, cost him but the lines of two hundreth men. The resolution of such as returned to the campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman fouldier, if a valiant leader had had the managing thereof; or if Cotta alone had beene absolute commander, there had beene great hope of better fortune in the successe: but here it happened as it commonly doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authoritie, the direction for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which being a propertie rather of passion then of judicious discourse, forceth a confent against the temperat opposition of a true discerning understanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, having place and authoritie in the councel, doth either infect or annihilate the found deliberations of the rest of the leaders : for his timerousnesse slieth alwaies to extremities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, and base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of milchieuing fortune.

CHAP. XV.

Ambiorix hasteth to besiege Cicero; and stirreth wp the Aduatici, the Neruij; and so raiseth a great power.



MB 10 R IX tooke fuch spirites vnto him vpon this victorie, that with his horsemen he went immediatly unto the Aduatics, being the next borderers upon his kingdome, without intermission of night, commanding his footmen to follow him: The Aduatics being stirred up to Commotion, the next date after he came to the Nerwy, exhor-

tino

ting them not to let slippe this occasion of taking to themselves perpetual libertie, and revenging them of the Romans for the wrong they had received . He tolde them that two Legates were alreadie saine, and a great part of the Armie overthrowne : it was now no great matter, suddenly to surprise the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, he offered himselfe to be their assistant. These remonstrances easilie perswaded the Neruij, and therefore they dispatched speedie messengers to the Centrones, Grudij and other people under their dominion, and raised verie great forces, and with them they hasted to the campe where Cicero wintered, before anie inkling of the death of Titurius was brought unto him.

THE OBSERVATION.

A He ambitious and working spirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raise the basenesse of a small and ignoble state, to so high a point of resolution, that they durit adventure upon the Roman legions. being settled in the strength of their Empire, by the memorie of so manie victories in Gallia: wanted now no meanes to make an ouerture to a vniuerfall commotion, propounding libertie and reuenge to the Galles, two the fweetest conditions that can happen to a subdued people, if they would but firetch out their hands to take it, and follow that course which his example had proued fure and easie. Which maie ferue to shewe, that he that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vnfafe Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a finall beginning a fufficient meanes for his greatest deffignes.

CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his campe from the surprise of the Neruij, and prepareth himselfe against a siege.



T happened to Cicero also (as it coulde not otherwise chuse) that manie of the fouldiers, that were gone into the woods for timber and munition, were cut off by the sudden approach of (the enemies horsemen . These being circumvented, the Ebu-Crones, Neruy, and Aduatics, with all their confederates and clientes, began to assault the campe. The Romans betooke them speedily to their weapons; and got upon the rampier.

with much adoe they helde out that daie : for the Galles trusted much wpon celeritie, hoping if they feed well in that action, to be victors euer after. Cicero dispatched

letters with all speede to Casar, promising great rewardes to him that should carie them: but all the waies were fo forelaid, that the messengers were taken. In one night there was built in the campe 120 towers, of such timber as was brought in for fortification, & what soener wanted of the rest of the worke, was perfected. The enemie the next daie with a farre greater power assaulted the campe, and filled up the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the daie before; the like was continued divers daies after. The Remaines made no intermission of their worke at anie part of the night, nor gave anie rest either to the sicke or the wounded. What soener was needfull for the next daies assault, was provided in a readinesse the night before; a great number of stakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and manie murall piles were made; the towers were floored in their stories, Pinacles and Parapets were set up of hurdles: and Cicero himselfe being sickly, and of a weake constitution, tooke not so much leasure as to rest himselfe in the night time; so that the fouldiers of their owne accord compeld him, by intreatie, to spare himselfe.

THE OBSERVATION.



His Q. Cicero is faid to bee the brother of Marcus Cicero the famous Oratour,& to him were the letters fent which are found in his Epiftles, directed *Quincto fratri*. In this action his cariage deferred as great reputation, in the true censure of honor, as euer his brother as great reputation, in the true censure of honor, as euer his brother

did for his eloquence, pro Rostris . And if it had been the others fortune to haue performed the like feruice, he would have made it the greatest exploit that ever Roman had archieued by armes: wherein particularly may be commended the diligence and industrie, which was vsed in raising so manie towers, in so small a time; for prouiding the night before, such thinges as were necessarie for the next daies defence; for making so manie stakes hardened at the ende with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the store of these murall piles, which refembled the forme of the ordinarie pile, but were farre greater and waightier

in regard they were to be cast from the rampier; which gaue them such aduantage, by reason of the height, that being cast by a strong and well practifed arme, they were veric effectuall and of great terrour.



ВЬ ј.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the same things to Cicero which Ambiorix had done to Sabinus; but are reiected.



HEN the Princes and chiefe commanders of the Neruii, which had anie entrance of speech and cause of acquaintance with Cicero, signified their desire to speake with him: which being granted, they propounded the same things they had vied to deceiue Sabinus; all Gallia was in Armes; the Germans were come over the Rhenes Cafar and the rest were besieged in their I wintering campes; Sabinus and his men were cut in pieces; notwithstanding they carried this minde to Cicero, that they refused nothing but

their wintering among them, they might depart in fafetie whither they would, without disturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this answere: that it was not the custome of the people of Rome, to take anie article or condition from an armed enemie; but if they would laie their armes aside, let them vse his furtherance in the matter, and send some to negotiat it with Casar; there was great hope in regard of his instice and equitie, that they should not returne unsatisfied.

THE OBSERVATION.



He first attempt, which Ambiorix made upon the campe of Sabinus and Cotta, was but thort; but here what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the affailants, they continued it longer, in hope to carrie it by affault: for the first affault of

a place, especially when it commeth by waie of surprise, is of greater hope to the affailant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then fuch as afterward are made in the sequell of the warre: for after the first brunt, the heate of the enemy is much abated, as well through the nature of a hot defire, which is most violent in the beginning, and afterward groweth colde and remiffe, as also with the harmes and perill which they meete with in the incounter; and on the contrarie fide, the defendants having withstood the first furie, wherein there is most terrour and distrust, grow more confident and better assured of their manhood, and in experience of their strength stand firme against anie charge whatsoeuer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij besiege Cicero, with a ditch and a rampier, and worke meanes to set fire



HE Neruij disappointed of this hope, carried a ditch and a rampier round about the campe; the rampier was 11 foot high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines , partly by being conversant among themcertaine yeares before, and partly by the prisoners and captines which they had taken but they had no yrow source out of the but were driven to cut up turfe with their swords, and gather they had taken but they had no yron tooles fit for that purpofe,

earth with their hands, and carrie it away with their mantles and gaberdines. Wherby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the siege; for in lesse then three houres, they finished the fortification of fifteene miles in circuit. The daies following the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great hooks and strong penthouses, or sauegardes of boords and timber, according as the captines had giuen them instruction. The seauenth daie of the siege being a very windie daie, they cast hoat bullets of claie out of slinges, and burning dartes upon the cabines of the Romans, which after the manner of the Galles, were thatched with strawe: these cabines were quickly set on fire, which by the violence of the winde was carried over all the campe; the enemie pressing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were alreadie potten, began to bring their Turrets and Testudines to the rampier, and to scale it with ladders. But such was the valour of the Roman souldiers, that albeit they were scorched on all sides with fire, and over-charged with multitude of weapons, and faw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man for sooke the rampier, or scarce looked backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and with an exceeding courage.

OBSERVATIONS.



His one example may ferue to shew the excellencie of the Romaine discipline, and the wisedome of the first founders of that Arte: for they perceiving that the fortune of warres confifted chiefelie in the mastering of particular occurrences, trained their souldiers in that

forme of discipline, as might struggle with inconveniences, and strong oppositions of contradicting accidents; and so ouerwage all difficulties and hinderances, with a constant perseueration and a courage inuincible. For the great attempting spirit of an ambitious commader, that seeketh to ouertop the trophes of honour, with the memorie of his exploites, will quickly perish by his owner direction, if the inftruments of execution be weaker, then the meanes which

Bb ii.

lead him to his dessignments. For where the waight is greater then the strength, the engine will sooner breake, then lift it vp. Let a discreet leader therefore so leuell his thoughts, that his resolution may not exceede the abilitie of his particular means; but first let him be well assured what his souldiers can doe, before he resolute what he will doe: or otherwise, let him so inable them by discipline and instructions, according to the example of the old Romans, that their worth mate answere the height of his desires and sollow his aspiring minde, with a resolution grounded upon knowledge and valout; and so making their ability the ground of his dessignes, he shall neuer saile of meanes to performe what he intendeth. The want of this consideration hath, within these late yeares, repaide our commanders in many partes of Christendome with losse and vindisciplined souldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughtes, and so laide such projects of difficultie, as were verie vissuable in the particularitie of occurrences to that, which their souldiers were sit to execute.

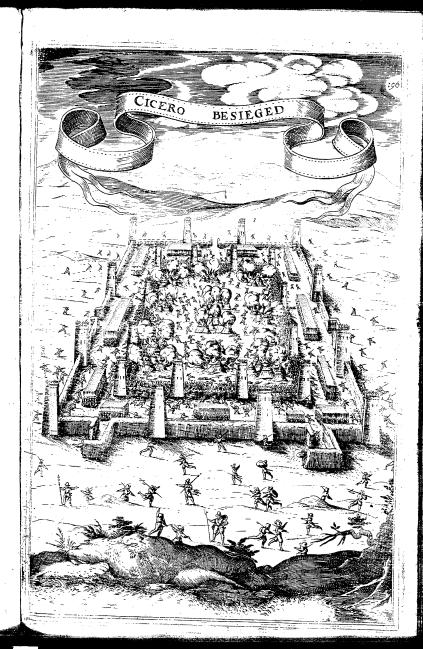
CHAP, XIX.

The æmulation betweene two Centurions, Pulfio, and Varenus, with their fortunes in the incounter.



HERE were in that legion two valiant men, Titus Pulfio, and L. Varenus Centurions, comming on a pace to the dignitie of the first orders: these two were at continual debate which of them should be preferred one before another, & euery yeare contended for place of proferment, with much strife and emulation. Pulfio at a time, that the fortification was very sharply assaulted, called to Varenus, and asked him why he now stood doubtfull? or what

other place he did looke for to make triall of his manhood? this is the date ([aith hee] that shall decide our controuersies; and when he had spoken these wordes, he went out of the fortisteation, and where he saw the enemie thickest, he siercely set upon the then could not Varenus hold himselfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reasonable distance. Pulso cass his pile at the enemie, and strooke one of the multitude through that came running out against him; he being slaine, all cass their weapons at him, giving no respite or time of retrait: Pulso had his target strooke through, and the dart slucke sast in his girdle: this chance turned aside his scabberd and hindered his right hand from pulsing out his sword, in which disadvantage the enemy pressed hard upon hims Varenus came and rescued him: immediatly the whole multitude, thinking such in the same to be slaine with the darte, turned to Varenus, who speedely betoake him to his sword, and came to handy-strokes, and having slaine one he put the rest somewhat backe. But as he followed overhassely upon them; he fell downe: him did Pulsio rescue.



being circumuented and in danger; and so both of them having slaine manie of the enemie, retired to their campe in safety, so their great honour. Thus fortune caried as well the contention, as the incounter of them both, that being enemies, they neverthelesse gave helpe to save each others life; in such sort, that it was not to bee indged which of them deserved greatest honor.

OBSERVATIONS.

Æfar inferteth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthie to be related amongst the deeds of armes contained in these commetaries: wherein we are first to observe the grounds of this quarrel, which was their continual strife for place of preferment, which they fought after by shewing their valour in time of danger, and appropriate their worth by the greatnesse of their desert; a contention worthy the Roman discipline, and may ferue for a paterne of true honour full of courage, accomplithed with vertue. For these Simultates, which defire of honor had cast between them, brought forth emulation which is the spur of vertue, far from enmitie or hatefull contention: for the difference betweene these two qualities is, that enmitie hunteth after destruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduerfary vtter ruine, dishonour or ill atchieuement: but emulation contendeth only by well deseruing, to gaine the advantage of an other mans fame, that vieth the same meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinity of their affections, and the sympathic of their defires, not feeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but fuccouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamitie, that he may still continue to shew the greatnes of his worth by the opposition of in-

A vertue rare and vnknowne in these daies, and would hardly find subjects to be refident in, if the should offer her helpe in the course of our affaires, or sue to be entertained by the crooked disposition of our times: for we can no sooner conceine the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth prefently to hatred, which is followed to the vttermost of our malice, and resteth better satisfied with the milerable end of our opposed partner, then with thousand of Trophes deservedly erected to our honor. Which maketh me wonder, when I looke into the difference of these and those ages, whether it were the discipline of that time, which brought forth fuch honeit effectes of vertue, to their glory and our ignominy, having learned better rules then were known vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want strength in these times to bring foorth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in those daies; or what other cause hath made our worst affections so violent, and our better faculties so remisse and negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but wordes of praise, our whole practife being confecrated to actions of reproch. The injuries, murthers, scandalous cariages of one towards an other, which in these daies are so readily offe-

ferior actions, which are as a leffer scantling of defert to measure the estimation

of the others honour.

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red, and so impatienthe digested, will admit no satisfaction but private combate, which in the first monarchies was granted only against strangers, and forraine enemies, as the only objects of armes and wrath, and capable of that instituce, which the private sworde shoulde execute: for they well perceived that these single battels were, as sparkles of civill discorde, and intestinewarres; although not so apparant in the generall viewe of their state, yet as odious in particular, and as dishonourable to good government. And if there were a true recorde of such, as have beene either slaine or wounded within these fortie yeeres, either in this kingdome, or in France, or in Germanie; by this licentious and brutish custome; I make no question, but they woulde amount to a number capable of that searchull stile, which is attributed to civill

Neither is there any lawe howe rigorous of hardefocuer, that can give reliefe to this diforder, but the restraint will drawe on as great enormities, and as untolerable in a good gouernment. Rotatis king of the Lumbardes forbade his subjectes this manner of combate; but shortlie after, hee was constrained to recall the edict, for the avoiding of greater enils; although hee protested the thing to bee both inhumane, and barbarous. The like edict was published in France by Philip the Faire, but was within two yeeres reuoked againe, at the instante request of his subjectes, in regarde of the murthers and affafinats committed in that kingdome. The onelie remedie, that I finde to take effect in this case, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphe in Piemont, invented to prevent this euill: for perceiving howe ordinarie quarrels and bloudshed were in his campe, hee affigned a place betweene two bridges for the performance of the Duellum, with this charge; that hee that had the worst shoulde alwaies bee slaine, and cast from the bridge into the water; the daunger ioyned with dishonour (which by this decree attended fuch as vndertooke private combate) made the foldiours wifer in their cariage, and put an end to their fedition and civill discordes. But that which is yet worst of all, is that custome hath now made it so familiar, that every trifle feemeth fufficient to call the matter to a private combate; a crosse looke calleth an others mans honour in question; but the word lye is of as great confequence, as any stabbe or villanie whatfoeuer. VV hereat we may well wonder howe it happeneth, that wee feele our felues so much exasperated at the reproch of that vice, which we so ordinarilie commit; for in the custome of these times to cast upon vs the lie, is the greatest injurie that wordes can doe unto us; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a propertie in our nature, to frand chiefely in the defence of that corruption vnto which wee are most subject. I speake not this to qualifie the foulenesse of this vice; for I holde a lier to bee a monster in nature, one that contemneth God and feareth man, as an ancient father faith; but to shew the crookednesse of our disposition in disdaining to acknowledge that fault, which wee so commonlie commit. But I would faine learne when honor first came to be measured with words, for from the beginning it was not fo. Cæfar was often called to his face theefe. and dronkard, without any further matter; and the liberty of inuectiues, which COMMENTARIES, LIB. V.

great personages vsed one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letteth it rest, vntill further proofe, to have as great advantage in the reputation of honour, as the sormer, that first gaue the disgrace.

CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertise Cæsar of this Accident; who hasting, raiseth the siege, and putteth the Enemie to a great

S the fiege grew daily hoster & sharper, and specially, forthat the greatest part of the souldiours were laid up with
wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands
that were able to make any defence; so they scattonet Letters and Messens the more often to Casar: of whom
some were taken, and in the sight of our souldiours, tortured to death. There was one within the place besieged, of

the Nation of the Neruy, called Vertico, of bowelf parentage; who in the beginning of the siege had sledde to Cicero, and caried himselfe faithfully in that fernice: this man did Cicero chuse, perswading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carie Letters to Casar; which he tooke, & having tied them up in his Dart, tranelled as a Gall among it the Galles, without any suspicion, & so came to Casar: Of whom he understood, how dangerously Cicero and the legion was beset.

Casar, having received those Letters about the eleventh houre of the day, dispatched presently a Messenger to M. Crassus, the Treasurer; in the country of the
Bellonaci, twentic five wiles off; commanding the legion to set out at midnight,
and speedily to come unto him. Crassus, the tout and came along with the Messenger. He sent another Post to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the consines of the Atrebaty, through which he was to passe. And write like manner
to Labienus; that if it shood with the conveniencie of the State, hee should bring
the legion to the territories of the Neruy: for, the rest of the Armie that were
further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew foure hundred horse or therabouts, from the neerest wintering Campes. And beeing advertised about the
third houre (by the fore-runners) of Crassus comming, hee marched that day
twentie miles.

Hee made Crassus Gouernour of Samarobrine, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the whole Armie, the hostages of the Prouinces, the publique transactions and Letters, together with all the Corne which hee had got for the prouision of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him with the legion.

Cambray.

Labienus, understanding of the death of Fabrius, and the slaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing also that the vohole forces of the Treuiri overe marching towards him; he doubted, that if his fetting forward out of his vointer station, should seeme as a stealing away, he should not be able to undergoe the charge of the enemy, who a late victory had made in solent : and therefore informed Casar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their wintering Camp, relating what had happened among st the Eburones and how that all the forces of the Treuiri, both hor /e and foote, lay but three miles distant from his Campe.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CASARS

Cafar, allowing of thefe reasons, how soener his hope of three legions was fallen unto two ; yet his whole trust was in celevitie, as the onely meanes of all their safeties: and so by great iourneis, came into the confines of the Neruy; where he understood by the Captines, how matters passed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he per waded a certaine hor sman of the Galles, by great rewards offered onto him, to carrie a Letter to Cisero; which hee fent writ in Greeke Characters, least his purposes should be discouered, if the Letter had been intercepted: aduifing, that if he could not come to his presence, hee should tie it to the string of a Dart, and so cast it into the fortifications. Hee advertised them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there instantly to raise the siege. The Gall, fearing some danger, followed the directions, and cast it into the workes by a Dart; which fell by chance upon a turret, and there stuck two daies before it was perceived: the third day, a souldiour finding it tooke it downe & brought it to Cicero; who read it publiquely in the affembly of the fouldiours, and put them all into exceeding greatioy. And at the same time, the (moake of their fires began a farre off to be discouered : which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.

The Galles, beeing advertised thereof by their Discouerers, left the siege and made towards Casar with all their power; which consisted of threescore thou-Sandmen or there-bouts. Cicero, finding himselfe at libertie. Sought out the Same Vertico before mentioned, to carry Letters to Casar: adulting him to bee ovarie and diligent in his passage; signifying by those Letters, that the Enemie had left the siege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Leters, beeing brought unto Cafar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents therof, and prepared them by incouragement to fight. The next day, as soone as it began to be light, he removed his Campe; and having marched about foure miles, he disconered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a Riner. It was a matter of exceeding danger to give battell to so great a number, in a place of disaduantage: yet, for a smuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the siege, he thought he might the better forbeare to make such haste: and thereupon sate downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuse, fortified his Campe. Which beeing of it selfe very little, as not having scarce seaven thousand men, & those without any cariages: yet he lessened it as much as hee could by narrowing the vfuall streetes thereof; to the end he might the better defend it if happely the enemie might be drawne to ingage himselfe seriously in any attempt opon the same. In the meane time, having fent out Discouerers into all parts, he informed him-

The same day, after (mall incounters of the Caualrie at the water, either partie contained themselues within their fortifications: the Galles, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Cafar, that by acounterfet feare; he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this side the valley, and so strike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it so about, then upon discouery of the waies, to passe the Valley and the River with lesse danger. As it began to be day light, the Caualrie of the enemy came neere vnto the Campe, and began to skirmifb with our horsemen. Casar, of set purpose, comaunded the horsmen to fall back, and to betake themselves into the Camp: and withall, to fortifie their Camp on all sides with a higher rampier, to stoppe up the Gates; and in doing of these things, to cary themselves tumultuously, and with a fained show of great feare. With which inducemets, the enemy was so drawn on, that he brought over all his forces, and imbattailed them in an onequall and difadvantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparant) they were imboldened to come neerer, and to cast oveapons from all parts into our works: sending Herralds round about with Proclamation, That if any Gall or Roman would come ouer onto the before the third houre, he should be taken into their safe protection; but, after that time, there was no hope of any such reception. And they did so contemne our party, that wher as the Ports were shut up for a shewe, with a single rowe of turfes, to the end they might appeare to be made up in such manner that they could not be broken open; some of them began to breake downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill up the ditches.

Which Cafar perceiving, salied out at all the Ports at once : @ sending out the Caualrie, put the enemy so suddainly to flight, that not one of them resisted by way of fighting: insomuch as he slew a great number of them, & put them all besides their Armes. But because he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the woods and bogs, that lay in their passage (beeing unwilling to hazard himselfe upon the least occasion of danger) he returned with all his forces in safety; and the selfe-same day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantelets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemie: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not escaped without wounds. By all which circumstances he understood, with what danger & valour the busines had been caried. He comended Cicero & the legion, according to their merit; calleth out by name such Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiours, as by testimonie of Cicero, were found to baue deserved extraordinarily in that service; informed himselfe by the Captines, of the certainty of Sabinus and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee spake publiquely to the souldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then seasoned them with comfort and incouragement; shewing that the losse which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to bee borne with better patience: and the rather, for a smuch as by the assistance of the immortall Gods, and by their owne vertue, the losse was redeemed, in such a fashion, as neither the enemy did long toy it nor themselves were long afflicted with griefe for the same.

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OBSERVATION.

He passages in this Chapter, are of great varietie, and do gine occafion of much discourse: but that which is most remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troopes of men, may be a meanes to bring a partie to an ouerthrow: for, an extraordinatie power doth alwaies

beget an opinion forting to their owne defires, and can hardly thinke of anie other end, then that which futeth with securitie and victorious successe; vvhich beeing croffed in any material circumstance, & put besides the course of their intendments, whereby they faile of what they expected, doth confequentlie draw all the other way; and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here with the Galles, vpon Cæfars fuddaine falying out of his Campe.

CHAP. XXL

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induciomarus, attempting great matters, was slaine, and the Countrey quieted.



N the meane time, the report of Cafars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible speed, through the Countrey of thole of Rheimes : in somuch, as being fifty miles distant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the overthrowe was given about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a shout at the Campe gate before midnight; wherby the

men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The fame vuhereof beeing caried to the Treuiri; Induciomarus, that purposed the next day to besiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and carried all his forces backe to the Treniri, Casar remaunded Fabius, with the legion into their vointer stations: He himselfe, with three legions, determined to winter about Samarobrine. And forasmuch as therewere such commotions throughout all Gallia, himselfe resolued to abide with the Armie all the vointer : for, vpon the newes of the overthrowe of Sabinus, almost all the States of Gallia, did enter into a consultation of war; fent Messengers and Embassadours into all parts, to make ouertures for future resolutions, and to understand in what place the war might best be set on foote; holding their Conuenticles by night, in fecret and defert places: in fuch manner, as there paffed not a day, during all that winter, which brought not some newe care or doubt concerning Cafar, least he should be advertised of these meetings and conspiracies, among st these occurrences.

He had intelligence fro L. Roscius the Legat, that great forces of those States and Citties of the Galles, that are called Armorica, were affembled together, to fight against him; and were come within eight miles of his Campe: but understanding of Casars victorie, they fell backe, in such a fashion, as though they

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meant to fire away. But Cafar, having called onto him the Princes and chiefe men of euery State; terrifying some, as seeming to understand their complotments, and perswading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a strong people, and of great authority amongst the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Canarinus, who Cafar had fet to be king oner them (whose brother Moritasgus, at Casars comming into Gallia , and whose ancestors formerly, were possessed of that kingdom): which he perceiving, fledde away, and was prosecuted to the very borders, and so driven as vvellout of his private house, as of his kingdome. And having sent Embassadours to Casar, to Satisfie him herein; whereas hee comaunded the whole Senate to come unto him. they refused to obay his warrant: so much it prevailed among st barbarous people that there overe some found that durst anough the undertaking of a warre. Which made such an alteration in the minds of all men, that besides the Hedui, and the state of Rheimes, whom Casar had in great fauour and respect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelitie to the people of Rome, and the other for their late services in the war of Gallia) there was almost no State free from suspicion. Insomuch, as I knowe not well, whether it may not be wondered at or no; as well for many other reasons, as specially for that they greatly gricued, that they, who excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now lost their reputation so farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treuiri and Induciomarus, loft no time of all that Winter, but fent Commissioners beyond the Rheine, soliciting the Citties, and promising monies with confident assurance, that the greatest part of our Armie was already cut off; and that which was left, was but a small remainder of the same : and yet for all that, no people of the Germaines could be persuaded to passe the Rheine. For having twice made triall to their cost, in the warre of Ariouistus, & in the passage of the

*Teuchtheri, they would tempt Fortune no further.

Induciomarus, cast downe from his hope, did not withstanding traine and gather forces, got horses from the bordering States, and with great rewards, drew unto himbanisht and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did thereby get such an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embassadours came flocking unto him from all quarters, and fought his fauour both in publique and private. When he under stood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other side, the Senones and Carnutes were insligated with a remembrance of their offences; and on the other side, the Neruy and Aduataci, made provision of war against the Romaines, and that hee should not want voluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confines; hee gave order to call a Councell of Armes: which, according to the manner of the Galles, was alwaies the beginning of a war; beeing such as constrained all the men that were of yeeres, by the common law of the Land, to affemble together in Armes: and hee that came last, was in the fight of all the rest, put to death with exquisite torture. In that Councell, he tooke order to proclaime Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his sonne in law (who, as we have before declared, had followed Casar, and not left him in any of those (ernices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods should be confiscated.

Franckefort.

That beeing done, he published in the Councell, that he was sent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: whether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rhemes; & that he would harry and wasse their country. But first, his purpose was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gaue order what he would have done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly sortified, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to himselfe, or the legion; but rather studied not to let passe any occasion, to carry the matter hand somly, and to purpose. And therefore, being advertised by Cingetorix and his allies, what speech inducionarus had delivered in the Councell, he sent Messenses to call the consiming citties, and commaunded horsem to be sent with only a certaine day.

In the meane time. Induciomarus rid up and downe almost every day, with all his caualrie under his campe; sometimes to view the site thereof, other while to parlee, or else to terrifie the souldier: O his horsmen, for the most part would saft their meapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the fortifications, and did what he could to make the enemy believe that hee was fore afraid. And as Inducionarus came daily with greater contempt to the camp, one night having taken in the caualry of the bordering citties, which he had formerly sent for he kept all his party (by good guarding) within his campe, with such diligence, that their reception could not possibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted custome, approched neere the campe, and there spent a great part of the day: the horsmen cast their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight: without any word given in aunswere by them. And a little before the evening, as they dispersed themselves and departed; upon a suddaine, Labienus let out all the caualry at two Ports, commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he faw would necessarily happen) that every one should make after Induciomarus: and that no man flould so much as wound any other Enemie, before they faw him flaine; Being very vnwilling, to give him time to escape, while the souldiours were ingaged with the rest: and propounding great rewards to the that slew him. Fortune made good that direction: for as all made after one: Induciomarus was surprised in the foord of a River, & Staine; & his head was brought backe into the campe: the horsemen returning, slew as many of the rest as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruij, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Cafar had Gallia better settled in quietnesse.

Liege.



OBSERVATION.

Sthemisformne which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; fo the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace: According as ir is faid of the Spaniard; that In fome cases, one man is worth a thousand.

And thus endeth the fift Commentarie.

FINIS.

THE SIXT BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES.

THEARGVMENT.

HIS Sommers Commentarie fetteth forth the malice of an enemie, that refuleth open encounter: but keeping himselse in the fastnesse of his holds, forceth the adverse partie, either to leaue him vntouched, or to seeke him out vpon disaduantage: together with such casualties annexed to the matter, as the power of fortune doth commonly intermingle with such occurrences: as also the maners and fashions of life, then in vse amongst the Germaines and Gaules.

CHAP. I.

Casar fearing a greater commotion in Gallia, mustereth more forces.



ESAR for many reasons expecting greater troubles in Cesar. Gallia, appointed M. Silanus, C. Antiftius Reginus, and T. Sextius Legates in his armie, to make a new choise, and

muster up more souldiers; and withall he intreated Cneius Pompeius Proconsul, forasmuch as he continued at the city about publique businesses, that he would recall to their en-Good fignes, and fend onto him such souldiers as were before discharged of the Confuls oath: for he thought it very materiall for the future time, to the opinion of the Gaules, when they should see Italy so mightie, that if they had receiued any losse by the casualties of warre, they could not onely in a short time make a

Supply thereof, but augment their armie with greater forces. Which when Pompey had granted, both for the good of the common wealth and Cæsars friendship, the choice being speedly by his ministers performed: before the winter was ended, three legions were inrolled and brought unto him, whereby the number of cohorts were doubled which were lost with Q. Titurius : and withall he made experience both by the speed and by the forces, what the wealth and discipline of the people of Rome could do.

b

Otwithstanding any former purpose, I will begin this Commentarie with the manner of the choise which the Romaines vicd when they mustered fouldiers for an intended warre: and will lay it first downe, as the basis and groundfill of all militarie architecture, and caried by them with fuch a ceremonious and graue respect, as might best expresse the seriousnesse of the action, and make the fouldiers vnderstand what consequence the sequell imported. Polybins, who onely remaineth of them that have written of the auncient fashion of the Romaine warre; amongst other parts of their discipline, hath left vnto posteritiea compendious relation of their musters and involements, with the helpe of

Polyb.lib.6.

other histories may be thus vnderstood. Vpon the choise of their Consuls in the beginning of energy yeare, their custome was to inrole foure Legions, two for either Consull. At which inrolement, they first chose sourceene Tribunes, out of the bodie of their Gentlemen, whom they called Equites: these foureteene were such as had ferued fine yeares in the warres, whereby they became eligible of that dignitie. And againe, they chose ten other Tribunes out of the communaltie, being fuch as had feene ten yeares feruice: grounding this cuftome vpon another law; which commaunded the Equites to serue ten, and the Pedites or Commons twentie whole yeares before they could be freed and discharged from the warres: and therefore according to the proportion of their stipendary time, as the Equites were admitted Tribunes at fine yeares, so were the legionarie footmen at ten, as at halfe their complete time of serving in the warres. The generall respect which the Romaines had in the choice of euery particular man, from the highest to the lowest, was included in the circumstances of their age, and of their wealth: the age which they deemed fit to endure the labors of war, was from senenteene to fixe and fortie, for so saith Tubero. Concerning the first limit of militarie abilitie, that Servius did invole fouldiers from the age of seventeene yeares, adjudging fuch to be fit for the feruice of the common weale. And Senforinus expresses the fecond with an etymologie of the name, where he faith, that men were called Invenes vnto the age of 46 yeares, Quod rempublicam in remilitari possint iuuare. In this abilitie of yeares, we are to vnderfland, that the law required enery man to perfect the complete number of twentie yeares stipend: if there were occasion of so many warres in that space of nine and twentie yeares, which is comprehended between feuenteene and fortie fix. The wealth which is the fecoad circumstance that made men capable of military dignity was necessarily required to amount to the value of Drachmas quadringentas, as Polybius faith, which by the latin phrase was termed, Quaterna millia aris: fuch as were not worth fo much, were neglected in this choife, and referued for fea-feruice: neither was it lawfull for any man to attaine to any office or magistracie within the citie, vntill he had merited ten yeares stipend. Vpon a resolution to make an involement, which was almost every yeare,

Thirteene pounds starling, or there abouts.

COMMENTARIES. LIB. VI. The Confuls did proclaime a day when all men of militarie age were to prefent themselues: vpon which day the Romaine youth being assembled in the citie, and then in the Capitoll: the fouretence Tribunes elected out of the bodie of the Equites, divided themselves according as they were chosen by the people into foure parts; for almuch as in former time the whole forces of their Empire confifted of four elegions or regiments, wherof I have discoursed at large in the former booke. And the foure Tribunes first chosen were allotted to the first Legion, the 3 next to the second legion, the four other to the third, and the three last to the fourth. In like maner the ten Tribunes which were taken out of the common bodie of the people, divided themselves into source parts: and the two first chosen were inrolled in the first legion, the three next in the second legion, the two following in the third legion, and the three last in the fourth. By which ingenious and discreet allotment it came to passe, that the communable were intermingled in the gouernement of their armies with the gentlemen, in such an excellent mixture, that the Equites were either superiour or equall to the Plebei; notwithstanding that every legion had an equall number of Tribunes. The election being thus farrecaried, the Tribunes of euery legion fate them downe by themselves: the people being deuided first into their Tribes, and then into their classes and centuries, casting lots which Tribe should be taken; and out of that Tribe whereon the lot fell, they drew foure men as equall as they could both in age and habitude, who being brought forth, the Tribunes of the first legion made the first choise of one of those foure; then the Tribunes of the fecond legion had their choife, they of the third legion tooke the next, and the fourth had the last man. And againe, out of the fame Tribe were other foure chosen, and then the Tribunes of the second legion began first to make their choise, and so consequently the first legion had the last man. Againe foure other being chosen, the Tribunes of the third legion had the first election, and in that course the second legion had the last man. And by this alternate and succeffine election it came to passe, that enery legion was equally compounded both in quality and in number. The inrolement proceeding in this maner vntill their numbers were full: the Tribunes of euery legion affembled their seuerall troopes together, and tooke one out of every regiment, and gaue an oath vnto him that he should execute and obey according to his power, what soeuer was commanded him by his Generall: the rest being particularly called, were sworneto keepe the same oath which their foreman had taken: and thus we fee, both who were the electors, who were eligible, and the maner of their choise. Wherein we may obserue what meanes they vsed to ingage energy particular man, with an interest in the generall cause: for they thought it not sufficient to force men out by publike authoritie, and to bind them simply to that seruice by the mandates of their Empire, considering the labours and difficulties of warre, which oftentimes are able to dull the edge of

the greatest spirit, and to cause omissions of duty in the most honest and obe-

dient minds; but they tied them likewise with such particular respects, as did

both concerne the possessions of their fortune, and the religion of their soule.

For it is observed concerning mans actions, that vnlesse the minde do faith-

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

fully affect the execution, it may be caried with fuch a perfunctorie feruice, as shall betray the true intent to no effect, and deceine the end of that which was promifed by defignement: and therefore they refufed to inrole any man, that had not a convenient proportion of wealth, to maintaine a stedfast and well resolued courage, and to settle the motions of a ftaggering mind, when they bethought themselues, that the publike duties wherein they were ingaged, were the defensive powers of their Empire, and the meanes whereby the publike weale continued happie: and fo by confequence their private fortunes were affured from violence, and preserved only by an effectuall observance of their militarie discipline. I graunt that it is not altogether wealth that doth grace and formalize the actions of men: for in fome cases penurie and want makes men more valorous, according to the anfiver which a fouldier once made to Lucullus:

Horace.

Ibit co quò vis, qui Zonam perdidit, inquit. Norwithstanding forasmuch as the publike cause, is either misprised or well affected, according as it doth concerne euery man in particular, as who will doubt of the vitermost diligence of those Mariners, that have their vessell fraught with their owne goods ? or contrariwife, who will blame a mercenarie Pilot, for making peace with death, with the losse of other mens merchandize: For Patria est vbicunque, benè est, as one truely faith. And the estimation we have of this life, is entertained onely by the benefites we hold by our life. And therefore it much importeth a State, to have fuch Agents to negotiate the publike bufineffes, as are ingaged in the fame by the interest of their owne particular. Neither was it sufficient in that gouernement to chuse men of abilitie both in their bodie and in their substance, but they found it necessarie to bind their conscience with a religious confecration, and to sweare a faithfull obedience to their Generall, which with the reuerence of the place being the Capitoll, and other ceremonies of maiestic attending the involement, doth manifeftly shew, how much the Romaines imputed to this part of their discipline, being the foundation of the sequele of that action

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Renforcing of troupes decayed.

Econdly, I observe the benefite which an opulent and able State may make of any loffe or misfortune received by an enemie: which confifteth chiefly in the renforcing, or if it may be, in the redoubling of fuch troupes as the calualties of warre hath confumed: for it much abateth the spirit of a people, and tur-

neth the pride of a victorie into discouragement and faintnesse of heart, when they see their best and most fortunate indeuours atchieue nothing, but a reiteration of their labours, and are driven to begin againe that worke, which with much difficultie and hazard they had once ouercome. For it is the end that maketh any labour to be undertaken, being otherwise nothing but a paine of the bodie and a vexation of the spirit. And therefore when it shall be found

COMMENTARIES. LIB. VI.

either circular, or of many confrontments, before it can answer the designements of our mind, we chuse rather to forgo that contentment, which the accomplishment of our defires would affoord vs, then to buy it with such a meafure of trouble, as exceedeth that, which the proportion of our meanes feemeth able to effect. In regard whereof, the auncient fages of the world, made a taske of this qualitie to be one of Hercules labours, by faining the serpent Hydra to be of this nature, that when one head was fmitten off, two other heads grew outpresently from the same stumpe: and so his labour multiplied his trauell, and his valour increased the difficultie of his worke. It was Casars custome in other cases, to have such a beginning of strength at his first entrance into a war, as by continuance might be augmented, and rather increase then decay, vpon the refistance of an enemie. So he began the warre in Gallia with fixe legions, continued it with eight, and ended it with tenne: he beganne the civill warre but with one legion; he ariued at Brundufium with fixe: he followed Pompey into Greece, with fifteene thousand foote, and five thousand horse, and ended that warre with two and twenty thousand foote, and a thousand horse. He began the warre at Alexandria with 3200, foote, and ended it with fixe legions. He began the warre in Affricke with fixe, and ended it with eight legions. And thus he imitated naturall motion, being stronger in the end then in the beginning, and made his armie as a plant like to grow great, and forowt out into many branches, rather then to die or decay for want of strength, or fresh renforcing.

CHAP. II.

The Treuiri sollicite the Germaines and some of the States of Gallia. Cafar carieth 4 legions into the territories of the Neruii.

NDVCIOM ARVS being flaine, as is related in the former booke, the *Treuiri gaue the government wnto his kinf- Part of the folke: they intermitted no time to sollicite their borderers Dioces of with the Germains, and to promise them money for the wars. Cullen.
When they could not prevaile with their neighbours, they tryed When they could not prevail with the state of the found fome that hear-those that were further off, and having found some that hearkened to their designes, they confirmed their league with a mutuall oath, giving pledges for assurance of money, and with

all they drew Ambiorix into their societie and confederation. Which things being knowne, Cefar perceiving the preparations which in every part were made for warre: the "Neruii, bAduatici, and the Menapii, with all the Germains on the other side of the Rheineto be in armes; the Senones not to come being summoned, but to be in councell with the *Carnutes and their bordering States, the Germaines to be follicited with often Embassages from the Treuiri , he held it best to thinke of warre soo-

Cefar.

Tourney. Beaumont. Guelders.

* Chartres.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆCARS

ner then heretofore he was accustomed: and therefore before the winter was ended, with foure legions that lay next together, he entred suddenly upon the confines of the Neruii, and having taken a great number of men and cattell, before they could either make head or flie away, he distributed the bootie to the souldiers, wasted the countrie, caused the people to come in, and to give pledges unto him: that businesse being speedily ended, he brought the legions backe againe into their wintering campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Exemplarie instice.



HIS exemplarie course of proceeding in punishing some one for the offences of many, hath euer bene held the best meanes to represse rebellious and factious motions, as well amongst particular fubjects which do conspire against the common Pol-licie of a State, as also of such inferiour Cities and States, as shall

entertaine a confederacie preiudiciall to the foueraigntie of an Empire: for in all fuch combinations the vndertakers are euer more confident in the affiftance and mutuall incouragement of each others affent and forwardneffe, then in the strength of their owne particular meanes. For the mind propounding a course contrarie to a vertuous direction, is alwaies suspicious and mistrustfull of the issue: for as honest motions and conceptions of the heart are attended with affurance, so doth diffidencie wait vpon indirect and perfidious defignements. And thence it happeneth, that when the inward thoughts can affoord no meanes of emboldening, they commonly relie vpon each others example, and do make the action to appeare honest vnto themselues, forasmuch as so many affociates do approue it. For the preuention whereof in the continent of Gallia, Cafar first layed a heavie hand vpon the Nervii, being well assured, that as rebellious motions are strengthened and drawne on by the mutuall example of conspiring members, so they may be weakened and extinguished by the exemplarie ruine and subuersion of some one or more of the said members, and is as forcible to diffwade as the other to incourage: futing right with the tenour of Iustice, which ought to be caried in such sort against offenders, that by the punishment of some few, the feare may touch all. According as the Poet describeth the nature and effect of thunder:

Iple Pater media nimborum in nocte corulca Fulmina molitur, dextra, quo maximamotu Terra tremit, fugere fera: & mortalia corda Per gentes humilis statuit pauor , ille flagranti Aut atro, aut Rhodopea, aut alta Ceraunia Deucit.

The whole earth trembled, but one hill onely smoaked for it.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



ECONDLY, I observe the respect which Casar had to Vponextrathe extraordinarie labour of his fouldiers: for whereas they ordinarie ferwere drawne out of their wintering campes before winter vice, the foulwas ended, and were caried vnfeafonably vpon a feruice, he dier extraorrewarded them with the bootie and spoile of the enemie, dinarily recontrarie to the ordinarie course of the Romaine warfare, which referued either all or the most part thereof for the

publike Treasure, and left the souldier to his stipendarie entertainement. Which is a point very observable in the carrage of a warre: wherein are required as well eminent and extraordinarie attempts, as common and viuali duties, and in the judgement of a wife Commaunder are thought worthic their anfiverable rewards. At the fiege of Gergonia, as it followeth in the feuenth Commentarie, L. Fabius a Centurion told his companions, that the bootie and pillage which he had got at the taking of Auaricum, would not suffer any man to get up upon the wall before himselfe. And so for the most part it falleth out, that honorable attemps being honorably rewarded, do as feed fowne in good ground, multiplie the increase of like vertuous actions. And this was one principall meanes which he vsed to give courage and valour to his fouldiers, as when he went to get Spaine from Pompey and that faction, he borrowed mony Lib. 1. civili of the Tribunes and Centurions, and gaue it in largeis to the fouldiers, where- bell. by he gained (as he faith) two aduantages, quod pignore animos Centurionum deuinxit, & largitione redemit militum voluntates.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar summoneth a generall Councell, and carieth his armie against the Senones.



GENERALL Councell or meeting of all the States of Gallia being summoned, according to his suret rejocusion in the beginning of the Spring, whereas all the rest sating the Senones, Carnures, and Treuiri made their appearance the conceived of it as the beginning of warre and defection, and thereupon setting all other things aside, he transferred the Councell to the citie of Paris in the confines of the Senones, which in the time of their fathers had united their state unto them, but were held cleare of this confederacie. This thing being published from the Tribunall, the same day he carried the Legions against the Senones, and by great iourneys came into their countrie, his comming being knowne, Acco the chiefest author of that rebellion,

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

T shall not seeme impertinent to the Reader, that I take occasion

horsemen to be sent him from all the States of Gallia.

The benefite & vle of concels and Parliaments.

here to fay formewhat touching the vsc and benefit of this Parliament or Councell generall, wherein all the states of Gallia, or at here to fay fomewhat touching the vseand benefit of this Parliament or Councell generall, wherein all the states of Gallia, or at the least such as did acknowledge the Romaine sourciantie, presented their featite, and were mutuall witnesses of each others allegeance. Concerning which we are to understand, that as all naturall bodies haue a transitorie being, depending vpon motion & function of parts, so specially States and Common-weales: as fympathifing with naturall causes have no certain continuance in one and the same being, but are subject to the alteration of time and fortune, and do paffe the ages of a naturall life, from infancie growing to better strength vntill it come to the best perfection which yeares can affoord it, and then decaying again by like degrees, euen to the period and death of that pollicie. For remedy whereof, and for the preuention of any weakning disease, which might infect either the whole powers of the bodie, or so possesse any part thereof, as it might thereby proue either daungerous or vnprofitable: amongst other helpes, these councels and meetings have bene thought necesfary, wherein euery particular State and citie had some of their societie present, as wel to open their grieuances if any were, and to feeke cafe and releefe by way of treaty and dispute, as also to receive such directions and mandates, as the wifdome of the Prince should thinke meete for their gouernement. For as this common councel or generall affembly, may well be termed the pulse of a politicke bodie, whereby the true state and temperature thereof is discerned; so is it also as a treatie or parle, and a renewing of the conditions of peace betweene the head and the members; where four raigntie and obedience being mutually propounded, do concurre in the stablishing of true and perfect gouernement. And this is that which the politicians of latter time do in their writings call the reducing of a common-weale to the first beginning: for the noisome and superfluous humours being by this meanes purged and abated, the bodie of the publike weale is refined into fuch true and naturall elements, and fetled in that disposition

COMMENTARIES, LIB. VI.

dilpolition of health, as may give great hope of long continuance. Besides this vse and benefit of these assemblies, there were many necessary businesses concluded,&many things agreed vnto feruing to the maintenance of war against parties and factions, as namely the leuies and supplies of horse and foot, granted by this Councel as a fubfidy; and in the Romaine army received stipend and pay by the name of Auxiliary or affociate forces, whereof we reade in many places of these Commentaries, and particularly in this booke: but the Romaines vsed specially the service of their horsemen, as the flower of their strength, and farre exceeding their foot companies in execution of armes and vie of war, wherein the Gaules have ever chalenged a preheminence before other their neighbournations, and haue continued the fame reputation even vnto this time: whether | The French it be in regard of the nimble and quicke motions of their spirits, which are better futed with the swift and speedie execution of horse, then with any readines horsemen which their own strength can affoord them, or what other cause it hath I know then footmen. not: but this I am fure of that as the world taketh notice of their hot phantalies, fo would the French be reckoned the best horsemen of any other nation. The last faying which I obserue concerning this councell, is the time wherein it was fummoned, which was the beginning of the Spring rather then any other part of the yeare, whereof there is this reason; that if any State neglected the summons, and refused to make their appearance according to custome, the sommer time comming on, gaue good meanes to the Romaine legion to punish the infolencie of fuch a contempt; as it happened in this place to the Senones, Carnutes and Treuiri, whose absence from this meeting was a sufficient argument to Cafar of their rebellion, and deferued the reward of open reuolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE fecond thing which I will briefly observe in this Chapter, Not to mis-

HE fecond thing which I will briefly solutions at the me
fend the time

is the pardon which Cofar willingly gaue the Senones at the me
fend the time

for the refrect he bare vnto in onnecessary Tay diation of the Hedui, not so much for the respect he bare vnto in omnecessary the Hedui, although they had of long time performed good seruice to the Romaine Empire, and were found more faithfull then all the States of Gallia (howbeit I doubt not but that he was glad of that occasion to gratifie the Hedui,) but as a maister in that facultie, well knowing what best suted with the publicke profite in all times and seasons, he would not milpend the former in questions and dispute concerning former errors which might better be remembred upon other occasions, but rather in profecuting war against other speciall revolters, as a matter more behouefull to the advancement of the Empire, and best fitting the time of sommer. For in following a bu finesse, there is nothing more availeable to a fortunate iffue, then to be able to distinguish of the validity of the parties, & to discerne which hath most interest in the bulke of the matter, that fo we may not be mistaken in our designes, but follow that course as shall most aduantage our purpose. And here a Generall is to take speciall care, that no humerous respect do hinder that resolution which

Cafar.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS true iudgement approueth: for oftentimes it falleth out, that either particular profit, delighting pleafures, defire of reuenge, or fome other vnfeafonable affection, doth so intangle them in their proceedings, as they neuer attaine to the maine drift of the action: and this is called flumbling by the way.

CHAP. IIII.

Casar intendeth the warre of the Treuiri.

HIS part of Gallia being quieted, he bent his whole mind to make warre against the Treuiri and Ambiorix, commanding Canarinus with the caualrie of the Senones to go along with him least any tumult should happen in his absence, either thorough his discontentment or the malice of the State: these things being thus determined for a fruch as he well knew that Ambiorix would not come to blowes in open fight, he endeuo-

red by what meanes he could to understand his other purposes. The Menapig were neighbour-borderers upon the confines of the Eburones inclosed about with a defence of bogs and woods, onely they of all the states of Gallia had never fent to Cafar touching any contract of peace: of them Ambiorix was received and had familiar entertainement. And further he understood, that by the meanes of the Treuiri the Germaines were brought to a contract of friendship with him also. These helps he thought were fit to be taken from Ambiorix before he fet upon him with open warre; lest defpairing of his safety, he should either hide himselfe amongst the Menapij, or be compelled to fly ouer the Rheine to the Germaines. In this resolution he sent the baggage of the whole armie with a conuoy of two Legions to Labienus, who was then in the territories of the Treuiri, and he himselfe with fine expedite and unburthened Legions made towards the Menapy. They having made no head, but trusting to the strength of the place, fled into the woods and bogs, and carried all they had with them. Cafar dividing his forces to C. Fabius a legat and M. Crassus the treasurer, having made speedy provision of bridges, did set upon the in three parts, and burnt houses and villages and tooke great numbers of men and cattell whereby the Menapy were constrained to send to Casar for peace: he having taken pledges of them, assured them that he would esteeme them as enemies if they did either receive Ambiorix into their countrey, or any messengers from him. The matter being thus compounded, he left among them Comes of Arras with certaine horse, as a garrison to that place, and he himselfe made towards the Treuiri.

THE

OBSERVATIONS.



ENCE we may observe, that as it falleth out in other things for the most part, so especially in matter of warre there is such a medley and interlacing of materiall circumstances, with the a medicy and interaction of machine and leaves the warre againft ther. Cefars chiefe defigne at this time was the warre againft Ambiorix & the Treuiri: but confidering the contract and league between the Cefarsopini-

and the Menapii, he would not profecute the warre of the Treuiri, vntill he onof allies & had take away that affiftance, & left the in the nakednes of their own strength. affociates. Wherein we may first obserue what opinion Casar held of allies and affociates, or any other that gaue helpe or affiftance to an enemy: for befides this particular, we may reade in the fourth Commentarie, that the chiefest cause that mooued him to take the voyage into Brittaine, was, for that the Brittaines had vnderhand given succour and affishance to the Gaules, a matter not to be neglected in his judgement, whether it were in regard of any friendship or good respect which they bare vnto the Gaules, or otherwise to keepe the Romaines

occupied there, that they in the meane time might live quietly at home, which

I neede not here dispute: but the matter proueth it selfe plainely by Casars owne confession, that the continual supplies sent from Brittaine, were a suffi-

cient cause to moue him to that warre. And as it followeth in this Commentarie, concerning the selfe fame matter, the onely cause that drew him to passe the Rheine the second time into Germanie, was the succours which the Germaines had formerly fent to the Treuiri; according to reason in cases of other natures, that he that will extinguish a lampe, must not suffer an addition of oyle, nor admitthe influence of leffer streames, when he goeth about to drie vp the greater river. But that which was the occasion of this businesse, and might have challenged the first place in this discourse, was: for that Casar was most affured that Ambiorix would not be brought to a triall of battell; and therefore he laboured to vnderstand his other projects. From whence a Commaunder may receive direction, what courfe to hold in a refufall of open encounter: for as the art and fleight of warre is to subdue an enemie, so are there more waies and meanes to effect that purpose, then by waging battell; as I have discoursed at large in the third Commentarie: whereunto I may adde thus much, which Chap. 10. is generally observed in the cariage of great and eminent Commaunders, that

fuch as failed in matter of negotiation, and wanted dexteritie in managing the

course of their businesse, (notwithstanding any fortune or fingularitie in stri-

king a battell,) did neuer attaine to firme and permanent honour. If any man

be desirous to descend into particulars, let him looke into the lives of king Pirrhus, Demetrius, Anniball, and Caius Marius, whose latter ends, or shutting vp

of their liues, were not answerable to their excellencie in deedes of armes, for

want of that iudiciall disposition of their businesse, which Cafar might boast of, of whom it may be truly faid, that (notwithstanding the many battels which

he fought, yet he did plura consilio, quam vi gerere.

CHAP. V.

Labienus ouerthroweth the Treuiri by a guile.

Cafar.

HILE Casarwas about these things, the Treuiri having raised great forces both of horse and foote, had a purpose to asfault Labienus, wintering in their confines with one legion. And as they were within two dayes iourney of him, they had intelligence of two legions more which Cafar had fent unto bim : wherepon they encamped themselves some fifteene miles distant fro him and resolved there to attend the Germaines forces: Labienus being advertised of their resolution, ho-

ping through their rashnesse to find some good oportunitie of encounter, he left fine cohorts for the lafetie of the cariages, and with fine and twenty other cohorts belides great forces of horse he marched towards the enemy and encamped himselfe within a mile of them. Betweene Labienus and the enemy there ranne a river, the passage whereof by reason of the broken bankes was very hard and difficult: this river he did not purpose to passe himselfe, and doubted the enemie would not be drawne to do it. In the meetings and councels of warre he gave out, that for a smuch as the Germains were faid to be at hand, he would neither hazard him felfe nor the fortunes of the army, but he would rather remove his campe the next day very early in the morning. This was quickly carried to the enemy, as amongst many of the Gaules that were with him, some of them did naturally fauour the proceedings of their owne nation. Labienus having in the night time called onto him the Tribunes of the fouldiers, and the Centurions of the first Orders, acquainted them with his purpose, and to the end he might give greater suspition of feare to the enemie, he caused the campe to be disted ged with more noise and sumult then the Romaine discipline had viually observed; and thereby made the retreit not unlike a flight or escape: which before day light (the two campes being so neare one to the other) was by the discouerers brought to the enemie. The last troupes of the Romaines were scarce gone out of the campe , but the Gaules incouraging one another not to lose so hopefull a prey, thinking it long (specially she Romaines being thus affrighted, to expect the Germaine forces, and that it stood not with their dignitie, being so able, and so many in number, not to adventure upon a handfull of men, flying from them, and troubled besides with baggage and burden, and therefore they doubted not to passe theriver, and to give them battell in a place of disaduantage. Labienus suspecting that which now had happened, to the end he might draw them all over the river, he made as though he would go on forward: at length sending the cariages a litle before, and placing them wpon a hill: Te haue now (said he) scillow souldiers that oportunitie which ye desired, the enemy in a cumber some and unequall place, onely affoord meyour Leader at this time that valour, which oftentimes heretofore you have shewed to your Generall, imagine him

to be present, and to see this service with his owne eyes: and with all he commaunded the Ensignes to be carried towards the enemie, and the armie to be imbattelled, and leaving a few troupes of horse with the cariages, he disposed the rest in the wings of the armie. The Romaines taking up a crie and a shout, did speedily cast their pikes at the enemie, who when they faw the Romaines readie to affault them whom they had thought had fled from them for feare, they were so discouraged, that even in the first close they betooke themselves to slight towards the next roods. Labienus pursuing them with his horsemen, killed many of them and tooke more prisoners, and within a few dayes tooke in the whole state of the Treuiri: for the Germaines which came to their fuccour understanding of their overthrow, returned home againe; and with them went also the kinsmen of Inducionarus the authors of that defection . The Coueraigntie and gouernement was given to Cingetorix, who from the beginning had euer bene true and loyall to the Romaines.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HAV Ealreadie handled this practife of a pretended feare, which Com.3, cap. 8. the Historic doth so often recommend to our consideration, and have shewed the inconvenience of ouer light credulitie, leading such case weeners to a disappointment of their hopes, and consequently The dutie of a

Generall in to the hazard of their fortune. I will now proceed to that which is further imeuerie battell. plyed in this relation, and respecteth the chiefest dutie of a chiefe commaun-

der: and that is, what specially is required of a Generall, in the cariage and direction of a battell. Concerning which point, as there is nothing more materiall to the effecting of any bufinesse, then oportunitie of time, conveniencie of place, and an orderly disposition of the meanes according to time and place. So in question of encounter or waging battell, the dutie of a Leader may be included in these three circumstances, concerning the qualitie of the place, as the chiefest and first respected in the choice of a judiciall director, the whole scope of the Romaine discipline from the time of their first Kings, even to the last of their Emperours, did alwayes aime at the aduantage of place, as a necesfarie helpe for the obtaining of victorie. Which I have alreadie noted in the Heluetian action: yet for as much as the wisedome and experience of those Lib. 1.cap.6. times did deeme it a circumstance of such importance, give me leave once againe to inforce the vie thereof by these examples. Habetis milites (faith Labienus in this place) quam petistis facultatem, hostem iniquo atque impedito loco tenetis, prastate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam sapenumero Imperatori prastitiflis. Whereby he cleareth himselfe of all imputation of ill direction, as having perfourmed the vttermost dutie of a Commaunder, and given such helpes by the advantage of the place as are requifite to an eafle victorie, leaving the reft to the execution of the fouldiers. Cafar at the loffe he received at Dyrrachium cleared himselfe to his souldiers in this sort: Quad effet acceptum detrimenti cuinis, potius quam sua culpa debere tribui, locum securum ad dimicandum dedisci, &c. And as it followeth in the feuenth Commentarie, being imbattelled vpon

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS the fide of a hill right ouer against the armie of the Gaules, which stood likewise

Battell of Newport.

in a readineffe to entertaine the Romaine valour, would not suffer his men to hazard themselues in the passage of abogge of sistie foote in breadth lying betweene both the armies, but rather perswaded his fouldiers, disdaining the confrontment of the enemie, to indure their contumelie, rather then to buy a victorie with the danger of so many worthiemen, and patiently to attend some further oportunitie. Which passage of Casar even in the said tearmes, as it is there related was viged to good purpose by Sir Frauncis Vere in the yeare 1600 at a confultation before the battell of Newport. For the armie of the Netherlanders being possest of the Downes, which are small swelling hils rising vneuenly along the sea shore vpon the coast of Flaunders, and the enemie making a stand upon the sands at the foote of those hils, and so cutting off the passage to Oastend, it was disputed by the Commaunders, whether they should leave the Downes, and go charge the enemie where he stood imbattelled vpo the fands, or attend him in the fastnesse of the Downes whereof they were possess. The whole Councell of warre were earneftly bent to forfake the Downes, and to hazard the fight on equall tearmes, as impatient that their passage and retreit to Oastend should be cut off. But Sir Frauncis Vere well knowing how much it imported the businesse of that day to hold a place of such gaine and aduantage, perswaded Count Maurice by many reasons, and specially by this of Casar which I last alleadged, not to forgothe helpe of the Downes, but to expect the enemie in that place, and so make vse of that benefite vpon the first encounter, rather then to aduenture the fuccesse of the battell in worse tearmes, in hope of clearing the paffage: and shewing also many probable coniectures, that the cnemie would not continue long in that gaze. Wherein as his opinion then preuailed, fo all that were present were eye-witnesses both of the truth of his coiecture, and the foundnesse of his judgement. For the enemie within a while after comming on to charge the troupes of the States, was received with fuch a counterbuffe from the hils, and were violently beaten backe in fuch rude maner, as our men had the execution of them for the space of a quarter of a mile or more, which was no finall advantage to the fortune of that day. Touching the oportunitie of time, which Pindarus calleth the Mother of worthic exploits, and oftentimes dependeth upon the circumstance of place, a Generall ought carefully to aduise that he neither precipitate nor foreslow the occasion, which is well expressed in this particular service of Labienta. For where his purpose was to draw the enemie ouer a river that had steepe and vneasse banks, and thereby of a hard and difficult paffage, he would not shew his resolution, untill he had drawne them all ouer the river: for he was well affured, that the Romaine legions would fo charge the enemie vpon their first encounter, with the vnrelistable waight of their piles, that in their giving backe they could not escape the daunger of the river. And therefore to make the victorie more absolute and complete, he suffered them all to come over the water, that all might be endaungered in their paffage backe againe. And this is the benefite which oportunitie bringeth, which is the rather to be attended with all carefulnesse, forasmuch as Nonsape, ac diu, eadem occasio est. Concerning

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Concerning the last circumstance of the apt and fit disposition of the forces according to time and place, which is necessarily required in the dutie of a General-it is referred to this end only, that they may be rainged in fuch maner, that as one man is affiltant to another in their feuerall files and rankes, to one troope may be in fubfidijs to another, to the end that no part may stand naked, or fall in the finglenes of it owne firength, but that one may fecond another from the first to the last. C. Sempronius a Romaine Consull having fought vnaduisedly, and received an overthrow, Iulius the Tribune of the people, caused Tempanius a horseman that was present at the battel to be called, and as Linie reporteth it, Coram eis, sexte Tempani, inquit, arbitreris ne C. Sempronium Consulem, aut in tempore pugnam iniisse, aut sirmasse subsidijs aciem? for Liuie saith, he hath fought incaute inconsulted, non subsidiis sirmata acie non equite apte locato. And of these three circumstances, confisteth the dutie and office of a Generall, touching the direction of a battell: wherein who soener faileth, doth hazard the prerogatine of his commaund over that armie which he leadeth, according to that of Cafar in the first of his Commentaries, Se scire quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut malè re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto, aduenitur esse conuictum: which Casar himselfe needed not to feare, if we may beleeue Plutarke, who writeth that he was indowed by nature with an excellent In the life of promptitude and aptneffe, to take oportunitie in any bufineffe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

May not omit to infift a litle your this noise or shout, which the The vie and fouldiers tooke vp in the instant of the charge, and is related in benefite of a this place as a materiall point in their cariage at this feruice. A Mont took up inatter auncient and viuall in the Romaine armies, as well in the in a charge or time of their first Kings, as their first Consuls. Fusi primo impete of fault. & clamore hostes, faith Livie concerning Romulus . And not long after, Conful nec promouit aciem,nec clamorem reddi passus. Cesar in the censure which he gaue Lib. 3. Cinil. concerning Pompey his direction for the battellat Pharfalia, doeth expresse a double vie of this clamour or shouting: first the terrour of the enemie, and secondly the encouragement or affurance of themselues: Est quedam animi incitatio (fayth he) atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, que studio pugne incenditur, hanc non reprimere sed augere imperatores debent : neque srustra antiquitus institutum est vt signa undique concinerent, clamorem universi tollerent, quibus rebus & hostes terreri & suos incitari existimanerunt. Two contraric effects, proceeding from a cause, which to common sense carieth no shew of any such efficacie: Vox est praterea nibil, as one said of the Nightingale in another sense. But fuch as do ferioufly looke into the reasons thereof, shall find the saying true which is ascribed to the elder and wifer Cato: Verba plus quam gladium & voces quam manum hostes territare & in fugam vertere. The eare as I have alreadie noted wil fooner betray the foule to the diffresse of feare, then any other of the five fenses: which Iosephus well vnderstood, although peraductive he applied Lib. 3. cap. 18

not so fit a remedie, when he commaunded his men to stop their eares at the

acclamations of the Romaine legions, lest they might be daunted and amazed thereat. The reason may be, for that our discourse (diligently attending upon a matter of that confequence which calleth the lives of both parties in question, and valewing euery circumstance at the vtmost) doth alwayes presuppose a cause answerable to such an effect of ioy and assurance: for these shouts and acclamations are properly the confequents of ioy,& are fo availeable that they deceiue both parties; for fuch astake vp the shout by way of anticipation, do seem to conclude of that which is yet in questio; and the enemy thereupo apprehendeth danger when there is none at all, whereby it hapneth, Hoftes terrers & fuos incitari, as Cafar noteth. Befides thefe examples, I might alleage the authority of holy writ, but that it might feeme both vnfauorie and vnfeafonable to make a commixture of fuch diversities: I will therefore content my selfe with a practife of our time at the battell of Nemport, where after divers retreits and purfuits, either fide chafing the other, 'as it were by turne and mutuall appointment, and as it often falleth out in fuch confrontments: at last commandement was giuen to the English to make head again, and after some pause to charge the enemie with a shout, which being accordingly performed, a man might haue feen the enemie startle before they came to the stroke: and being charged home were so routed, that they made not head againe that day. For the preuention of fuch a disaduantage, there can be no better president, then that which Plutarke noteth, touching the battell betweene the Romaines and the Ambrons, a part of that deluge of people which came downe into Italy with the Cimbri and Tewtons: for these Ambrons coming out to give battell, to the end they might strike feare into the Romaines, they made an often repetition of their owne name with a lowd founding voice, Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons. The Italians on the other fide that first came downe to fight, were the Ligurians, inhabiting the coast of Genoa, who hearing this noise, and plainely understanding them, made answer with the like crie, founding out their owne name, Ligury, Liguri, Liguri, Whereupon the Captaines of both sides made their souldiers crie out altogether, contending for enuie one against another who should crie it loudest; and so both sides were encouraged, and neither of them disaduantaged, Clamore vtramque sublato.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



In Marius

HIS Labienus was a great fouldier, and well acquainted with Cafars maner in leading an armie, and made many good fights while he continued vinder his commaund: but after he betooke himselse to Pompeys part, and joyned with a faction against his first maister, he neuer atchieued any thing but losse

- Dux fortis in armis Casarcis Labienus erat, nunc transfuga vilis.

And

COMMENTARIES. LIB. VI.

And vpon that occasion he is often mentioned as a memorial of his disloyaltie, to proue that good fuccesse in matter of warre doth follow the Generall rather then any inferiour Captaine: for it is observed of divers, whose fortune hath bene great vnder the conduction of some commaunders, and as vnlucky vnder other leaders: like plants or trees that thrine well in fome grounds, and beare store of fruite; but being transplanted, do either die or become barren. And doubtlesse, there may be observed the like sympathy or contrariety in the particular courses of mans life, wherein they are caried upon the streame of their fortunes, according to the course of their first imbarking. And therefore fuch as happen in a way that leadeth to fucceffull ends, shall much wrong themselves either to turne backe againe, or to seeke by-paths, whose ends are both vnknowne and vncertaine: and herein the French faying may ferue to fome purpose: Si vous estes bien tenez vous là.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar carieth his armie ouer the Rheine into Germanie.



A SAR being come from the Menapij to the Treuiri, did Calar. resolue to passe the Rheine for two causes: the one was, for that the Germaines had fent succours and supplies to the Treuiri; the other that Ambiorix might have no reception or entertainement among them.V pon this refolution, a litle aboue that place where he caried his armie ouer before he commaunded a bridge to be made after the knowne and appointed fashion,

which by the great industrie of the souldiers was ended in a few dayes: and leaving a sufficient strength at the bridge, lest anie sudden motion should rise among st the Treuiri, he caried over the rest of his forces both horse and foote. The Vbij which before time had given hostages and were taken into obedience, sent Ambassadours unto him to cleare themselves from imputation of disloyaltie, and that the Treviri had received no supplies from their state: they pray and desire him to spare them, lest the generall didistast of the Germaines should cause him to punish the innocent for the guilty: and if he would aske more hostages, they would willingly give them. Casar upon examination of the matter, found that the supplies were sent by the Swevi: and thereupon he accepted the satisfaction of the Vbij, and inquired the way and the passages to the Swevi. Some few dayes after he understood by the Vbij, that the Swevi had brought al their forces to one place, and had commaunded such nations as were under their dominion that they should send them forces of horse and soote. Vpon this intelligence he made provision of corne, and chose a fit place to incamp in the commaunded the Vbij to take their cattell and all their other goods from abroade out of the fields into their townes, hoping that the barbarous and unskilfull men might through want of victuall be drawne to fight wpon hard conditions: he gave order also that they should every day

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OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

send out discourrers to the Swevi to understand what they did. The Vbij did as they were commanded, and after a few dayes brought word that all the Swevi having received certaine newes of the approach of the Romaine armie, had retired themselves and all their forces to their utmost consines, where there was a wood of an infinite greatnesse called Bacenis, and served as a native wall or desence to keep the Chiruses from the incursions of the Swevi, and the Swevi from the iniurie and spoile of the Chirusei.

OBSERVATIONS.

WILL hold my former purpose, not to deliuer any thing con-

Bridges.

cerning bridges, whereof there are fo many treatifes alreadie extant: neither will Igo about to describe the substantiall building or ingenious workemanship of this bridge here mention ned, which might wel befeeme Cafar & his armie: for as he only could, or at the least did, put in practise the making thereof, so will I leave the description to himselfe, as best suting with his eloquence. But forasmuch as Brancatio an Italian writer, taketh occasion from hence to runne into ignorance and errour, giue me leaue to fet a marke vpon this place, left others not knowing the auncient course, should run their barke vpon the same shallowes. Amongst other aduertisements (being but sourteene in all, which he hath giue vpon Cafars Commentaries) he noteth and commendeth the vse of bridges made of boates, which are commonly carried in an armie royall to that purpose before this or any other invention of former times, specially in regard of the easinesse and expedition which may be vsed both in making such a bridge, and taking it vp againe: for the boates being prepared readie, as vfually they are in campe royals, fuch a bridge may be made in a day, which Cafar could not do in tenne, but with great wonderment and admiration. And therein I hold well with Brancatio, that for the speedie transportation of an armie ouer a river, there is no readier meanes then a bridge of boates, presupposing the boates to be first in a readineffe. But that which he concludeth, is, that mens wits in the fe times are much sharper and readier, then those of former ages, for as they haue found out an easie and expedite course, which former times could never reach vnto. Wherein I will not go about to derogate any thing from the condition of the time in which we live and breath, but do defire to find them betteraccomplished, then any other foregoing ages, howfocuer I may suspect a greater weakenesse of wit in these dayes, wherein the temperature of the body is worfe conditioned then it was in the time of our forefathers, as may appeare by many arguments, and serueth not so fitly to the working powers of the mind, as it did before this multiplicitie of mixture, when the flate of mens bodies were compounded of those perfect elements which were in our first parents. But for this reason which Brancatio alledgeth, the Reader may be plea-

fed to vnderstand, that the vse of boate bridges was both knowne and in pra-

ctife, as well before the Romaine Empire, as in the time of their gouernment.

Whether me wits be sharp~ and readier then in former time.

Herodotus relating the passage of Zerxes armie into Greece, describeth this bridg Polimnia ofboates, (which Brancatio would attribute to the invention of our times) in Herodoti. the selfe same manner, or rather more artificially then hath bene accustomed in these later ages: for finding that no timber worke would serve the turne, to make a sufficient bridge ouer the streights of Hellespont, being seuen surlongs in breadth, he caused Biremes and Triremes to be placed in equal distance one from another, and fastened with anchors before and behind, and to be joyned together with plankes and boords, and then couered with fand and grauell, raifing a hedge or blind on each fide therof, to the end the horse and cattell might not be affraid at the working of the billow, and so made a bridge for the pasfage of his armie. And in the time of the Romaine Empire, Tacitus describeth Hill. 3. the like bridge to be made ouer the river Po, by Valens and Cecina with as great skill as can be shewed at these times: for faith he, they placed boates a crosse the river, in equall distance one from another, and joyned them together with strong plankes, and fastened them with anchors: but in such fort, as Anchorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, vi augescent e flumine inosfensus ordo nausum attolleretur. Whereby it appeareth how much Brancatio was deceived in ascribing that to these latter times, which was the inuention of former ages, and may ferue as a caucat to our out-languist humorists, that can indure no reading but that which foundeth with a straunge idiome: not to trust too much you their authors, left whilft they stifle their memorie with straunge words, in the meane time they starue their understanding.

CHAP. VII. The Factions in Gallia in Cæsars time.

the manner and falhion of life both of the Gaules, and of the Germaines, and wherein those two nations do differ. In Gallion of line was an another in the fat wo nations do differ. In Gallion to make in enery citie, village, & precinit, but almost me, whereof the fat where are parties and factions, the heads whereof are such as they thinketo be of greatest authoritie, as cording to whose point on and commanned the maine course of the state of the such was described in the state of the such was described in the state of the state of the such was described in the state of the such was described in the state of the state of the such was described in the such was

their actions is directed. And this seemeth a custome instituted of old time, to the end that none of the common people how meane so cure, might at any time want meanes to make their partie good against a greater man; for if they should suffer their parties and sollowers to be either oppressed or circumuented, they should neuer beare any rule or authoritie amongst shom. And this is the coursethroughout all Gallia, for all their States are deutsed into two sections. When Casa came into Gallia, she Hedui were chiefering-leaders of the one partie, and the Sequani of the other: these sinding themselves to be the weaker side, (for assuce as the principalitie and chiefest

Cæfar.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

power was aunciently feated in the Hedui, having many and great adherents and clients) drew the Germaines and Ariouistus by many great promises on their party: and after many great victories al the Nobilitie of the Hedui being flaine, they went fo far beyond them in power and authoritie; that they drew the greatest part of clients fro the Hedui to themselues, and took the children of their Princes for pledges, and caused them to take a publike oath not to undertake any thing against the Sequani: besides a great part of their countrey which they tooke from them by force, and so they obtained the principalitie of Gallia. And thereupon Divitiacus went unto Rome to feeke ayde of the Senate, but returned without effecting any thing. Casfars comming into Gallia brought an alteration of these things, for the pledges were restored backe againe to the Hedui, and their old followers and clients did likewise returne to their protection: besides other new followers which by Cæsars meanes did cleaue unto them. Whereby their noblenesse and dignity was so amplified and enlarged, that the Sequani lost their authority, whom the men of Rhemes succeeded. And for asmuch as the world took notice that they were no lesse fauoured of Cosar then the Hedui, such as by reason of former enmities could not endure to joyne with the Hedri, put them felues into the clientle of the men of Rhemes, & found respective protection from that State, which caused a new and sodaine raised authority of the men of Rhemes: so that at that time the Heduiwent far beyond all the other States of Gallia in power and authority and next unto them were the men of Rhemes.

OBSERVATIONS.

Factions and parties.



A CTIONS are generally the rent of a State, and a diffoun-ting of those parts which common unitic hath knit together for the prefernation of good gouernement: but the Gaules maintained fides and parties throughout the whole bodie of their continent, and found it necessary for the vpholding of their pollicie at home: and as it fell out in the course of these warres, rather a helpe then otherwise in their generall defence against a forraine enemie. The reason of the former benefite was grounded upon two causes, as Cesar noteth; the one proceeding from the oppression yield by the rich and mightie men towards the poorer and meaner people; and the other from the impatiencie of those of inferiour condition, refuling to acknowledge any authoritie or preheminencie at all, rather then to endure the wrongs and contumelies of the mighty. And therfore to preuent the licentious might of the great ones, and to give countenance and respect to the lower fort, these factions and sides were denised: wherein the foote had alwayes a head fenfible of the wrongs which were done vnto it. Things of greater condition are alwayes iniurious to leffer natures, and cannot endure any competencie; not so much as in comparison, or by way of relation. In things without life, the prerogative of the mountaines doth swallow vp the leffer rifing of the downes, and the fwelling of the downes, the vneuenneffe of

the mole-hils: the Stars are dimmed at the rifing of the Moone, and the Moone loseth both her light and her beautie in the presence of the Sunne. So amongst bruite beafts and fishes, the greater do alwayes denour the leffe, and take them as their due by the appointment of nature: and men more injurious in this point, then either mountaines or bruite beafts, inafmuch as they do alwayes onervalew themselues beyond their owne greatnesse, have in all ages verified the old prouerbe, Homo homini lupus. And on the other fide, as nature maketh nothing in vaine, but hath given a being to the least of her creatures: so do they endeuour not to be admulled, but to keepe themselves in being and continuance, Habet & musca splenem, faith the Poet : and the Pismires and Bees have their common weales, though not equall to a Monarke. And therefore that the mightie and great men of Gallia, might not deuoure the lowest of the people, but that every man might ftand in his owne condition, and by the helpe of a Rowland line by an Oliner. And againe, that the poorer fort might give as a cribute for their protection, that respect and obedience to their superiours, as belongeth to fuch high callings, these sactions and bandies were ordained: whereby the Nobles were reftrained from oppressing the poore, and the poore compelled to obey the Nobilitie, which is the best end that may be made of any faction.

Concerning the advantage which the Gaules received by these factions against forraine enemies, it was rather in regard of the multiplicitie of States and Common-weales which were in the continent of Gallia then otherwise: for it manifestly appeareth, that their factions and contentions for four raigne authoritie, caused one partie to bring in Arionistus and the Germaines; and the other partie, the Romaines to make good their bandy. But for a fruich as Gallia had many divisions, and contained many severall States, relying chiefly vpon their owne strength, and esteeming the subuersion of their neighbour Lib.2. vpon their owner mengan, and external citie, as a calamitie befalling their neighbour, from which the rest stood as yet free, it was not so easily conquered as if it had bene all but one kingdome. The battell which Cafar had with the Neruij, which was fought so hard, that of threefcore thousand men there were left but flue hundred; nor of fixe hundred Senators, but three; nor againe, the felling of three and fiftie thousand Gaules for bond-flaues at one time, did not so much aduantage the conquest of Gallia, as the battel of Edward the third, or that of Henrie the fift, our two English Cafars: in the former whereof were flaine at Cresie thirtie thousand of the French, and in the latter at Agincourt but ten thousand. The reason was for that the former loffes though farre greater concerned but particular States. whereas these latter overthrowes extended to the members and braunches of the whole kingdome.

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Two fortes of men in Gallia, Druides and Equites.

The two forts of men that are the are but two forts of men that are

Cafar.

Potestas vita O Viris.

of any reckoning or account; for the common people are in the nature of Servants, and of no worth of themselves, nor admitted to any Parliament: being kept under either by debts or by great tributes, or by the oppression of the mightie: do put them selves in the service of the Nobilitie, and are subject to the authoritie which the master hath over his bondstauc of these two lores the one are Druides, and the other Equites or gentlemen. The Druides which are alwayes prefent at their holy duties, do give order for their publike and priuate facrifices, and expound their Religion. To the Druides great numbers of the youth dorefort for learnings (ake, and have them in great honour and reputation; for they do determine almost of all controuersies both publicke and private: for if any offence be committed, as murther or manslaughter, or any controversie arise touching their lands or inheritance, they sentence it; rewarding the vertuous, and punishing the wicked. If any privat ma or State do not obey their decree, they interdict him from boly duty which is the greatest punishment that is amongst them; such as are thus interdicted, are reputed in the number of impious and wicked men, enery man leanes their companie, and doth awayd to meete them, or speake with them, left they should receine any hurt by their contagion: neither have they law or instice when they require it, nor any respect or honour that doth belong unto them. Over all the Druides there is one Primat that hath authoritie of the rest: at his decease if any one do excel the rest in dignitie he succeedeth: if many equals are found they go to election, and sometimes they contend about the primacy with force and armes. They meet at a certaine time of the yeare in the confines of the Carnutes, which is the middle part of all Gallia, and there they fit in a facred place: thither they refort fro al parts that have cotrouer fies & do obey their orders & indgemets. The art & learning of the Druides was first found out in Britany, and from thence is thought to be brought into Gallia: and at this time such as will attaine to the perfect knowledge of that discipline, do for the most part trauell thither to learne it. The Druides are exempt from warfare and payments, and have an immunitie from all other duties: whereby it falleth out, that many do betake themselves to that profession of their owne free will, and divers others are sent to that schoole by their parents and friends: they are said to learne many verses, and that Some do study therein twenty yeares. Neither is it lawful for them to comit any thing to writing, befide that in other publike and privat businesses they onely wse the Greeke tonque: & that as I take it for two causes, first for that their learning may not become common and vulgar; secondly, that schollers might not trust so much to their writimes as to their memorie, as it happeneth for the most part to such as rely upon the trust of bookes and papers & in the meane time omit the benefit of good remembrance.

England.

They indeuour chiefly to teach ment hat their foules do not die, but that they do fleete from one bodie to another, and this they thinke to be very important to stirre men up to vertue neglecting the scare of death: they dispute further, and give many traditions to the youth, touching the starres and their motion, the magnitude of the earth and the world, and the might and power of the Gods.

OBSERVATIONS.

HE qualitie and condition of the Druides is in this place very particularly described by Casar, and may be reduced to these heads.

First, their office extending both to things diuine and things tem-porall, whereby they executed the place both of Pricits and of Indges. And for that purpose there was one knowne place appointed where they fate in judgement: and as I ynderstand it, there was but one Terme in the yeare, which both began and ended their fuites in law. The

fecond thing is their authoritie, having power to reward vertue, and to punish vice. Thirdly, their Priviledges and immunities, being free from contribution, from warfare and all other burthens of the state. Fourthly, their doctrine and learning which was partly Theologicall, concerning the might and power of the gods, the immortalitic of the Soule: and partly philosophicall, touching the starres and their motion, the earth and the magnitude thereof: and lastly, their manner of learning, which was altogether Pythagoricall, refuting the help of letters and bookes, and committing their doctrine to the tradition of their

elders: but that which is specially to be observed, is, that this learning was not

experience which heretofore hath bene observed of the Northerne and Sou-

therne parts of the world: for as the South giuetha temper to the bodie fit for

the science and contemplation of Arts, whereby the mind being enlarged and

purified in her faculties, doth diue into the fecret depth of all learning, and

ward contemplation of the mind, was found out and perfected by such as bor-

der ypon the South, and from them it was brought by litle and litle into the

Northerne regions. And fuch as would be mailters in the Arts they professed

went alwaies fouthward for the attaining therof: but here the South was be-

holding to the North, as well for their principles of Diuinitie, as for their Phi-

lofophie, and morall learning, being as pure, as that which any heathen people

euer dranke of. Which proueth an auncient fingularitie in the inhabitants of

this Iland, touching the studie of Arts & matter of learning, and may with like

euidence be proued from age to age cuen to this time. In witnesse whereof I

onely found out herein Brittanie, but fuch as would perfectly attaine to the England. knowledge thereof, came into England to studie the same, contrarie to the

censure the hidden mysteries thereof: so the Northerne climats do bind in the powers of the foule, and restraine all her vertues to the vse of the bodie, whereby they are faid to have animam in digitis, not affoording her that delight and lihe curious contentment which is viually received by speculation. And thence it hapneth | and artificiall that all speculatine arts and sciences, and what else soener concerneth the in-

Oxford and

Cambridge.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

appeale to the two Vniuersities of this land, as a demonstration of the loue which our nation hatheuer borne to learning, being two fuch Magazins of arts and sciences, so beautified with curious buildings, and supplied with indowments for the liberall maintenance of the Muses, inriched with Libraries of learned Workes, adorned with pleafant places for the refreshing of wearied spirits, gardens, groues, walkes, rivers, and arborets, as the like fuch Athens are not to be found in any part of the world.

CHAP. IX.

The fecond fort of men in Gallia, called the Equites in Casar time.

Cefar.



HE other fort of people are Equites or Gentlemen, thefe whe there is occasion, or when any warre happeneth (as before Cafar his comming was viuall every yeare, that either they did offer iniuries, or resist iniuries) are alwaies parties therein, and as enery man excelleth other in birth or wealth, so is he attended with clients and followers, and this they take to be the onely note of Nobilitie and greatnesse. The whole nation of the Gaules are much addicted to religions, and for that

cause such as are either grieuously diseased or conversant continually in the daungers of warre, do either facrifice men for an oblation, or vow the oblation of themselves, vfing in such sacrifices the ministerie of the Druides, for a smuch as they are perswaded that immortall Deitie cannot be pleased, but by giving the life of one man for the life of another. And to that purpose they have publike sacrifiees appointed, others have Images of amonstrous magnitude, whose limmes and parts being made of osiers are filled with living men, and being fet on fire the men are burned to death: the execution of such as are taken in theft or robberie or any other crime, they thinke to be best pleasing to the gods, but wanting such they spare not the innocent. They wor ship chiefly the god Mercurie, and have many of his images among It them, him they adore as the inventor of all arts, the conductor and quide in all voyages and journeys, or they thinke him to have great power in all merchandize and gaine of moneys. Next unto him they preferre Apollo, Mars, Ioue and Minerua, and of these they carie the same opinion as other nations do: Apollo to be powerfull in healing diseases, Minerua in finding out artificiall workes, Ioue ruling the celestiall Empire, and Mars for warre. When they are to encounter with an enemie, they vow all the spoile unto him, and such beasts as are taken they sacrifice, other things they lay up in some one place: and many such heapes of things so taken, are to be seene in the holy places of diverse of their cities. Neither doth it often happen that any man neglecting his religion in that point, dare either keepe backe any thing fo taken, or take away ought laid up in their Repositories. The Gaules do all boast themselves in the stocke from whence they are descended, understanding by the Druides, that they come of the god Dis. And therefore they end the space of all their times by the number of nights rather then by the number of dayes, observing the dayes of their nativitie, the beginnings of their moneths, and their yeares, in fuch fort, as the day doth alwayes follow the night. And herein they differ from other nations, that they suffer not their children to some openby wato them, but when they are growne fit for warre: thinking it [hameful and dishonest, that a sonne in his childhood should in publike places stand in the sight of his father. To the portions which they have with their wives, they adde as much more of their owne goods, and the vse of this money thus added together, is kept apart, and the longer liver hath both the principall and the interest for all the former time. The men have power of life and death both over their wives and their children: and when aman of great place and parentage shall happen to decease his kinsfolks assemble them selves to gether to enquire of his death; if there be any occasion of suspition, they put his wife to torture after the maner of a servant, and if it be found, the dies tormented with fire and all other tortures as may be imagined. Their funerals (according to the rest of their life) are magnificall and fumptuous, burying with the dead corpes all that he tooke delight in while he lined, not sparing lining creatures: and not long out of memorie, the custome was to burie with the bodie such clients and seruants as were sanoured by him in his life time. Such States as are careful in the government of their common weales, do prohibite by a special law, that no man shall communicate a rumour or report touching the State to any man fauing a Magistrate, for asmuch as it had bene often found, that rash and waskilful men were so terrified with false reports, and moved to such desperate attempts, that they entred into resolutions touching the maine points of State. The Magistrates do keepe secret such things as they thinke sit, and that which they thinke expedient they publish: but it is not lawfull to speake of matter of State but in affemblies of State.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



ONCERNING the beginning of dayes and times, which The begins Cafar noteth in this place to be observed by the Gaules after Sun ning of the fetting: whereby it happened that in the naturall day of foure day dinerly and twentie houres, the night alwaies preceded the day time, observed.

contrarie to the vie of Italy, where the day began at Sun rifing, and the night followed the artificiall day as the fecond part of the day natural: we are to understand, that as all time, and the distinction of the parts thereof, dependeth upon the two motions of the Sunne: the one as it moueth in it own orbe from West to East, begetting the revolution of yeares, and the seasons of Sommer and Winter, the Spring and the Autumne, with the measure of moneths as it passeth through the signes of the Zodiacke: and the other, as it is caried from East to West by the first mouing spheare, making the distinction of nights and dayes, houres and minutes: fo the beginnings of thefe times and feafons are diverfly taken amongst diverse people and nations of the earth. The Iewes had the fame computatio touching the beginning of the day as the Gauls had, but vpon other grounds and reasons then could be alleadged for this cu-

stome in Gallia: for they began their day in the evening at Sunne setting, as appeareth by many places of the Scripture: and Mofes in the repetition of the first seuen dayes worke, vpon the accomplishment of a day, saith, The euening and the morning were one day, giving the evening precedencie before the morning, as though the day had begun in the euening. The Bohemians in like manner do obserue the beginning of their day in the euening, and do herein follow the vse of the Iewes. Other nations do begin at Sunne rifing, and take the computation of their day naturall from the first appearing of the Sunne in the East. The Greekes begin and end their day at midnight, obseruing the certaintie of that time, and the correspondence betweene the equall and planetatarie houres in the meridian Circle: whereas otherwise by reason of the inequalitie of the dayes and the nights, out of a right sphære there is alwaies some difference betweene the faid houres: and this vse also is observed by vs in England.

This god Ditis whom he nameth for the father of that nation, is the same whome the heathen called Plato, the god of helland darkeneffe, and for that cause they put darkenesse before light, touching the beginning of their natu-

But foralmuch as this circumstance giueth occasion to speake of dayes and times, giue me leaue to infert the reformation of the yeare, which C.efar fo happily established, that succeeding times have had no cause to alter the same.

And although it neither concerneth the art of warre, nor happened within the copasse of these seuen sommers: yet for a sit was done by Casar,& descrueth as often memorie as any other of his noble acts, it shall not seeme impertinent to the reader to take this much by the way concerning that matter. There is no nation of any civill government, but observeth a course or reuolution differenced with times and seasons, in such manner, as may be aunfwerable to the motion of the Sunne, in the circuit which it maketh through the fignes and degrees of the Zodiacke. But for a fmuch as the government of a civill yeare doth not well admit any other composition of parts, to make it abfolute and complete then by naturall dayes; and on the other fide the Sunne requireth odde houres and minutes to finish his race, and returne againe to the goale from whence it came, there hath alwaies bene found a difference betweene the civill and the Solar yeare. Before Cafars time, the Romaines vling the auncient computation of the yeare, had not onely fuch vncertaintie and alteration in moneths and times, that the facrifices & yearely feafts, came by litle and litle to feafons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the reuolution of the Sun or Solare yeare, no other nation agreed with them in account; and of the Romaines themselves onely the Priests understood it: and therefore when they pleafed (no man being able to controle them) they would vpon the fodaine thrust in a moneth about the ordinary number, which as Plutarch noteth, was in old time time called Mercedonius, or Mensis intercalaris. To remedie this inconvenience, Cafar calling together the best and most expert Astronomers of that time, made a Kalender more exactly calculated then any other that was before: and yet fuch a one as by long continuance of time

Plutarke Cafar.

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hath bred a difference, for the matter standeth thus. It is found by certaine observation of Mathematicians of all ages, that the Sunne being caried from the West to the East by the motion of his owne Spheare, finisheth his yearely course in the space of 365 dayes, fine houres, nine and fortie minutes, and some odde seconds: whereupon it was then concluded that their civill yeare must necessarily containe three hundred threescore and five dayes, which maketh two and fiftie weekes and one day: and for a fmuch as those fine odde houres, nine and fortie minutes, and some seconds, did in soure yeares space amount vnto a naturall day (wanting two and fortie minutes, and fixe and fiftie feconds, which was thought nothing in comparison) they deuifed euery fourth yeare to adde a day more then ordinarie, to answer that time which is viually added to Frebruary: whereby it happeneth that in euery fourth yeare February hath nine and twentie dayes; and so they made an order to reforme their yeare without any fenfible errour for a long time. But fince that time, being one thouland fixe hundred yeares and more, those two and fortie minutes, and fix and fiftie feconds, which as I faid do want of the naturall day of foure and twentie houres which is incerted in every fourth yeare, have bred a manifest and an apparant errour: for whereas the civill yeare is by that meanes made greater then the folar yeares, the Sunne ending his taske before we can end our times, it happeneth that fuch feafts as have relation to feafonable times, do as it were foreflow the oportunitie, and fall out further in the yeare, as though they had a motion towards the fommers folltice. And as these go forward, so doth the Equinoctial returne backwards towards the beginning of the moneth. For Cefar by the helpe of the Astronomers observed the Equinoctium the fine and twentieth of March. Prolomy in his time observed the Equinoctium the two and twentieth of March. And it was observed the one and twentieth of March in the yeare from the incarnation 322, what time was holden the first general! Councell at Nice a citie of Ponthus, in respect whereof the Pascall tables and other rules were established for the celebration of Easter. But fince that time there are paffed 1281. yeares, and the Equinoctium cometh before the one and twentieth of March ten dayes.

As this errour is reformed among other nations, and reduced to that state as it was at the Nicene Councell: fo there might many reasons be alleaged to proue the reformation convenient of a greater number of dayes then ten. For if the Kalender were so ordered, that enery moneth might begin when the Sun entreth into that Signe which is for the moneth, and end when the Sunne goeth out of that figne, it would avoide much confusion, and be very easie to all forts of people as have occasion to observe the same: which doublesse was the purport of the first institution of moneths; and was observed (as it seemeth) by the old Romaines, who began the yeare at the winter folflice, as Ovid noteth:

Bruma noui prima eft, veterifq, nouissima solis, Principium capiunt Phoebus & annus idem.

And therefore they called that moneth Ianuarie of Ianus that had two faces, and faw both the old and the new yeare: fuch therefore as would go about to reforme the yeare to this course, must not cut off ten dayes onely, but one and

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twentie; and for one yeare make December to continue but tenne dayes, and then Ianuarie to begin, and so succeffiuely to the rest of the moneths. But it may be said, that although we helpe our selues, and put off the inconvenience which is fallen vpon vs, yet in tract of time the like error will sall againe vpon succeeding ages, and put their yearely Feasts besides the dayes appointed for them. For remedie whereof it may be answered: That whereas this error hath happened by adding every south yeare a natural day, which in true calculation wanted two and fortic minutes and sixe and siftic seconds of source and twentie houres, and in every 136. yeares hath accrued within one minute to a day more then needed: the onely way is every 136. yeares, to omit the addition of that day, and to make that yeare to containe but 365. dayes, which by the order of Casars Kalender, is aleape yeare, and hath one day more, which hath brought this error. And so there would not happen the error of a day in the space of 111086. yeares, if the world should continue so long.

But left we should seeme more curious in reforming the course of our civill yeare, then the manners of our civill life, I will proceede to that which followeth.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Their respect tomatter of State. HE fecond thing which I obserue in their manner of life, is the respect they had to matter of State, and the care which they took that no man shold dispute of the Commonweale, but in assemble blies appointed for the service of the Commonweale. Whereby blies appointed for the service of the Commonweale. Whereby blies appointed for the service of the maintenance of good gournement. The first, that no man might speake of points of state, but the gournours of State: for such I vuderstand to be admitted to their Councels and Parliaments. Secondly, that such matters of consequence as touched the some such advantage the State. Concerning the former, we are to note, that Gournment is defined, to be an establishing of order best stiting the maintenance of a people, in a peaceable and happic life. Order requirest degrees and distinctions inuesting severall parts in severall functions and duties: to these duties there belonges a due observancie according to the motion and place, which entery part holdeth in the generall order. Of these degrees and distinctions, Soueraigntie and Obedience are two maine relatives, the one inuested in the Prince or Magistrate, the other in the people and subsect, incommunicable in regard of their tearmes and subsects, and yet concurring in the maine drift of

Tibi summan rerum diy dedêre, nobis obsequiy gloria relata est: Tacitus.

by obedience, and not by dispute.

Touching the second point, we are to consider the danger which may hap-

gouernment, intending the benefite of a happie life. And therefore the Gaules

did carefully prouide, that no man shold exceed the limits of his owne rancke,

but that fuch as fate at the helme might shape the course: & for the rest whose

lot it was to be directed, they would have them take notice of their mandates

pen to a State, by common and ordinarie discourse of the Principles of that Gouernment, or of such circumstances as are incident to the same, (without respect of time or place, or any other due regard) which the wisedome of a well ordered pollicie, doth hold requisite thereunto: for whatsoeuer is deliuered by speech, without such helpefull attendance, is both vnscasonable and vn-profitable, and the Comonweale is alwaies a sufferer, when it falleth into such rash considerations: for our most ferious cogitations affisted with the best circumstances, can but speake to purpose. And as the execution falleth short of the purport intended by discourse, so is our speech and discourse lame and wanting to our inward conceipt. And therefore as religious actions stand in neede of hoe age, so may politicke consultations when helpe of the same remembrancer.

CHAP. X.

The maner and life of the Germaines.

Cafar. course of life, for they have neither Priests nor sacrifices: they worship no Gods but such as are subject to sense, and from whom they dayly receive profits and helpe, as the Sunne, the survey of their life is onely spent in hunting, or in vse and practise of war, they may they inure themselves to labor and hardnesse cuen to their childhood; and such as continue beardlesse are most commended among st them; for this some thinke to be very availeable to their stature, others to their strength and sinewes: they hold it a most dishonest part for one to touch a woman before he be twentie venres of age, neither can any such matter be hid or dissembled; for asmuch as they bathe themselves together in rivers, and wse skinnes and other small coverings on the reines of their backes, the rest of their bodie being all naked. They wse no tillage, the greatest part of their foode is milke, or cheefe, or flesh: neither hath any man any certaine quantitie of land to his owne ve ; but their Magistrates and Princes do energ yeare allot a certaine portion of land to kindreds and tribes that inhabite together, and in such places as they think fit, whereof they give many reasons, lest they should be led away by continual custome from the practise of war to the vie of husbandrie, or lest they should endeaour to get themselves great possessions, and so the weaker should be thrust out and disposses of their livings by the mightie, or lest they should build too delicately for the anoyding of cold or heate or left they should waxe conetous and thirst after money which is the beginning of all factions and diffentions and lastly that they raight keepe the Commons in good contentment considering the parity betweene their resenues and the possessions of the great ones. It is the greatest honor to their States to

haue their confines lie wast and desolate far and neare about them: for that they take to

be an argument of valour, when their borderers are driven to for fake their countrey,

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and dare not abide neare them; and withall they thinke themselves by that meanes much safer from any sodaine incursion. When a State waketh war seither by way of attempt or defence, they chose Magistrates to commaund that war, having power of life and death but in time of peace they have no common Magistrate, but the chiefest men in the country and the villages, do interprete the law and determine of controuersies. Thest committed out of the confines of their State is not infamous or dishonest, but commended as an exercise of the youth and a keeping them from slouth: when any one of their Princes and chiefe men shall in an assembly or councell publish himselfe for a leader upon some exploit, and desire to know who will follow him upon the same, they that have a good opinion of the man and the matter, and do promife him their helpe and assistance, are commended by the multitude: the rest that resuse to accompany him are held in the number of traitors, and neuer have any credit afterwards. They hold it not lawfull to hurt a franger that shall come unto them upon any occasion, but do protect him from inturies; to fuch every mans house is open & his table common. The time was when the Gaules excelled the Germaines in promelle and valor, and made war upon them of their own accord, and by reason of the multisude of their people and want of ground for habitatio, they fent many colonies over the Rheine into Germany. And therfore those fertile places of Germany, which are neer unto the wood Hercinia which Erathostenes & other Grecians tooke notice of by the name of Orcinia) were possessed by the Volza and Tectosages, who dwelt there at this time, and keepe their ancient opinion of instice and warlike praise. Now the Germaines stil continue in the same powertie, want, and patience, as informer time; do wse the same diet and apparell for their bodies, but the neighborhood and knowledge of other nations bath made the Gaules live in a more plentiful maner, and by litle & litle have bin weakned & overthrown in duers battels, so that now they stad not in coparison with the Germaines. The breadth of the wood Hercinia is 9 dayes tourney ouer for they have no other differences of space but by meanes of dayes iourneys: it beginneth at the confines of the Helvetij, Numeti, and runs along the river Danubius to the territories of the Daci, thence it declinesh to the left fide from the laid riner, and by reason of the large extenfion thereof, it bordereth the confines of many other countries. Neither is there any Germaine that can fay, that either he durst adventure or did go, or had heard of the beginning of the same, although he had travelled therein threescore dayes journey. In this wood are many forts of wild beafts, which are not to be seene in any other place: amongst the rest there is an Oxe like onto a Hart, that in the middless of his forehead betweene his eares carieth a horne longer then viuall, divided at the end into many large branches; the female is in all respects like unto the male, and beareth a horne of the same magnitude and fashion. There is likewise another sort of beasts called Alces. not unlike unto a Goate, but somewhat bigger and without hornes, their legs are without iounts, that when they take their rest they neither sit nor lie woon the ground, and if they chance to fall they cannot rife againe . When they take their rest in the night, they leane against trees: the bunters having found out their footsteps and their haunt, do either undermine the roote of such trees, or so cut them a sunder that a small matter will ouerthrow them, so that when they come according unto their wse to rest them Clues against those trees, they ouerthrow them with their waight, and fall with them-Clues and to aretaken. The third kind of beast are those which are called Vri, some-

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what leffer then an Elephant, and in colour, kind and shape, not vnlike vnto a Bull, they are both strong and swift, and spare neither man nor beast that commeth in their sight: the sethey catch with greater labour and diligence in pits and ditches, and so kill them. The youth do inure and exercife them felues in this kind of hunting, and such as killmany of these beasts, and shew most hornes, are highly commended: but to make them tame or any their litle ones, was never yet seene. The largenesse of their hornes, as also the fashion and kind thereof, doth much differ from the hornes of the Oxen, and are much fought after for cups to be weed in their greatest banquets, being first bound about the brim and trimmed with siluer.

OBSERVATIONS.

Æ S A R in this Chapter describe th the course of life which the Germaines in his time held throughout the whole pollicie of Germanes in his time held throughout the whole pollicie of their gouernement, the fcope whereof was to make them warlike: to which he faith, that in times past the Gaules were as valiint and as warlike people as the Germaines: but the neighbourhood and knowledge of other nations, had taught them a more plentifull maner of life, which by litle and litle had weakened their strength, and made them far inferiour to the Germaines. Which bringeth to our confideration that which is often attributed to a ciuill life, that fuch as tast of the sweetnesse of ease, and are qualified with the complements of civilitie, have alwayes an indifposition Whether a ci to warlike practifes. The reason is grounded vpon vse and custome, for discon- uil life do wea tinuance doth alwayes cause a strangenesse and alienation, benumming the aptest parts with unreadie and painefull gestures: and is so powerfull, that it doth not onely steale away naturall affection, and make parents forget to loue their children; but like a tyrant it is able to force vs to those things which naturally we are vnfit for, as though the decrees of nature were subject to the controlement of custome. Much more then, the things got by vleand practife, are as eafily forgot by discontinuance, as they were obtained by studious exercise. On the other fide, there is nothing so horrible or dreadfull, but vse maketh easie. The first time the Fox saw the Lion, he swounded for feare; the next time he trembled, but the third time he was fo farre from feare, that he was ready to put a tricke of craft vpon him: whereby it appeareth, that the Germaines had no further interest in deedes of armes about the Gaules, then what thevse of war had gained them: for as viage continueth the property of a tenure, fo nonulage implieth a forfeiture. Cato was wont to lay, that the Romaines would loofe their Empire, when they suffered the Greeke tongue to be taught amongst them for by that meanesthey would eafily be drawne from the studie and practife of warre, to the bewitching delight of speculative thoughts. And Marcellus was blamed for being the first that corrupted Rome with the delicate and curi ous workes of Greece: for before that he brought from the lacking of Syracufa the wel wrought tables of pictures and imagery, Rome neuer knew any fuch delicacie, but flood ful fraught with armor & weapons of barbarous people, of the

bloudy spoyles and monuments of victories and triumphs; which were rather fearefull shewes to inure their eyes to the horror of warre, then pleasant fights to allure their minds to affections of peace. Whereby it appeareth, that fuch as fuffer themselues to be guided by the easie raigne of civill government, or take a disposition to that course of life, can hardly indure the yoke of war, or vndergo the tediousnesse of martiall labours.

CHAP. XI.

Basilius his surprise vpon Ambiorix.

A S A R finding by the discouerers which the Vbij sent out, that the Swewi had all betaken themselves to the woods, and doubting want of corne, for as much as the Germaines of all other nations do least care for tillage, he determined to go no further. But that his returne might not altogether free the barbarous people from feare, nor hinder the helpes and succors which they were wont to fend into Gallia, having brought

backe his armie, he cut off so much of the furthest part of the bridge next unto the Vbij, as came in measure to two hundred foote, and in the end of that which remained, he built a towre of foure stories, making other workes for the ftrengthening of that place, wherein he left a garrifon of twelve cohorts under the comaund of young C. Volcatius Tullus : he himselfe as corne waxed ripe, went forward to the warre of Ambiorix by the way of the wood of Ardenna, which is the greatest in all Gallia, and extendeth it selfe from the bankes of Rheine and the confines of the Treuiri, to the feate of the Neruii, carying a breadth of fine hundred miles. He fent L. M. Basilius before with all the horse, to see if he could effect any thing either by preuention and speedie arrivall, or by oportunitie, commaunding him not to suffer any fires to be made in his campe, left his comming might be disconcred. Basilius followeth his directions, and comming upon them contrarie to their expectation, tooke many of the enemie abroad in the fields, and by their conduction made towards Ambiorix, where he remained in a place with a few horsemen: As fortune is very powerfull in all things, so she challengeth a special linterest in matter of warre: for as it happened by great lucke, that he should light upon him unawares and unprovided, and that his comming should sooner be seene then heard of : so was it great hap that all the armes which he had about him, should be surprised his horses and his charrets taken, and that he himselfe should escape death. But this happened by reason of the wood that was about his house, according to the manner of the Gaules, who for auoyding of heate, do commonly build neare unto woods and rivers: his followers and friends sustaining a while the charge of the horsemen in a narrow place, while he him selfe escaped in the meane time on horsebacke, and in stying was protected and sheltered by the woods, whereby Fortune (eemed very powerfull both in drawing on a danger, and in auoyding it. OBSER.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



HE prerogative which Fortune hath alwayes challenged in the accidents of warre, and the speciall interest, which she hath in that course of life more then in other mens actions, hath made

Forture.

that course or memore usen mountained the best foldiers oftentimes to fing a fong of complaint, the burthen whereof yet remaineth, and ferueth as a reason of all such then whereof yet remaineth, and ferueth as a reason of all such the source of things. misaduétures, Fortune de la guerre. Such as haue observed the course of things, and have found one and the fame man continuing the fame meanes, this day happie, and the next day vnfortunate: and againe, two other men, the one aduised and respective, and the other violent and rash, and yet both attaine the like good fortune by two contrarie courses, or otherwise as oftentimes it falleth out, the more heedleffe, the more happie; have bene perswaded that all things are so gouerned by fortune, that the wisedome of man can neither after nor amend them: and therefore to fpend much time or tedious labour, either in carefull circumspection, or heedfull prevention of that which is vnchaungeable, they hold as vaine as the washing of an Athiopian to make him white. Of this opinion Sylla seemed to be; professing himselfe better borne to fortune the Plutarkein to the warres, and acknowledging his happiest victories to have proceeded the life of from his most heedlesse and vnaduised resolutions. And the great Alexander Sylla. so caried himselfe, as though he had bene of the same opinion, of whome Curtius faith: Quoties illum fortuna, à morte reuocauit? quoties temeré inpericula vectu perpetua fulicitate protexis? And Plutarch faith, that he had power of time and In the life of

Alexander.

Others are not willing to ascribe so much to Fortune, as to make themselues the tennife ball to her racket: and yet they are content to allow her halfe of euety thing they go about, referring the other moitie to their owne directions. And so like partners in an aduenture, they labour to improve their share for their best aduantage.

Some other there are that will allow Fortune no part at all in their actions, but do confront her with a goddeffe of greater power, and make Industrie the meanes to adoull her deitic. Of this opinion was Timotheus the Athenian, who Plutarkein hauing atchieued many notable victories, would not allow of the conceipt of the life of the painter, that had made a table wherein Fortune was taking in those cities, Sylla. (which he had won) with a net, whilft he himselfe slept: but protested against her in that behalfe, and would not give her any part in that businesse.

And thus the heathen world varied as much in their opinions touching Fortune, as Fortune her selfe did in her euents to themward: which were so divers and chaungeable, as were able to enfnare the deepest wits, and confound the wisedome of the greatest judgements: whereby the word Fortune vsurped a deitie, and got an opinion of extraordinarie power in the regiment of humane actions. But our Christian times haue a readier lesson, wherein is taught a soueraigne Prouidence, guiding and directing the thoughts of mens hearts, with the faculties and powers of the Soule, together with their external actions, to

Cafar.

fuch ends as shall seeme best to that omnipotent wisedome, to whom all our

abilities serue as instruments and meanes to effect his purposes, notwithstanding our particular intendments, or what the heart of man may otherwise determine. And therefore such as will make their wayes prosperous vnto themfelues, and receive that contentment which their hope exspecteth, or their labours would deserve, must vie those helpes which the rules of Christianitie do teach in that behalfe, and may better be learned from a Diuine, then from him

that writeth Treatifes of warre.

THE SEECOND OBSERVATION.

Celeritie and expedition.

VINT VS Curtius speaking of Alexander saith: Nullam virtutem Regis istius magis quàra celeritatem laudauerim: whereof this might be a ground, that he followed Darius with fuch freed after the fecond battell he gaue him, that in eleven dayes he marched with his armie fixe hundred miles, which was a chafe well

fitting Alexander the Great, and might rest vnexampled: notwithstanding Suetonius giueth this generall report of Cafar, that in matter militarie, aut aquauit prastantisimorum gloriam aut excessit: and for this particular he faith, quod persape nuntius de se prauenit. And to speake truly he seemeth to challenge to himselfe expedition and speede as his peculiar commendation, grounding himselfe ypon the daunger which lingring and foreflowing of time, doth vfually bring to well aduised resolutions: according to that of Lucan the Poet,

Nocuit semper differre paratis. For by this speedie execution of well digested directions, he gained two maine aduantages: first the preuention of such helpes and meanes as the enemie wold otherwise haue had, to make the warre daungerous and the event doubtfull. And fecondly, the confusion and feare, which doth confequently follow such maine disappointments, being the most daungerous accidents that can happen to any partie, and the chiefest points to be endeuoured to be cast vpon an ene-

mie by him that would make an eafie conqueft.

For proofe whereof among ft many other examples, I will onely alledge his expedition to Rome, when he first came against Pompey, according to Plutarkes relation. In the meane time (faith he) newes came to Rome, that Cafar had won Ariminum, a great citie in Italie, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power, which was not true: for he came but with 3000. horseand 5000. foote,

and would not tarie for the rest of his armie, being on the other side of the Alpes in Gallia, but made hast rather to surprise his enemies upon the sudden, being afraid and in garboile, not looking for him fo foone, then to give them time to be prouided, and fo to fight with them in the best of their strength,

which fell out accordingly: for this fudden and vnexpected approach of his, put all Italy and Romeit selfe into such a tumult and confusion, that no man knew what way to take for his fafetie: for for h as were out of Rome came flying thither from all parts, and those on the other side that were in Rome, went out

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as fast, and for sooke the citie. And the amazement was such, that Pompey and the Senate fled into Greece, whereby it hapned that Cafar in threefcore dayes,

was Lord of all Italie without any bloudshed. Besides this manner of preuention by sudden surprize, we may see the like expedition in the very cariage and forme of his warres: for if the enemie had |veni taken the field, he laboured by all meanes to bring him to fight: or otherwife if Vidi. he refused to take the field, he thenendeuoured with the like speede to besiege Vici. him or blocke him vp in some hold, to the end he might bring the matter to a speedy vpshot, as he did with Vercingetorix at Alesia. But that which is most me Lib.2. bell. morable touching this point, at the first taking in of Spaine in the garboile of the civili. ciuill warres, he defeated two armies, ouerthrew two Generals, and tooke in two Prouinces in the space of fortie dayes. Neither did he make vse of expedition onely in his cariage of a war, but also in the action and execution of battel: for he neuer forfooke an enemie ouerthrowne and discomfited, vntillhehad taken their campe, and defeated them of their chiefest helpes, which Pompey felt to his viter ouerthrow: for the fame day he routed him at Pharfalia, he took his campe, and inclosed a hill with a ditch and arampier, where 25000. Romaines, were fled for their safetie, and brought them to yeeld themselves vnto him: and so making vse (as he saith) of the benefite of fortune, and the terror

and amazemet of the enemic, he performed three notable feruices in one day. And this he vsed with such dexteritie and depth of wisedome, that commonly the first victorie ended the warre, as by this at Pharsalia he made himfelse Commaunder of the East, and by that at Taplo he made himselse Lord of Africke, and by the battell at Monda he got all Spaine.

To conclude this point, I may not forget the like speed and expedition in his workes: in fifteene dayes he caft a ditch and a rampier of fifteene foote in height, betweene the lake at Geneua and S. Claudes hill, containing nineteene miles. He made his bridge ouer the Rheine in ten daies. At the fiege of Marfeilles Lib. 1. bell. he made twelue gallies, and furnished them out to sea within thirtie daies after civili. the timber was cut downe. And the rest of his workes with the like expedition.

CHAP. XII.

Catiuulcus poisoneth himselfe: Cæsar deuideth his armie into three parts.



OW whether Ambiorix did not make head & as cible his forces of purpose, for that he determined not to fight, or whether he were hindered by the shortnesse of the time, and the sudden of comming of the horsemen, thinking the rest of the armic had followed after, it remaineth doubtfull: but certaine it is that he sent privile messengers about the countrie, commaunding euery man to shift for himselfe, of whome some fled into the forrest Arduenna, others into fennes and bogges, and such as

the life of Pompey.

Plutarke in

The armie being deuided, be commaunded Titus Labienus to carrie three Legions towards that part of the fea coast which bordereth upon Henapii, and fent Trebonius with the like number of Legions to wast and harrie that country which confineth the Aduatici: he himselfe with the other three determined to go to the river Scaldis, which runneth into the Mase, and to the furthest parts of the wood Ardenna: for that he understood that Ambiorix with a few horsemen was fled to those parts. At his departure he assured them that he would returne after the seventh dayes ab. (ence: for at that day he knew that corne was to be given to that legion which he had there left in garrison. He counselled Labienus and Trebonius to returne likewise by that day if they conveniently could, to the end that after communication of their difcoueries and intelligence of the proiects of the enemie, they might thinks upon a new beginning of warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

HIS fudden furprise vpon Ambiorix and the Treuiri, preuented (as I haue alreadie noted) their making head together, and put the enemie to fuch shifts for their saftie, as occasion or oportunity would affoord them in particular. And albeit the Treniri were by this meanes dispersed, yet they were not ouerthrowne nor vtterly vanquished, but continued still in the nature and qualitie of an enemic, alCOMMENTARIES. LIB. VI.

though they were by this occasion defeated of their chiefest meanes. And therefore the better to profecute them in their particular flights, and to keepe the diffeyned, he divided his armie into 3 parts, and made three several inroads vpon their countrey, hoping thereby to meet with some new occasion, which might give an overture of a more absolute conquest: for diversitie of motions do breed diuerlitie of occasions, whereof some may happily be such as being well managed may bring a man to the end of his defires. But herein let vs not forget to observe the maner he ysed in this service; for first he left a Redez yous where all the cariages of the armie were bestowed, with a competent garrison for the fafe keeping thereof, to the end the foldiers might be affured of a retreit, what difficulty focuer might befal them in that action, according to that of Sertorius, that a good captaine should rather looke behind him then beforehim: and appointed withall a certaine day when all the troopes should meete there | Sertorius. againe: Vt rur sus (as he fayth) communicato consilio, exploratifá, hostium rationibus, aliad initium belli capere possint .

Plutarke in

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar sendeth messengers to the bordering States, to come out and sacke the Eburones.

HERE was (as I baue already declared) no certaine band or troope of the enemie, no garrison or towne to standout in

armes, but the multitude was dispersed into all parts, and cue-rie man lay bid either in some secret and whknowne valley, or in some rough and wooddie place, or in some bog, or in such other places as gaue them hope of shelter or safetie: which pla-ces were well knowne to the States of that countrey, and the

matter required great diligence and circumspection, not so much in regard of the generall safetie of the armie (for there could no danger happen unto them the enemie being all terrified and fled) but in preseruing enery particular souldier; which notwithstanding did in part concerne the safetie of the whole armie for hope of booty did draw many farre off out of their rankes, and the woods through uncertaine and unknowne passages would not suffer the souldiers to go in troopes. If he would have the businesse take an end, and the very race of those wicked people rooted out, the armie must be divided, and many small bands must be made for that purpose: but to keepe the Maniples at their enlignes, according to the custome and vse of the Romaine armie. the place it selfe was a sufficient guard for the barbarous people, who did not want courage in particular, both to lie in waite for them, and circumuent them as they were seuered from their companies: as in extremities of that nature what diligence could attaine unto was provided, but in such maner, that somewhat was omitted in

COMMENTARIES, LIB. VI.

the offensive part, rather then it should be done with any detriment or losse to the souldier. Cæfar fent meffengers to the next bordering States, calling them out to facke the Eburones in hope of bootie and pillage, to the end the Gaules should rather hazard their lives in the wood then the legionarie souldiers, as also that there might be many spoylers and destroyers, to the end that both the name and race of that State might be taken away. These things were acted in all parts and quarters of the Eburones, and the seuenth day drew neare which he had appointed for his returne to the cariages.

OBSERVATIONS.

The benefit of opë encounter.

T is a commoditie which a Generall hath, when the enemie T is a commoditie which a Generall hath, when the cremite doth norrefuse open encounter, for so he may be sure that the weight of the businesse will rest upon militarie vertue and prowers of armes, as ready way makes to a speedy victory: but when the country doth affoord court & protection. it shal happen that the country doth affoord couert & protectio to him that is more malicious then valorous; and through the fastnesse of the place refuseth to shew himselfe vnlesse it be vpon aduantage, the warre doubtleffe is like to prooue tedious, and the victory leffe honorable. In fuch cases there is no other way, then so to harry and wast a countrey, that the enemy may be familhed out of his bolds, and brought to subjection by scarcity and necessity: which is a meanes fo powerfull, as well to supplant the greatest strength, as to meete with subterfuge and delay, that of it selfe it subducts all opposition, and needeth no other help for atchieuing of victory, as may appear by the sequel of this formers action. And herein let vs further obserue the particular care which Cafar had of his foldiers, adjudging the whole army to be intereffed in enery priuat mans fafetie; a matter strange in these times, and of small consequence in the iudgement of our commanders, to who particular fortunes are effected nonentities, and men in feueral of no valew: for almuch as conquests are made with multitudes, concerning which point, I grant it to be as true, as it is often spoken in places befreged, that the loffe of one man is not the loffe of a towne; nor the defeating of twentie, the ouerthrow of a thousand; and yet it cannot be denied but the leffer is payd for the lawrell wreath, the more precious is the victorie: and it fitteth then at a hard rate, when it maketh the buyer bankerout, or inforceth him to confesse, that such another victorie would ouerthrow him. And therefore he that will buy much honour with litle bloud, must endeuour by diligent and carefull labour to prouide for the particular fafetie of his fouldiers. Wherein albeit he cannot valew an unity at an equal rate with a number; yet he must consider, that without a vnity there can be no multitude: and not so only, but the life and strength of a multitude confisteth in vnities; for otherwise, neither had Nero needed to have wished the people of Rome to have had but one head, that he might have cut it off at a stroke; nor Sertorius device had caried any grace, making a lustie fellow faile in plucking off the thinne taile of an old leane

Plutarke in the life of Sertorius.

giue directions to meete with all chances, as to thinke no forefight can preuent any cafualtie: for as the foule of man is endued with a power of discourse, whereby it conclude the either according to the certain etie of reason, or the learning of experience, bringing these directions as faultie and inconvenient, and approouing others as fafe and to be followed: so we are to understand, that this power of discourse is limited to a certaine measure or proportion of strength, and inscribed in a

CHAP. XIIII.

jade; and a litle wearish man leaue the stumpe bare of a great tayld horse, and

The Sicambri fent out two thousand horse against the Eburones, and by fortune they fall vpon Cicero at Vatuca.

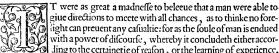
ERE you shall perceive the power that fortune hath, and what Cesar. chaunces happ, n in the cariage of a war. There was (as I haue already faid) the enemie being scattered and terrified, no troop or band which might give the least cause of scare: the report

that in a short time, by plucking haire by haire.

came to the Germaines on the other side of the Rheine, that the Eburones were to be facked, and that all men had libertie to make spoyle of them . The Sicambri dwelling next to the Rheine, fet out two thousand horse, and sent them over the ri-

wer some thirtie miles below that place where Cæsar had left the halfe bridge with a garrison: these horse made directly towards the confines of the Eubrones, tooke many prisoners and much cattell, neither bog nor wood hindered their passage, being bred and borne in warre and theft. They inquire of the prisoners in what part Casar was, and found him to be gone farre off, and that all the armie was departed from thence: and one of the prisoners speaking to them, said, Why do yee seeke after so poore and so fleuder a bootie, when otherwife you may make your selues most fortunate? in 3 houres space you may go to Vatuca, where the Romaine armie hath left all their fortunes; the garrifon in that place is no greater then can hardly furnish the walles about neither dare any man go out of the trenches. The Germains in this hope did hide the pillage which they had alreadie taken, and went directly to Vatuca, taking him for their quide that gaue them first notice thereof.

OBSERVATIONS.



OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

circle of lesser capacitie, then the compasse of possibilitie, or the large extenfion of what may happen; for otherwise the course of destinie were subject to our controlement, and our knowledge were equall to vniuerfall entitie, whereas the infinitie of accidents do farre exceede the reach of our shallow senses, and our greatest apprehension, is a small and unperfect experience. And therefore as fuch as through the occasion of publike employment, are driven to forsake the shore of minute and particular courses, and to slote in the Ocean of casualties and aduentures, may doubtleffe receive ftrong directions, both from the loadstone of reason, and tramontane of experience to shape an easie and succeffull course: so notwithstanding they shall find themselves subject to the contrarietie of winds and extremitie of tempelts, besides many other lets and impediments beyond the compasse of their direction, to interrupt their course and divert them from their haven, which made the Carthaginian that was more happie in conquering then in keeping to crie out: Nulquam minus quam in bello euentus rerum respondent, as it happened in this accident.

Hanniball.

Cafar.

CHAP, XV.

The Sicambri come to Vatuca, and offer to take the campe.



ICERO having all the dayes before observed Gasars direction with great diligence, and kept the fouldiers within the camp, not suffering so much as a boy to go out of the trenches: the fewenth day distrusting of Cesars returne according to his promise, for that he understood he was gone further into the countrey and heard nothing of his returne: and withall being moued with the speeches of the souldiers, who termed their patient abiding within their trenches, a fiege, for asmuch as no

man was suffered to go out of them, and exspecting no such chaunce within the compasse of three miles, which was the furthest be purposed to send them for corne, especially considering that nine legions were abroade, besides great forces of horse, the enemie being alreadie dispersed and almost extinguished; he sent five cohorts to gather corne in the next fields which were separated from the garrison onely with a litle bill lying betweene the camp and the corne. There were many left in the camp of the other legions that were ficke, of whom such as were recovered to the number of three hundred were sent with them all under one ensigne: besides a great companie of souldiers boyes, and great store of cattell which they had in the campe. In the meane time came thefe Germaine Rutters, and with the same gallop as they came thither, they sought to enter in at the Decumane gate; neither were they discouered by reason of a wood which kept them out of sight untill they were almost at the trenches, in somuch as such trades men and merchants as kept their booths and shops under the rampier, had no

time to be received into the campe, and the cohort that kept watch did hardly sustaine the first assault. The enemie was quickly spread about the workes, to see if they could findentrance in any other part: our men did hardly keepe the gates: the rest was defended by the fortification and the place it selfe: the whole campe was in a great feare, and one inquired of another the reason of the tumult, neither could they tell which way to carie their ensignes, or how any man should dispose of himselfe: one gaue out, that the campe was taken, and another that the armie and General was overthrowne, and that the Barbarous people came thither as conquerours: many tooke occasion from the place to imagine new and superstitious Religions, recalling to mind the fatall calamitie of Cotta and Titurius that died in that place. Through this feare and confusion that had possest the whole campe, the Germaines were confirmed in their opinion which they had received from the prisoner, that there was no garrison at all in the workes. They endeuored to breake in, and incouraged one another not to suffer so great a fortune to escape them. Publius Sextius Baculus that had bene Primipilus under Cxfar (of whom mention hath bene made in the former battels) was there left ficke, and had taken no sustenance of fine dayes before the hearing the danger they were in, went vnarmed out of his cabbin, and seeing the enemie readie to force the gates, and the matter to be in great hazard, taking armes from one that stood next him, he went and stood in the port; the Centurions of the cohort that kept watch followed him, and they for a while ingaged the enemie. Sextius having received many great wounds fainted at length, and was hardly faued by those that stood next him. V pon this respite the rest did so far assure themselves, that they durst stand upon the workes, and make a shew of defence.

OBSERVATIONS.

N the former observation I disputed the interest which the whole armic hath in one particular man, which out of Casars opinion I concluded to be fuch as was not to be neglected: but if we suppose a partie extraordinarie, and tye him to such singular worth as was in Sextius, I then doubt by this example, whether I may not equall him to the multitude, or put him alone in the ballance

to counterpoise the rest of his fellowes. For doubtlesse if his valour had not exceeded any height of courage, elswhere then to be found within those wals, the whole garrison had benevitterly slaughtered, and the place had bene made fatall to the Romaines by two difastrous calamities. In consideration whereof, I will referre my felfe to the judgement of the wife, how much it importeth a great Commaunder, not onely in honour as a rewarder of vertue, but in wifedome and good discretion, to make much of so gallant a spirite, and to give that respect vnto him, as may both witnesse his valiant carriage, and the thankfull acceptation thereof on the behalfe of the Commonweale, wherin we need not doubt of Cafars requitall to this Sextius, having by diverse honorable relations in these warres, touching his valiantnesse and prowesse in armes, made

CHAP. XVI.

The Sicambri continue their purpose in taking the campe.

Cafar.

Cuneus.

N the meane time the fouldiers, having made an end of reaping and gathering corne, heard the crie: the horsemen hasted before, and found in what daunger the matter flood; there was in that place no fortifications to receive the affrighted fouldi-Pers: (uch as were lately inrolled and had no experience in mat-I ter of warre set their faces towards the Tribunes of the souldiers, and to the Centurions, and expected directions from them.

There was none so assured or valiant, but were troubled thereat. The barbarous people having spied the ensignes a farre off left off their assault and first they thought it had bene the legions that had returned: afterward contemning the smalnesse of their number, they set upon them on all sides: the souldiers boyes betooke themselves unto the next hill, and being quickly put from thence they cast the selues headlong amongst the Maniples and ensignes, and so put the souldiers in a worse feare then they were before. Some were of opinion to put the selues into the forme of battell which resembleth a wedge, and so (for a smuch as the campe was at hand) to breake speedily through the enemie. In which course if any part should be circumuented and cut a peeces, yet they hoped the rest might saue themselues: others thought it better to make good the hill, and all of them to attend one and the same fortune. This aduise the old souldiers did not like of, who (as I said before) went out with the others that were sent a haruesting all under one ensigne by themselues: and therfore encouraging one another, Caius Trebonius a Romaine horseman being their captaine, and commaunding them at that time, brake through the thickest of the enemy, and came all safe into the campe. The boyes and horsemen following hard after them were likewise saued by the valour of the souldiers: but those that tooke the hill, hauing neuer had any vee of service, had neither the courage to continue in that resolution which they had before chosen, nor to imitate that force and speed which they had feene to have helped their fellowes: but indevouring to be received into the campe fell into places of disaduantage: wherein divers of their Centurions, who had lately bene taken from the lowest companies of other legions, and for their valours sake preferred to the highest and chiefest companies of this legion, least they should lose the honour which they had before gotten, fighting valiantly died in the place. Part of the fouldiers by the prowesse of these men that had removed the enemy, beyond all hope, got safe into the campe, the rest were defeated and staine by the Germaines.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HIS circumstance doth affoord vs two observable points: the one, how much an old experienced fouldier, that hath the vie and knowledge of feruice, exceedeth the nouicie of fuch as are newly enrolled. The fecond, which dependeth vpon the former, that valour and militarie vertue, is a confequent of vse and

practife, rather then any inherent gift of nature. Camillus being fent with an armie against the Thussanes, the Romaine souldier was much affrighted at the greatnesse of the hoast which the enemie had put on foote, which Camillus perceining, he yled no other motiues of persivasion to strengthen their weakened minds, and to assure them of a happie day, but this: Quod quisque didicit aut consuent, faciat, as well knowing where to rouze their valour, and in what part their greatest strength rested. For as men cannot prevaile in that wherein they are vnexperienced, but will be wanting in the supplies of their owne particular, and miscarie euen vnder the directions of another Anniball: so a known and beaten tracke is quickly taken, and the difficulties of a bufineffe are made easie by acquaintance. Vse maketh maisteries, saith our English Prouerbe, and practife and art do farre exceed nature. Which continuall exercise and vie of armes amongst the Romaines, attained to such perfection, as made militum sine rectore stabile virtute, as Liuie witnesseth. And as Antiochus confessed to Scipio: Quòd si vincuntur, non minuuntur animis tamen. Casar in all his battels, hada speciall respect to the inexperience of the new inrolled bands, placing them either behind the armie for a guard to their cariages, as he did in the Heluetian action, or leaving them as a defence to the campe, or shewing them aloose off, signifying thereby, as Livie faith of the Sicidians: Quod magis nomen quam vires ad prelidium adferebant. Whereby it consequently followeth, that militarie vertue proceedeth not fo much from nature, or any originall habite, as it doth from exercise and practise of armes. I graunt there is a disposition in nature, and a particular inclination to this or that art: according to that of the Poet, Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis.

But this disposition must be perfected by vse, and falleth short of valour or militarie vertue, which consisteth of two parts. The first, in knowledge of the discipline of warre, and the rules of seruice: wherby they may understand the course of things, and beable to judge of particular resolutions. The second, is the faithfull indeuour in executing fuch projects, as the rules of warre do propound for their fafetie: both which parts are gotten onely by vse. For as the knowledge of militarie discipline, is best learned by practife, so the often repetitió therof, begetteth affurance in action, which is nothing else but that which we call Valour. In which two parts, these new enrolled bands had small vnderstanding, for they were as ignorant what course to take in that extremitie, as they were vnaffured in their worfer refolutions.

T HE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

A Cuneus described. HIS Cuneus, or troupe of fouldiers disposed into a Triangle, was the best and safest way to breake through an encmie, for an Angle hath a renting and deuiding propertie, and is of sharpe in the meeting of the two side lines, that the point thereof resembles induisibilitie, and therefore is apt and proper to deuide able thinduisibilitie, and therefore is apt and proper to deuide a-

funder, and to make a feparation of any quantitie. Which forme Nature hath also observed in the sashion of such creatures that have a pieceing and deviding motion, as in fishes, that have all heads for the most part sharpe, and thence Anglewise are inlarged into the grossensies of their bodie. And birds likewise, the better to devide the ayre, have sharpe billes & little heads, with a body annexed of a larger proportion. The manner of the Romaines was (as I have alreadie shewed) to strengthen the piercing Angle with thicke compacted targets, and then enlarging the sides as occasion served, either to the quantitie of an acute, or a right, or an obtuse Angle: they gave the charge in such fort, vs quacunque parte percutere impeta suo, sussinguent, as Linie saith.

CHAP. XVII.

The Sicambri giue ouer their purpose and depart.

HE Germains being out of hope of taking the campe, foraf-

Cafar.

much as they saw our men to stand upon the workes, they returned ouer the Rheine with the bootie which they had in the woods. And such was the saw of the Romaine soulier, enter a fire the enemie was gone, that Caius Valusenus eing some, that Caius Valusenus eing some, that Caius Valusenus eing some, they would not be leeve that cesar and the armie were returned in safetie: scare thad so possess their minds, that they did not let to say, that all the legions were overthrowne and the borst had escaped by slight, and despred there to be received; for they could not be perswaded the armie being safe, that the Germaines would have attempted to surprise their campe: of which seare they were delivered by Casars arrivall. He being returned not ignorant of the events of warre, complained of one thing onely, that the cohorts that kept the watch were sent from their Stations, sorassmuch as no place ought to be given to the least casualtie. And there he saw how much fortine was able to do by the sudden comming of the enemie, and how much more in that he was put off from the rampier and the gates which he had so nearely taken: but of all the rest, this seconed the straungest, that the Germaines comming over the Rheine, to

depopulate and spoile Ambiorix and his countrey, had like to have taken the Ro-

maine campe, which would have bene as acceptable to Ambiorix as any thing that could happen.

OBSERVATION S.

T is an old saying, auouched by Plutarke: Fortuna id vnum ho minibus non aufert quod bene fuerit confultum, which Tiberius the long Romaine Emperour well vnderstood: of whom Snetonius reported teth, Quod minimum fortuna, cassibusque permittebat: and is the same which Cafer counselleth in this place, Ne minimum quidem than the latter of the latter of

fame which Cesar counselleth in this place, We minimo quidem casiii locum relinqui debuisse. It were a hard condition to expose a naked partie to the malice of an enemie, or to disduantage him with the losse of his fight: an armice without a guard at any time is meetiy naked, and more subject to slaughter, then those that neuer tooke arms: and the nather where the watch is wanting, for there sudden chaunces can hardly be preuented; and if they happen to auoid any such ynexpocked casualtie, they have greater cause to thanke fortune for her fauour, then to be angrie with her for her malice: for preuention at such times is out of the way, and they are wholy ather mercy; as Cesar hath rightly delinered touching this accident. And therefore, whether an armie march forward or continue in a place, sleepe or wake, play or worke, go in hazard, or rest secure, let not so great a bodie be at any time without a competent strength, to answer the spite of such missaduentures.

CHAP. X VIII. Cæfar returneth to spoile the enemie: punisheth Acco.



A S A R returning againe to trouble and vexe the enemie, having called a great number of people from the bordering cities, he fent them out into all parts; all the villages and hougs which were any where to be feene, were burned to the ground, pillage and bootie was taken in enery place, the corne was not onely confumed by fogreat a multitude of men and cattell, but beaten downe also by the unsequently of the yeare and continual raine; insomuch that albeit divers did

hide themselves for the present, yet the armie being withdrawne, they must necessurily persist brough want and scarcitic. And oftentimes they happened of the place (the bersewing devided into many quarters,) where they did not onely see Ambiorix, but kept him sor the most part in sight and in hoping still to take him. Some that thought to demerit Casars highest savour, tooke such instinite paines, as were almost beyond the power of nature. And cuer there seemed but a litle betweene them and the thing they most desired, but he conveyed himselfe away through ans and woods, Cafar.

and dales, and in the night time fought other countreys and quarters, with no greater a guard of horse then source, to whomonely he durst commit the sussession is life. The countrey being in this manner haried and depopulated, Cæsa with the losse of two cohorts brought backe his armie to Durocortum in the state of the men of Rhemes, where a Parliament being summoned, he determined to call in question the conspiracie of the Senones and Carnutes, and especially Accortine principall author of that Councell, who being condemned was put to death more maiorum. Some other fearing the like indgement, saued themselues by stight: these he interdicted fire and water, and leaving two legions to where fixe at Augendicum in the borders of the Senones, having made provision of corne for the armie, he went into Italy, ad conventus agendos.

OBSERVATIONS.

HE conclusion of this Sommers worke, was shut vp with the facke and depopulation of the Eburones, as the extremitie of hostile furie, when the enemie lyeth in the fastnesse of the country, and resulted to make open warre. That being done, Casar proceeded in a course of civill judgement with such principal

offendors as were of the confpiracie: and namely, with Acco, whom he punished in fuch manner as the old Romaines were accustomed to do with such offenders as had forfeited their loyaltie to their countrie, a kind of death which Nero knew not, although he had bene Emperour of Rome thirtene yeares, and put to death many thousand people. The partie condemned was to have his necke locked in a forke, and to be whipped naked to death: and he that was put to death after that maner, was punished more majorum. Such others as feared to vindergo the judgement, and sled before they came to triall, were banished out of the countrey, and made vincapable of the benefit of fire and water in that Empire. And thus endeth the fixt Commentarie.



THE

THE SEVENTH AND LAST COMMENTARIE, VVRITTEN BY CÆSAR OF THE WARRE HE MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

HIS last Commentarie containeth the specialities of the warre which Casar made against all the States of Gallia vnited into one confederacie for the expelling of the Romaine gouernement out of that continent, whom Casar ouerthrew in the end, Horribili vigilantia, & proditiosis operibus.

CHAP. I.

The Gaules enter into new deliberations of revolt.

A L I I A being in quiet, Cæsax according to his determination went into Italy to keep Courts and Sessions: there he value derstood that P. Clodius was slaine, and of a decree which the Senate had made, touching the assembly of all the youth of Italy, and thereupon he purposed to inrole new bands throughout the whole Prouince. These newes were quickly caried ouer the Alpes into Gallia, and the Gaules themselwes added such rumors to it, as the matter seemed well to beare; that Cæsax was

now detained by the troubles at Rome, and in such dissentions could not returne to his army. Being stirred up by this occasion, such as before were inwardly grieued, that they were subject to the Empire of the people of Rome, did now more freely and boldly enter into the consideration of warre. The Princes and chiefest men of Gallia hauing appointed councels and meetings in remote and wooddie places, complained of the death of Acco, and shewed it to be a fortune which might concerne themselues: they pity the common misery of Gallia, and do propound all maner of promise and rewards to such as will begin the warre, and with the danger of their lives redeceme the libertie of their country: wherein they are to be very carefull not to sorsow any time, to the endthat Casa may be stopped from comming to his armie before their secret conserves be discovered: which might easily be done, for a smither the Legions

Cesar.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS durst go out of their wintering campes in the absence of their Generall, nor the Generall come to the Legions without a conuoy. To conclude, they held it better to die in fight then to loofe their auncient honour in matter of warre, and the libertie left them by their predeceffors.

OBSERVATIONS.

HIS Chapter discouereth such sparkles of revolt, rising from

the discontentment of the conquered Gaules, as were like to breake out into an vniuerfall burning; and within a while proued fuch a fire, as the like hath not bin feene in the continent of Gallia: for this fommers worke verified the faying of the Samnites, Quod pax fervientibus gravior quam liberis bellum effet, and was caried on either part with such a refolution, as in respect of this service, neither the Gaules did before that time ingage themselves seriously in their countries cause, nor did the Romaines know the difficultie of their taske. But as Epaminondas called the fields of Beotia, Mars his scaffold where he kept his games; or as Zenophon nameth the city of Ephelus the Armorers shop: so might Gallia for this yeare be called the Theater of war. The chiefest encouragement of the Gaules at this time, was the trouble and diffention at Rome about the death of Clodius, and the accusation of Mile for kil-

Plutarke in the life of Cicero.

ling Clodius.

Livie, lib.3.

Plutarke in

Marcellus.

the life of

This Clodius (as Plutarke reporteth) was a yong man of a noble house, but wild and infolent, and much condemned for profaning a fecret facrifice, which the Ladies of Rome did celebrate in Cafars house, by comming amongst them difguifed in the habite of a young finging wench, which he did for the love of Pompeia, Cafars wife: whereof being openly accused, was quitted by secret meanes which he made to the Judges: and afterwards obtained the Tribuneship of the people, and caused Cicero to be banished, and did many outrages and infolencies in his Tribuneship: which caused Milo to kill him, for which he was also accused. And the Senate fearing that this accusation of Mile, being a bold fpirited man and of good quality, would moue some vproare or sedition in the citie, they gaue commission to Pompey to see instice executed, as well in this cause as for other offences, that the city might be quiet and the commonwealth fuffer no detriment: whereupon Pompey poffest the market place, where the cause was to be heard with bands of souldiers and troopes of armed men. And these were the troubles in Rome upon the death of Clodius, which the Gaules did take as an occasion of revolt, hoping thereby that Casar (being in Gallia Cisalpina, which province was allotted to his government, as well as that Gallia Northward the Alpes) would have bene detained from his armie.

Ne quidresp detrementi capiat:

Gallia Cisalpina & Trãsalpina.

COMMENTARIES. LIB. VII.

CHAP, II.

The men of Chartres take vpon them the beginning of a reuolt, under the conduction of Cotuatus and Conetodunus.

Gear. Con HESE things being thus disputed, the men of Chartres did Casar. make themselues the chiefe of that warre, refusing no daunger for the common safetie of their countrey: and for asmuch as at that present they could not give caution by hostage. Let the matter should be discoursed, they desire to have their conenants strong the safety of their military strong through by oath, and by mutual collation of their military

Sensignes, which was the most religious ceremony they could wse to bind the rest not to for sake them, having made an entrance and beginning to that warre. The men of Chartres being commended by the rest, and the oathes of all them that were present being taken, and a time appointed to begin, they brake up the afsembly. When the day came, they of Chartres under the conduction of Cotuatus and Conctodunus, two desperat sellowes, upon a watchword given, ranne speedily to *Genabum; and such Romaine citizens as were there upon businesse, namely * Orleans. C. Fusius Cotta a knight of Rome, whom Casar had left overfeer of the provision of corne they slue, and tooke their goods. The report thereof was quickly spread over all the States of Gallia : for when any such great or extraordinary matter happeneth, they signifie it through the country by an out-cry and shout, which is taken by others, and delivered to the next, and so goeth from hand to hand, as it happened at this

OBSERVATIONS.

time : for that which was done at Genabum at Sunne rifing, was before the first

watch of the night was ended, heard in the confines of the Aruerni, which is aboue a

bundred and three score miles distant.

was the fame which remaineth in vie at this prefent in Wales, although not fo frequent as in former times. For the custome is there, as often as any robberie happeners to be a superior to the custome. HIS manner of out-crie here mentioned to be viuall in Gallia, The Welch was the same which remaineth in vse at this present in Wales, Hoboub.

any man to be flaine, or what other outrage or riot is done, the next at hand do go to some eminent place where they may be best heard, and therethey make an outcrie or howling, which they call a Hooboub, fignifying the fact to the next inhabitants, who take it as passionatly, and deliuer it further, and so from hand to hand it quickly spreadeth over all the countrey. It is a very readie way to put the countrey in armes, and was first deuised (as it seemeth) for the stay and apprehension of robbers and outlawes, who kept in

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

ftrong holds, and lived vpon the spoile of the bordering inhabitants, but otherwise it sauoureth of Barbarisme, rather then of any civill government.

CHAP. III.

Vercingetorix stirreth vp the Aruerni to the like commotion and revolt.

Cafar.

N like manner Vercingetorix the sonne of Celtillus of the nation of the Aruerni, a young man of great power and aushoritie, whose father was the Commaunder of all Gallia, and because he sought a kingdome, was slaine by those of his owne State, calling together his followers and clients, did eafily incense them to rebellion; his purpose being knowne, every man tooke armes, and so he was driven out of the towne of Gergonia by Gabonitio his wakle and other Princes, who

thought it not fafe to make triall of that fortune. And yet he desifted not, but enrolled needie and desperate people, and with such troupes, whom socuer he met withall of the State, he did easily draw them to his partie: perswading them to take armes for the defence of common libertie: and having at length got great forces together, be expelled his aduersaries out of the towne: by whom he was himselfe before thrust out. He was called of his men by the title of King, and sent Embassages into all parts, adiuring them to continue constant and faithfull. The Senones, the Parisi, the Pictones, the Carduci, the Turones, the Aulerci, the Lemouices, the Andes, and all the rest that border upon the Ocean were quickely made on his partie: and by all their consents the chiefe commaund was conferred upon him Which authoritie being offered him, he commanded hostages, to be brought in unto him from all those states, and a certaine number of souldiers to be sent him with all speed: he rated every citie what proportion of armes they should have readie, and specially be laboured to raise great store of horse: to extraordinarie diligence he added extraordinarie seneritie. compelling such as stood doubtful by hard and seuere punishmet: for such as had committed a great offence, he put to death by fire and torture: leffer faults he punished with the losse of their nose or their eies and so sent them home that by their example others might be terrified. By these practises & severity, having speedily raised a great army. he sent Lucterius Carducus, a man of great spirit and boldnes, with part of the forces towards the Rutheni, & he himself made towards the Bituriges. V ponhis coming the Bituriges sent to the Hedui, in whose protection they were to require aide against Vercingetorix. The Hedui by the aduice of the Legats which Casar had left with the army fent forces of horse and foote to the aid of the Bituriges who comming to the river Loyer, which divideth the Bituriges from the Hedui, after a few dayes stay, not daring to passe over the river, returned home againe, bringing word to our Legats that they durst not commit themselves to the Bituriges, and so returned : for if they had passed ouer the river, the Bituriges had inclosed them in on the one side, and the Aruernii on the other. But whether they did returne vpon that occasion, or through perfidious trecherie, it remaineth doubtfull. The Bituriges wpon departure, did pre-Cently ionne themselves with the Aruernij.

OBSERVATIONS.

Tisobserued by such as are acquainted with matter of Go- There ought uernement, that there ought to be alwaies a proportion of qua- to be a proporlitiebetweene him that commaundeth, and them that obey: tion of quality for if a man of Sardanapalus condition should take vpon him betweene a Commander the charge of Marius armie, it were like to take no better effect, and his soul.

then if Manlius had the leading of lascinious Cinedes. And as we may observe diers. in ceconomicall pollicie, a diffolute maister may as soone commaund haire to Muli Marigrow on the palme of his hand, as to make a vertuous feruant:but the respect of lani. dutie betweene such relatiues dothlikewise inferre the like respect of qualitie: Such a maifo in all forts and conditions of command, there must be sympathising means | ster, such a

to vnite the diversitie of the parts, in the happie end of perfect Gouernement. | Jeruant. In this new Empire which befell Vercingetorix, we may obserue a double proportion betweene him and his people. The first, of strength and abilitie: and the other of qualitic and refemblance of affection: vpon the affurance of which proportion he grounded the aufteritie of his commaund. For it appeareth that his first beginning was by perswasion and intreatie, and would indure no direction, but that which was guided by a loofe and eafie raine, holding it neither fafe nor feemely, but rather a straine of extreame madnesse, first to punish or threaten, and then to want power to make good his judgements: but being strengthened by authoritie from themselues, and backed with an armie, able to controle their disobedience, he then added punishment as the ensigne of magistracie, and confirmed his power by rigorous commaunds; which is as neceffirie a demonstration of a well setled gouernment, as any circumstance be-

Touching the refemblance and proportion of their qualities, it is manifeftly fhewed by the sequele of this historie, that every man desired to redeeme the common libertie of their countrey, in that measure of indeuour as was fitting fo great a cause. Amongst whom Vercingetorix being their chiefe Commander, summe diligentia (as the storie saith) added summam seueritatem, as well af- Linie. fured, that the greater part would approue his iustice, and condemne the vncertaintie of doubtfull resolutions, desiring no further service at their hands, then that wherein himselfe would be the foremost. In imitation of Valerius Coruinus: Factamea non dicta, vos milites fequi volo, nec disciplinam modo sed exemplum etiam à me petere. And therefore the partie was like to be well vpheld, for a fmuch as both the Prince and the people were fo farre engaged in the matter intended, as by the refemblance of an earnest desire might answer the mea-

fure of due proportion.

longing thereunto.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar commeth into Gallia, and by a deuice getteth to his armie.

Cafar.

HESE things being told Cæfar in Italie; as soone as he vnderstood that the matters in the citie were by the wisedome of Pompey brought into better state, he tooke his iourney into Gallia, and being come thither he was much troubled how to get to his armie: for if he should send for the Legions into the Prouince, he understood that they should be certainely fought

LAWAD withall by the way in his absence . If he himselfe should 20 wnto them, he doubsed how he might safely commit his person to any, although they were fuch as were yet in peace. In the meane time Lucterius Cadurcus being fent against the Rutheni, doth easily wnite that State to the Aruerni: and proceeding further against the Nitiobriges and the Gabales, he received hostages of both of them, and having raifed a great power he laboured to breake into the Province, and to make towards Narbo. Which being knowne, Cæsar resolued by all meanes to put him by that purpose, and went himselfe to Narbo: at his comming he incouraged such as stood doubtfull or timerous, and placed garrisons among st the Rutheni, the Volsci, and about Narbo, which were frontier places and neare unto the enemie, and commaunded part of the forces which were in the Prouince, together with these supplies which he had brought out of Italy, to go against the Heluij which are adioyning who the Aruerni. Things being thus ordered, Lucterius being now suppressed and remo. ued, holding it to be daungerous to enter among the garrifons, he himselfe went towards the Heluij. And albeit the hill Gebenna which devideth the Aruernij from the Heluip, by reason of the hard time of winter and the depth of the snow, did hinder their passage, yet by the industrie of the souldier making way through snow of sixe foote deepe, they came into the confines of the Aruerni who being suddenly and vnawares suppressed, little mistrusting an inuasion over the hill Gebenna, which incloseth them in as a wall, and at that time of the yeare doth not affoord a path to a single man alone, he comanded the horsemen to scatter theselues farre and neare to make the enemie the more afraid. These things being speedily carried to Vercingentorix, all the Aruerni full of feare and amazement, flocked about him, befeeching him to have a care of their State, and not to suffer themselves to be sacked by the enemie, especially now at this time, when as all the warre was transferred upon them. Vpon their infant intreatie he removed his campe out of the territories of the Bituinges, and marched towards the countrey of the Aruerni. But Casar having continued two dayes in those places, for a smuch as he understood both by use and opinion, what course Vercingetorix was like to take, he left the armie, pretending fome supplies of horse, which he went to raife, and appointed young Brutus to commaund those forces, admonishing him to fend out the hor femen into all quarters, and that he him felfe would not be abfent from the campe about three dayes. Thefe things being thus fetled none of his

followers knowing his determination, by great tourneys he came to Vienna, where taking-fresh horse which he had layd there many dayes before, he ceassed neither night nor day, vntill he came through the confines of the Hedui to the Lingones, where two legions wintered, to the end if the Hedui should undertake any thing against him he might with speed preuent it: being there, he sent to the rest of the Legions, and brought them all to one place, before the Arnernij could possibly have notice of it.

OBSERVATIONS.



ÆSAR vpon his first entrance into Gallia, was perplexed how To abuse an to get to his armie: and the matter stood in such tearmes, as enemy by way brought either the legions or his owne person into hazard. For of stratageme (as he faith) if he should send for the legions to come vnto him, they should doubtlesse be fought withall by the way, which he in a Com-

was loath to aduenture, vnleffe himselfe had bene present: or otherwise if he himselfe had gone vnto them, he doubted of the entertainement of the reuolting Gaules, and might have overthrowne his armie, by the loffe of his owne person. In this extremitie of choice, he resoluted vpon his owne passage to the armie, as leffe daungerous and more honorable, rather then to call the legions out of their wintering campes, where they flood as a checke to bridle the infolencie of the mutinous Gaules, and so to bring them to the hazard of battell in fetching their Generall into the field: whereby he might haue loft the victorie before he had begun the warres. And for his better fafetie in this paffage, he vfed this cunning. Hauing affured the Romaine Province by strong and frequent

garrisons on the frontiers, and remoued Lutterius from those parts, gathering together fuch fupplies as he had brought with him out of Italy, with other forces which he found in the Prouince, he went speedily into the territories of the * Aruerni, making a way ouer the hill * Gebenna, at fuch a time of the | * Auerone. veare as made it vnppaffable for any forces, had they not bene led by Cafar, on- La montagno ly for this purpole, to haue it noised abroad, that whereas Vercingetorix and the de Genene. Aruerni had principally undertooke the quarrell against the Romaines, and made the beginning of a new warre, Cafar would first deale with them, and lay the weight thereof vpon their shoulders by calling their fortunes sirst in

question, to the end he might possesse the world with an opinion of his pre-

fence in that country, and draw Vercingentorix back agains to defend his state,

whileft he in the meane time did flip to his armie without fuspition or feare of

perill: for flaying there no longer then might ferue to give a furficient colour to

that pretence, and leaving those forces to execute the rest, and to make good

the secret of the project, he conveyed himselfe to his armie with such speed

preuenit. These blinds and false intendments, are of speciall vse in matter of warre and serue aswell to get aduantages upon an enemy, as to cleare a difficultie by cleanly enasion: neither is a Commannder the leffe valued for fine convey-

and celeritie, as doth verifie the faying of Suctonius : quod persape nuncios de se Vita Casario.

Of late time amongst other practises of this nature, the treatie at Oastend is most memorable, entertained onely to gaine time, that while speech of parle was continued, and pledges deliuered to the Archduke Albertus, for the fafetie of fuch as were fent into the towne to capitulate with the Generall, there might be time gained for the fending in of fuch supplies of men and munition as were wanting, to make good the defence thereof: which were no fooner ta-

ken in, but the treatie proued a stratageme of warre. In these foyles and trickes of wit, which at all times and in all ages have bene

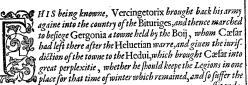
highly efteemed in men of warre, as speciall vertues beseeming the condition of a great Commaunder, if it be demaunded how farre a Generall may proccede in abuling an enemie by deedes or wordes. I cannot speake distinctly to to the question, but sure I am, that Surena Lieutenant generall of the Parthian armie did his maister good service in abusing Crassus the Remaine Generall by faire promifes; or as Plutarch faith by foule periurie, till in the end he brought his head to be an actor in a Tragedie: albeit Surena neuer deserued well of good report fince that time. How focuer men of civill focietie ought not to draw this into vse from the example of souldiers, for a smuch as it is a part of the profession of cutting of throates, and hath no prescription but in extremities

CHAP. V.

Vercingetorix befiegeth Gergonia : Cæfar taketh in Vellaunodunum and Genabum.

Cefar.

of warre.



stipendaries of the Hedui to be taken and spoiled, whereby all Gallia might take occasion to revolt: for a much as the Romaines should seeme to affoord no protection or countenance to their friends or otherwife draw his army out of their wintering camps (ooner then was viuall, and thereby become subject to the difficulties of provision and cariage of corne. Notwithstanding it seemed better, and so he resolved rather to vndergo all difficulties, then by taking such a scorne to loose the good wils of all his followers. And therefore perswading the Hedui diligently to make supply of necessarie provisions, he sent to the Boij to advertise them of his comming, to encourage them to continue loyall, and nobly to resist the assaults of the enemie : and leaving two Legions with the carriages of the whole armie at Agendicum, he marched towards the Boij. The next day comming to a Towne of the Senones called Vellaunodunum, he determined to take it in , to the end he might leaue no enemie behind him, which might hinder a speedie supply of victuals: and in two dayes he inclosed it about with a ditch and a rampier: the third day some being sent out touching the giving up of the towne, he commanded all their armes and their cattell to be brought out, and fix hundred pledges to be delinered. Leaning C. Tribonius a Legate to fee is performed, he himselfe made all speed towards Genabum in the territories of the men of Chartres, who as soone as they heard of the taking in of Vellaunodunum, perswading them selues the matter would not rest so, they resolved to put a strong garrison into Genabum . Thither came Cæsar within two dayes , and incamping himselfe before the Towne, the evening drawing on, he put off the affault onto the next day, commaunding the fouldiers to prepare in a readinesse such things as should be necessary for that service. And for a smuch as the towne of Genabum had a bridge leading over the riner Loier, he feared lest they of the towne would steale away in the night: for preuention whereof, he commaunded two Legions to watch all night in armes. The townes- Ligeris. men a litle before midnight went out quietly and began to passe over the river, which being discouered by the skouts, Cæsar with the Legions which he had ready in armes burnt the gates, and entring the Towne tooke it. The greatest number of the enemie being taken, and a very few escaping by reason of the narrownesse of the bridge, and the way which shut in the multitude, the towne being sacked and burned, and given for a bootie to the fouldiers, he caried his armie over the river Loier into the territories of the Bituriges.

COMMENTARIES. LIB. VII.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

T is a knowne and an approued faying, E malis minimum est eligendum, but in a presentment of euils to beable to discerne the I difference and to chuse the least, Hic labor, hoc opus. Vercingeto- Clairmont en rix besieging Gergonia (a stipendarie towne belonging to the Avergne. Hedui, that of long time had ferued the Romaine Empire) at fuch

a time of the yeare as would not affoord prouision of victuall for the maintenance of an armie, but with great difficultie and inconvenience of cariage and conuoy; Cafar was much perplexed, whether he should forbeare to succour the towne and raise the siege, or undergo the hazard of long and tedious convoyes.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

56 A matter often falling into dispute, although it be in other termes, whether honestie or honourable respect ought to be preferred before private ease and particular commoditie? Cafar hath declared himselfe touching this point, preferring the honour of the people of Rome, as the maiestic of their Empire, and the reputation which they defired to hold, touching affiftance and protection of their friends, before any inconvenience which might happen to their armie. And not without good reasons, which may be drawne as well from the worthinesse of the cause, as from the daunger of the effect: for duties of vertue and respects of honestie, as the noblest parts of the mind, do not onely chalenge the feruice of the inferiour faculties of the foule, but do also commaund the bodie and the cafualties thereof, in fuch fort as is fitting the excellencie of their prerogative, for otherwise vertue would find but bare attendance, and might leave her scepter for want of lawfull authoritie. And therefore Casar chose rather to aduenture the armie vpon the calualties of hard prouision, then to blemish the Romaine name with the infamie of difloyaltie. Which was leffe daungerous allo in regard of the effect: for where the bond is of valew, there the forfeiture is great: and if that tie had bene broken, and their opinion deceived touching the expectation of affiftance and help, all Gallia might have had just cause of revolt, and disclaimed the Romaine government for non protection. To conclude then, let no man deceiue himselse in the present benefit, which private respect. may bring upon the refufall of honest regard, for the end will be a witnesse of the errour, and proue honestie to be best policie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Cæsar went always prouided of foure chings.

T is observed by some writers, that Casar neuer vndertooke any action, or at the least brought it not to triall, but he first affured I if himselfe of these foure things: the first was prouision of victuthals, as the very foundation of warlike expeditions, whereof I have alreadic treated in the first Commentarie: the difficultie

whereof, made him fo doubtfull to vndertake the releefe of Gergonia. And doubtlesse whosoeuergoeth about any enterprise of warre, without certaine meanes of victuall and prouision, must either carie an armie of Camelions that may liue by the aire, or intend nothing but to build castels in the aire, or otherwife shall be fure to find his enemie either in his bosome, or as the prouerb is in Plutarke, to leape on his belly with both his feete.

The fecond thing was prouision of all necessaries, which might be of vse in that service wherewith he alwayes so abounded, that there might rather want occasion to vie them, then he be wanting to answer occasion. And these were the instruments whereby he made fuch admirable workes, such bridges, such mounts, fuch trenches, fuch huge armades, as appeareth by the fea fight with the maritimate cities of Gallia: according to which his former custome, forafmuch as the day was farre spent before he came to Genabum, he commaunded

Plutarke in the life of Lucullus.

Comment.3.

fuch things to be fitted and had in a readinesse, as might serue for the siege the next day.

The third thing was an armie for the most part of old fouldiers, whom the Romaines called Veterani, whereof he was likewife at this time prouided; for the two legions which were fresh and lately inroled, he left at Agendicum with the cariages, taking onely the old fouldiers for this feruice, as knowing that in Pugna vium amplius prodesse quam vires.

The fourth thing was the triall and experience of the enemies forces, which the former victories affured him to be inferiour to the Romaines, being alwayes a rule in the Romaine discipline (as I have already noted) by light and case skir- Comment. 1. mishes, to acquaint the fouldiers with the maner of the enemies fight: Ne cos nouum bellum nouus hostis terreret as Liny faith.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar taketh in Nouiodunum, and beateth the enemie comming to rescue the Towne.



FERCINGETORIX understanding of Casars com-In ming, left the siege and wento to meete him. Cæsar resolued to take a townelying in his way in the territories of the Bituriges, called Noniodunum: which they of the town perceiving fent out unto him to befeech him to spare them, and to give order for their safetie: and to the end he might speed that businesse (D) with as much celeritic as he had accomplished former seruices, he commanded them to bring out their armes, their horse, and

to deliver pledges. Part of the hoftages being given, while the rest were in delivering over, divers Centurions and a few fouldiers being admitted into the towne to feeke out their weapons and their horses, the horsemen of the enemie which marched before Vercing ctoris armie were discouered a farre off which the townesmen had no sooner perceived, and thereby conceived some hope of releefe, but they presently took up a shout and betooke themselves to their armes, shut the gates, and began to make good the wals. The Centurions that were in the towne perceiving some new resolution of the Gaules with their swords drawne, possest themselves of the gates, and saved both themselves and their men that were in the towne. Cæsar commanded the horsemen to be drawne out of the campe, and to begin the charge; and as they began to give ground, he sent foure hundred Germaine harfemen to (econd them, whom he had refolued to keepe with him from the first, who charged the enemie with such surie, that the Gaules could no way endure the affault, but were presently put to flight; many of them being flaine, the rest retired backe to the armic. V pon their overthrow, the townesmen were worse affrighted then they were before, and having apprehended such as were thought The meanes

which the Ro-

maines used

to weaken an

enemie.

COMMENTARIES. LIB. VII.

to have stirred up the people, they brought them to Cæsar and yeelded themselves unto him: which being ended, Cafar marched towards the towne of Auaricum, which was the greatest and best fortified of all the townes in the territories of the Bituriges; for that being taken in he doubted not to bring the whole State of the Bituriges easily into his subjection.

OBSERVATIONS.

Orafinuch as nothing is more chaungeable then the minde of

man, which (not with standing the low degree of basenes wherein it often fitteth) will as occasion giueth way to reuenge, readily amount to the height of tyrannie, and spare no labour to crie quittance with an enemie: it hath bin thought expedient in the wiscdome of foregoing ages, to plucke the wings of so mounting a bird, and to deprine an enemie of fuch meanes, as may give hope of libertie by mutinie and renolt.

The practife of the Romaines in taking in any towne, was to leaue them forceleffe, that howfoeuer they might ftand affected, their nailes should be furely pared for scratching, and their power confined to the circuit of their mind: for as it appeareth by this and many other places of Cafar, no rendrie of any towne was accepted, untill they had deliucred all their armes, both offenfiue and defenfiue, with fuch engines and inftruments of warre, as might any way make for the defence of the same. Neither that onely, but such beasts also, whether horse or Elephant or any other whatsoeuer, as might any way aduantage the vse of those weapons: which as it was a great dismay and weakning to the enemie, so was it short of the third condition, commaunding the deliuery of so many hostages or pledges as were thought convenient, being the prime of their youth, & the flower of their manhood, and were as the marrow to their bones, and the finewes to that bodie. Whereby it came to passe, that the remnant was much disabled in strength, concerning their number of fighting men; and such as were left had neither armes nor meanes to make refistance.

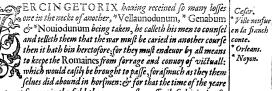
The Turke observeth the same course with the Christians, but in a more cruelland barbarous maner: for he commeth duely at a certaine time, not regarding any former demeanour, and leadeth away the flower of their youth, to be innested in impietie and infidelitie, and to be made vassalles of heathenish impuritie.

Oftentimes we reade, that a conquered people were not onely interdicted armes, but the matter also and the art whereby such armes were made and wrought; for where the people are great, and mettall and matter plentie, it is a chaunce if artificers be wanting to repaire their losse, and to refurnish their armourie. At the fiege of Carthage the Romaines having taken away their armes, they notwithstanding finding store of mettall within the towne, caused workemen to make euery day ahundred targets and three hundred fwords, befides

belides arrowes and casting slings, vsing womens haire for want of hempe, and pulling downe their houses for timber to build shipping. Whereby we may perceiue, that a General cannot be too carefull to depriue an enemie of all fuch helpes as may any way strengthen his hand, or make way to refistance.

CHAP. VII.

Vercingetorix perswadeth the Gaules to a new course of warre.



did not yet serue to get forrage in the field, the enemy must necessarily seek it in bouses and barnes, whereby the forragers would dayly be cut off by their horsemen. More. ouer, for their safety and defence they were to neglect their private commoditie; their houses and their villages were to be burnt upround about as far as Boia, that the Romaines might fetch their forrage thence. For themselves they thought it reason that they should make supply of victuall and prouision, in whose possessions they were, and for whom they fought. By this meanes the Romaines would never be able to endure that want as would befal them or at the least be constrained to fetch their prouisions farre off, with great daunger and perill to themselves, neither did it make any matter whether they killed them or put them besides their cariages, for without necessary supplies they were neuer able to hold war. And to conclude, such towns were likewise to be set on sire, as by the strength of their situation were not safe from daunger, lest they should proue receptacles to linger and detract the war, and serve the Romaines for booty and supplies of provision. And albeit these things might seem heavy and bitter yet they ought to esteem it more grieuous to have their wines and their children led away into seruitude, and themselves to be slaine by the sword of the enemie, which doth necessarily fal upon a conquered people. This opinion was generally approned by the confent of all men, and more then twenty cities of the Biturines were burnt in one day; the like was done in other States, great fires were to be seene in all parts: and although all men tooke it very grieuoully, yet they propounded this comfort unto themselves, that the enemie being by this meanes defeated, they should quickly recover their losses. Touching Austicum they disputed it in comon councel whether it should be burnt or defended: the Bituriges do prostrate themselves at the feete of all the Gaules, that they might not be forced to fet on fire with their owne hands, the

fairest citie in all Gallia, being both an ornament and a strength to their state; they would easily defend it by the site of the place, being incircled round about with a riwer and a bogge, and being accessable by one narrow passage. At length leave being graunted them to keepe it, Vercing etorix at first dissipating them from it, and afterwards yeelding unto it, moved by the intreasie of the Gaules, and the commission of the common multitude; and so a sit garrison was chosen to defend the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

It is a hard matter in following a busing that course which may most advantage it.

HAVE feene an Imprese with a circle, and a hand with a harpe fille pointing towards the center with this motto: Fise labor, face opus, signifying thereby, that albeit the Area thereof were plainely and distinctly bounded, and the Diameter of no great length, yet it was not an easter matter to find the Center, which is the heart and chiefest part of that figure. In like manner there is no businesse or other course so easie or plaine, but the center may be mistaken, and the dissicultie commonly restethin hitting that point, which giveth the circumference an equall and regular motion.

The Gaules were resolved to vndertake the defence of their countrey, and to redeeme their libertie with the hazard of their lives: but it seemeth they were mistaken in the meanes, and ran a course farre floot of the center. For Vercingetorix perceiving the Romaines daily to get vpon the Gaules, first by taking in one towne, secondly another, and lastly of a third, he aduised them to set on the all the countrey houses, villages and townes for a great circuit round about, and so force the Romaines to fetch their forrage and provisions farre off, and vndergo the difficulties of long convoyes, whereby the Gauls might make vse of their multitude of horse, and keepe the Romaines without supplies of necessarie provisions: and so they doubted not but to give a special end to that warre. And this he tooke to be the center of that businesse, and the true vse of their advantage.

Polybius writeth, that M. Regulus having diverse times overthrowne the Carthaginians in battell, one Santippus a Lacedemonian clearely perceiving the cause of their often routs, beganopenly to say, that the Carthaginians were not overthrowne by the valour of the Romaines, but by their owneignorance: for they exceeding the Romaines in horseand Elephants, had neglected to fight in the champion, where their cavalrie might shew it selfe, but in hils and woodie places where the soote troupes were of more force, and so the Romains had the advantage. Whereby the manner of the warre being changed, and by the counsell of the pregnant Greeke, brought from the hils into the levell of the plaine, the Carthaginians recovered all their former losses by one absolute victorie. In like manner Anniball finding himselfe to exceede the Romains in strength of cavalrie, did alwaies indevour to affront them in open and champion countries, and as often as the Romaines durst meete him, he put them to the worse: but Fabius perceiving the disadvantage, kept himselfe alwaies vp6

Plutarke in the life of Fabius

Lib.4.

COMMENTARIES, LIB. VII.

the hils, and in couert and vneuen places, and so made the aduantage of the place equall the multitude of the enemies horsemen.

There is no greater scorne can touch a man of reputation and place, then to

be thought not to vinderstand his owne businesse. For as wisedome is the excellencie of humane nature, so doth want of iudgement deiect men to the codition of such as Aristotle calleth Seruants by nature: whose wit being too weake to support any waight, do recompence that want with the service of their bodie, and are wholy employed in a Porters occupation. Which Homer layeth you Diomedes shoulders, with as fine conveyance as he doth the rest of his inventions: for Visse and he going out on a partie to do some exploit youn the Troians, they caried themselves so gallantly, that they fell to share king Rhesus charret and horses: Visses presently seized you the horses, being of a delicate Thracian breed, and Diomedes seemed well contented with the charret: burbeing to carie it away, Pallus advised him to let it alone, less the might prove his strength to be greater then his wit, and yet not find so much neither as would carie it away.

But for these directions which Vercingetorix gaue vnto the Gaules, I referre the reader to the sequele of the Historie, wherein he shall find how they prenailed.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar besiegeth Auaricum, and is distressed for want of corne.

ERCINGETORIX followeth Cæsar by small and case incampe in, fortissed about with bogges and woods, sisteene miles distant from Auaricū, there he worderstood what was done at Auaricum enery houre of the day, and commanded likewise what he would have done.

He observed all our forraging and havessing, and did set words of the day on such that the observed all our forraging and havessing, and did set words of the observed all our forraging and have succession, and incum-

bred them with great inconveniences: albeit they tooke what course they could to mrete with it, as to go out at wneertaine times, and by wnknowne and wnsssuld waies. Cæsa incamping himselfe before that part of the towne which was not shut in with the river nor the bogge, and associated but a narrow and streight passage, began tomake a mount, to drive wines, and to raise two towers: for the nature of the place wold not suffer him to inclose it round about with a ditch and a rampier: and neuer rested to admonts the Hedui and the Bois to bring in supplies of corne: of whome the one by reasson of the small care and paines they tooke, tid stile helpe him, the other being of no great abilitie, being a small and a weake state, did quickely consume all that they had. The armie was distressed for want of corne, by reasson of the powertie of the Bois, and the indiligence of the Hedui, together with

Cæsar.

the burnings of the houses in the country, in such manner as they wanted corne for many dayes together, and sustained their lines with beasts and cattell which they had fetched a great way off: and yet no one voice at all was heard to come from them,

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

unworthie the maiestie of the Romaine Empire, and their former victories. And albeit Cæsar did speake unto the legions senerally as they were in the works, that if their wants were beaute and bitter onto them, he would leave off the siege. But all of them with one voyce defired him not to do fo: for they had fo ferned many yeares under his commaund, as they never had received any dishonour, neither had they at any time departed and left the businesse undone: it would be imputed unto them as an ignominie and disgrace to leave the siege, they had rather undergo all difficulties, then not to revenge the death of the citizens of Rome that by trechery were flaine at Genabum. The fame speeches they delinered to the Centurions and Tribunes to be told Cæfar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Patience in a Souldier excelleth valor HE worth of a Souldier confifteth in a disposition of mind and bodie, which maketh him apt to suffer and to underso the culties of warre: for let his refolution otherwise be neuer so great. and his courage inuincible in the day of battell, yet if he faint vnder the burthen of fuch tediousnesse as vsually attendeth vpon

warlike defignements, he is no way fit for any great enterprise. Pindarus faith, that he vnderstandeth not the warre, that knoweth not that the atchieuing of one peece of feruice, is alwaies accompanied with the fufferance of another difficultie as great as that which was first intended: Et facere, & pati fortia, Romanum est. It was the peculiar commendation of the Romaine people, patiently to indure the extremities of warfare: which made the Volfci to crie out, That either they must forsweare armes, and forget to make warre, and receive the voke of thraldome and bondage, aut is quibuscum de imperio certetur, nec virtute, nec patientia, nec disciplina rei militaris cedendum. Appian forgetteth not to fav, that the Romaine Empire was raised to such greatnesse, not by fortune or good lucke, but by meere valour, and patient induring of hardnesse and want.

Which is the selfe farme which Crass in his forrow vttered to his soldiers, who neither did nor spake many things well: for as Plutarke rightly censureth him out of the Comicall Poet, he was

A good man, any way elfe but in warres. The Empire of Rome (faith he) came not to that greatnesse which it now posfeffeth, by good fortune onely, but by patient and constant suffering of trouble and advertitie; never yeelding or giving place to any daunger.

Some Italian writers are of an opinion, that the two chiefest parts of a foldier, Valour and Sufferance, are in these times deuided vnto two nations, the French and the Spaniard: the Spaniard making warrerather by sufferance then by violence of affaults; and the French impatient of delay, and furious in affaults: fo that according to his opinion, a Spaniard and a French man, will make

Liu lib 6.

Plut.Crassus

Boterus di Principe.

one good fouldier. Touching the Spaniard, I cannot deny, but that he hath the name of one of the best souldiers in Christendome, and I do gladly allow all that vertue can challenge, for truth will preuaile against all affection: yet I may fay thus much on the behalfe of our owne people, that we have feldome lost honour in confronting any nation. Concerning the sufferance, and patient induring of hardnesse, which is faid to be in the Spaniard, being able to live long with a litle, it may peraduenture not vnfitly be attributed to the property of their countrey, and the nature of their climate, which will not be are nor difgest such plentie of foode, as is required in colder countries: and thereupon being borne to so weake a disgestion, they are as well fatisfied with a roote or a fallet, as others with better plentie of foode: and therein they go beyond other nations. Of the French I fay nothing, but leave them to make good the opinion of the Italian Writer.

Suctionius witness th of Cafar, that he himselfe was laboris vitra fidem patiens, whereby he might the better moue his armie to indure with patience the difficulties of the fiege: and yet so artificially, as he seemed rather willing to leaue it vneffected, then to impofe any burthen vpon them, which they themfelues should be vinwilling to beare, the rather to draw the legions to ingage themselues therein, by denying to forsake it, then to cast that you them, which their vnwillingnesse might easily haue put off.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



E may further obserue, the meanes the foldiers ysed to acquaint Cafar with their defires, which was by the Tribunes and Centurions: for as these were mediate officers betweene the Generall and them, and deliuered the mandates and directions of the Emperour to the fouldier: fo did the fouldiers yfe their helpe to

make knowne vnto him their requests: as besides this place may appeare in the first Commentarie, wherethey defired to give him satisfaction touching the feare they had conceived of Arionistus and the Germaines, which they likewife did by the Centurions and Tribunes.



Cafar:

CHAP, IX.

Cæsar leaueth the siege, and goeth to take the cnemie vpon aduantage, but returneth againe without fighting.

HEN the towers began to approach neare unto the walles, The Cæsar understood by the captines, that Vercingetorix hauing consumed all his provision of forage, had removed his campe nearer to Auaricum, and that he himselfe was gone (5) with the caualrie, and luch readie footemen as were accustomed to fight among the horsemento bye in ambush in that place where he thought our men would come a forraging the next day: which being knowne, fetting forward about mid-

night in silence, in the morning he came to the enemies campe. They having speedie advertisement by their skoutes of Casas comming, did hide their cariages in the woods, and imbattelled all their forces in an eminent and open place . Which being told Cxfar, he commaunded the baggage to be speedily laid together, and their arms to be madereadie. There was a hill of a gentle rifing from the bottome to the toppe, incompassed round about with a difficult & troublesome bog of fiftie foot in breadth. wpon this hill the bridge being broken, the Gaules kept themselves trusting to the strength of the place, and were distributed into companies according to their sucrall states, with this resolution, that if the Romaines did passe over the bog, they might easily from the higher ground keepe them under, as they stucke in the mire, who litle reckoning of so small a distance, would deeme the fight to be upon equall tearmes, whereas they themselues well knowing the inequalitie of the condition, did make but a vaine and idle offentation. The fouldiers disclaining that the enemie could indure their presence so neare at hand, and requiring the signe of battell, Cassa acquainted them with what detriment and losse of many valiant men, the victorie must at that time be bought, who being so resolute that they refused no daunger to purchase him bonour, he might well be condemned of great ingrativede and willamie, if their lines were not dearer unto him, then his owne safetic: and so comforting the souldiers he brought them backe againe the same day into the campe, and gave order for such things as were requisite for the siege of the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.



MIS Chapter hath divers special particulars worthy observatio. The first is, the oportunitie which Casar tooke to visite the army of the Gaules, when Vercingetoria was absent and gone to lie in ambush for the Romaine forragers, which was a causest to Vercingetorix, not to be too bufie with the Romain convoyes, left his ablence might draw on such an inconvenience, as might make him repent for going a birding.

The fecond is, the inequalitie which the aduantage of the place giueth to a partie: which I have alreadie so often spoken of, as I am almost wearie to repeat it; and the rather, for that I have produced this passage in the former booke, to signifie the benefite of such an aduantage: yet forasmuch as it is so pregnant to that effect, as may well deferue a double confideration, and was also place doth produced by Cafar himselfe vpon occasion at Gergonia, give me leave to note counternaile how much it swayeth to counterpoise the want of the aduerse partie. Wherein the absence of as it cannot be denied, but that it may give fuch help as may make a fmall num- the Generall. ber equall a farre greater proportion of men, so in Casars iudgement it counteruaileth the absence of the Generall, and maketh the bodie perfect without the head. Neither were they weakened onely with the absence of their Generall: but their caualrie wherein they fo much trusted was absent likewise: and yet more then that too, by how much the Romaine legions excelled the Gaules in valour and proweffe of armes, which being all pur together is no finall aduantage. For doubtlesse if the matter had stood vpon equal tearmes touching

their campe. The third thing is the moderation which he shewed, forbearing to fight, the Gaules infolently vaunting, and the Romaine fouldiers fretting and diffaining the enemies pride: whereby he fetled fuch a confidence of his directions in the minds of his men, by shunning the perill of apparant daunger which might fall youn them in particular, as afterwards they would make no question of his commands, but take them as the onely meanes of their fafetic, being neuer better affured then in performing what he commaunded. The practife of latter times, hath not so well deserved of that vertue, but hath often shewed it selfe more prodigall of bloud, as though men were made onely to fill vp ditches, and to be the wofull executioners of other mens rafhnesse.

the place, neither the presence of Vercingetorix, nor the addition of their caual-

rie to affift them, had hindered the battell, or turned the Romaines backe to

The last thing is the making readie of their weapons, arma expediri iusit. Concerning which point, we must vnderstand that the Romaines alwaies caried their targets in cases, and did hang their helmets at their backes, and fitted their piles as might be most convenient with the rest of their cariages. And therefore when locuer they were to give battell, they were first to put on their helmers, to vncase their targets, to sit their piles, and to make them readie for the charge: and this was called Arma expediri.

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Cefar.

CHAP. X.

Vercingetorix excuseth himselfe to the Gaules for his absence.

ERCINGETORIX returning backe to the armie was accused of treason; first in that he hadremoued his campe neare unto the Romaines, and further that he had gone away from it, and tooke all the caualry with him: that he had left so great an armie without any one to commaund it: that woon his departure the Romaines should come so oportunely and so heedily: for all these things could not fal out by chance without counsel and directions: it seemed he had rather have the king-

dome of Gallia by a graunt from Cæsar, then by their meanes and gift. Being thus charged, he answereth, that he removed the campe for want of forrage, they themselves desiring it. He came neare unto the Romaines being led thereunto by the oportunity of the place, which was such as might defend it selfe by it owne strength; the caualry was of no vse in a boggie place, but might do good service there where it went. He left no man to commaund the army of purpose, lest by the perswasion of the multitude he should be forced to fight, which he knew they all defired, as not able long to indure any labour : if the Romaines came by chance, they were to thanke fortune; if by any mans direction, they were beholding vnto him that had brought them where they might from the higher ground both fee how small a number they were, and contemne their valour, who not daring to fight did thankfully returne into their campe: he defired to receine no imperial dignitie by trechery from Calar, which he might otherwise have by lawfull victory, which was now most certaine and sure, both to himselfe and therest of the Gaules. And for that authoritie which he had received from them, he was ready to give it up into their hands againe, if they thought the honour which they gaue him to be greater then help and lafetie which they received from him. And to the end you may understand these things to be truly delivered by me (saith he) heare the Romaine fouldiers, and therewithal he brought forth feruants which were taken forraging a few daies before miferably tormented with famine and irons: they being taught before hand what to answer, said they were legionary souldiers, and had stole out of the camp to see if they could meet with any corne or cattelin the fields the whole army suffered the like penury, and mens strength began to faile them, insomuch that they were not able to undergo any labour; and therefore their Generall had resoluted, that if he preuailed not against the Towne he would withdraw his army within three daies. These benefits (saith Vercingetorix) you have of me, whom you accuse of treafon, for by my means without shedding of your bloud you see so great a conquering army almost consumed with hunger, and by me it is provided that when they flie from hence no State shall receive them into their territories. The whole multitude applauded his speech, by shaking and striking their hands together, as their maner is in fuch cases, commending Vercingetorix for a great souldier, whose loyalty as it was

not to be distrusted, so the war could not have bin caried with better directions. They agreed further to fend 10000.choife men out of all their forces into the towne, as not thinking it fit to commit the common (afety of Gallia onely to the Bituriges , for they were perswaded that the summe of all the victory consisted in making good that town against the Romaines.

OBSERVATIONS.

Multitude is Bellua multorum capitum (as one faith) an vnreaso- Horace. nable beaft of many heads, apt to receive froward and peruerfe incitements, and hard to be drawne to better understanding, iea. lous, impatient, trecherous, vnconstant, an instrument for a wic-

ked spirit, and sooner moued to mischiefe by Thersites, then reclaimed to vertue by the authoritie of Agamemnon, or the eloquence of Vliffes, or the wifedome of Nefter, more turbulent then the raging either of the fea or of a devouring fire. And therefore they may well go together to make a tripli-

citie of euils, according to the faying, Ignis, mare, populus, tria mala.

Vercingetorix had both his hands full in this seruice, for his care was no leffe to keepe the Gaules from being distasted, then to make his partiegood against Cafar. It is disputed touching the gouernement of a multitude, whether it be Whether Gue firter to be seuere or obsequious? Tacitus saith peremptorily, that In multitudi- rity or clemene regenda, plus pæna quàm obsequium valet. But he vnderstandeth such a multi- ey do more atude as are subject to their commaunder, either by auncient service or the inte- wail in gover-

ple and the Senate, the people were prefently fent into the field under the lea-

ding of two Senators, Quintius and Appins Claudius: Appins by reason of his

crueltie and seueritie, was not obeyed by his souldiers, but forsooke his pro-

uince and returned non proficient: Quintius being curteous and benigne, had an

obedient armie, and came home a conqueror. In the like termes did Vercingeto-

rix stand with the Gaules, who not long before were all of equalauthoritie, and

for the defence of the common cause had submitted themselues to order and

gouernement: and therefore he caried himselfe accordingly, but with some

cunning too, for he made no scruple to abuse the beast, & to present them with

a lesson of deceit, taught to servants and Romaine slaves, as the confession of

legionarie fouldiers, which is a libertie that hath euer bin allowed to fuch as had

the managing of an vnruly multitude, who have made as much vse of the false

raine, as the bit, or the spurre, or any other helpe belonging to that art.

rest of regall authoritic, whereby they are tied to obedience by hereditarie du- ming a multitie, and cannot refuse that which custome prescribeth. For otherwise where the ""de. people stand free fro such bonds, & have submitted themselves to government for fome special feruice, there, clemencie or obsequious smoothing prevaileth more then the scueritie of commaund: according to the saying, Homines duci volunt, non cogi. V pon a diffention which happened at Rome betweene the pco-

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CHAP. XI.

Cæsar continueth the siege at Auaricum, and describeth the walles of the Townes in Gallia.

Cafar.

The fingular valor of our foldiers all the councels and deuises of the Gaules were made void and of none effect: for they are a nation of great dexterity apt to imitate and make any thing M which they see other men do before them, for they turned a side the bookes with ropes, and drew them into the towne with engines: they withdrew the earth from the mount with mines with their great skill, by reason of their iron mines wherein they are much practifed they fet up towers upon enery pare of

the wal, and covered them with raw hides: they fallied out of the towne night and day, and either set fire to the mount, or assaulted the soldiers as they were at worke: they did euery day make their towers equal to that height of our towers, which the daily increase of the mount had added to their height. They hindred the open trenches, and kept them from approching the wals with sharp burned stakes, cast into them with hot pitch and with great stones. All their walles are almost of this fashion, long straite beames are placed upon the ground, with an equall distance of two soote one from another, and bound together on the infide of the wall, and fastened with great store of earth. the distances betweene the beames are filled and sitted with great stones in the front of the wal these being thus placed and fastened with morter another such a course is laid upon that keeping alwayes the same distance, so as one beame be not laid upon ano. ther, but in the second ranke placing them upon the distances filled up with stones. and so forward untill the wall be raised to the due height. This fashion as it is a worke not deformed either in show or variety, observing alternate courses of beames & stones which keepe their order by evenlines, so is it profitable also and very much advanta ging the defence of the towne; for as the stone keepes it from burning, so doth the wood from the violence of the ramme, for a much as the beames are for the most part for tie foote long and can neither be broken nor puld out.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The wee and practifeof ancient time in besteaina & defending townes.

HIS Chapter doth in some part expresse the maner of their siege in auncient time, and the meanes which the defendant had to fru-firate the affaults and approches of the enemie. Befides the Ram which the *Romaines* yied to shake and ouerthrow the wall (whereof I have already spoken) they had commonly great hookes of iron to catch

COMMENTARIES, LIB. VII.

hold of a turret, and to pull it ouer the wall, or to pull downe the parapet, or to diffurbe any worke which was to be made vpon the wall. These hookes were vsed by the legionarie souldiers, being couered with vines in the same maner as they handled the Ram: and were auerted and put off by the ingenious prachiles of the Gaules, with ropes cast and infnared about them, and then by force of engines drawne into the towne. In like maner the open trenches, by which the Romaines made their approches to the wall, were answered from the towne with flakes or piles, hardened at the end with fire, and then cast into them to hinder fuch as were at worke, together with feething pitch and great stones. Furthermore as the Romaines raifed their mount, and brought matter vnto it to enlarge it in breadth and height, so did the Gaules vndermine it, and drew the earth away, or fet it on fire to burneit: for as I have already noted in the defcription of a mount, it was made aswell with wood and timber, as with earth and stones. They strengthened their walles with turrets and towers, and couered them with raw hides to keepe, them from burning; and as the Romaines mounted in height with their turrets and engines, fo the Gaules raifed their towers answerable vnto them, that in the defence of the towne they might fight with equall advantage. And thus they proceeded both in the offenfine and defensive part, as farre as either valour or wit could improve those meanes which were then in vse in besieging a towne.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

T was the vse of all nations, to fortifie their strong townes with fuch wals as might make belt defence against the practise of those I wis times wherein they lived, touching the taking and befreging of The maner of towners: fo the Gaules as it appeared by Colombia Live in the maner of wood and stone, laid in mutual courses one with another, that the in use in wood might make voide the violence of the Ram, and the stone keepe it from these dayes. burning with fire, which in those dayes were the meanes to affault and ouerthrow a wall. In these times the walles of strong and fortified townes, are onely

And first touching the art it selfe, in respect of the matter and the maner, it is a member of architecture, but the end is militarie: for to fortific is nothing | Fortification els but to make a building answerable to necessitie and the occurrences of war. Neither is it the end of fortification to make a place inexpugnable, or vnpoffible to be taken, for fo it were Ars artium, but to reduce it to a good and reasonable defence.

made and raifed of earth, as the best defence against the furie of the artillerie. But forasmuch as the old maner of fortification is here in part delivered by Cafar, give me leave to have a word or two touching the fortifications of these

defined.

Wherefoeuer then any fuch defence is required, the myfterie of fortification is to raife such a fort, and to apply such a figure, answering the qualitie and

fite of that place, as may give greatest strength thereunto: for as al places are not capable in the dispositio of their best strength of all sorts of figures, so there is a difference of strength betweene this and that figure. And as the place wanteth the advantage of motion and agilitie for it owne defence, so is it requisite it should be furnished with the best meanes and commodities both to annoy the enemie, and to defend it owne people. And in that respect all circular formes as compounded of parts of one and the same nature, are vnfit for fortification: for where a fort ought fo to be disposed, that it may have as many hands to strike as Briareus, and as a Hydra neuer to want a head, it is necessary that the figure thereof be of different and vnlike parts, as apt to worke divers effects. For vnleffe it be able to discouer a far off, to commaund the countrey about as farre as the artillerie will play, to ftop the paffages, to hinder approches and affaults, to damnifie the enemie at hand and farre off, sometimes with the artilleric, sometimes with small shot, sometimes with fire-workes, and other times by fallies, it hath not that perfection as is requifite.

Admitting therefore composition of parts, next vnto the circle the triangular fortresse is most enperfect, first in regard it is a figure of lesse capacitie then any other of equall bounds, which is a great inconvenience in a hold, when the fouldiers shal be pind up for want of roome, and through the straightnes of the place, not to be able to auoid confusion. Secondly the bulworkes of all such triangular fortreffes, haue alwayes fuch sharpe cantons as are easily subject to breaking, which giueth the enemie meanes to approach them without disturbance

from the fort.

The quadrangle fortresse hath almost the same imperfection of angles as the

triangle hath, but is more spacious within, and of greater capacitie.

And therfore Pentagons or Hexagons or any other that hath more angles, is fittest for fortification (vnderstanding the place to be capable of them) as being of a greater content, and having their angles more obtufe, and by confequence

more folide and strong. A plaine champio leucl doth admit all forts of figures, and may take the best; having these advantages, it easily hinderethan enemy from approching neere vnto it, or incamping before it, and is not fubicet to mines by reason of the water rifing in fuch levels. But on the other fide, a small troope will besiege it, and batterie may be laid to divers places of it: it is alwayes subject to mounts of earth, and needeth many bulworkes, ditches, and much cost to keepe it.

A fortresse vpon a hill hath these advantages, an enemy can hardly lodge neare vnto it, or lay batterie against it, it requireth more men to besiege it, and is not subject to mounts. The disaduantages, are that it is not in our choice to make it in the best form of strength, but must give it such a figure as may best fitthe place, being sometimes too large and spacious, and sometime too straite. The enemies artillerie hath greater force against it playing vpward, and the artillerie of the fort playeth not so sure downeward.

The hands of all forts are the bulworkes from whence the artillerie playeth, the supplements to the bulworkes are the rauelins, the platformes, the casmates, and the caualeros. The walles are made in scarpe canting inwards, the better to

Triangular forts.

Circular forts

Quadrangle Fine fieled and fixe fided fortresses.

Forts in a plaine lenell. Aduantages.

Disaduantages.

Forts upon a bill. Aduantages Disaduantages.

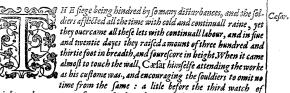
The hands o all forts.

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beare the weight of the earth, with this proportion, that to every five foote or fixe foote in height, there be one foote allowed in scarpe. The counterscarpe is another wall outward to the first, and slopeth inward in the same maner as the

And thus much touching the general view of fortification, which is as much as may wel be comprehended in these short observations, reserving the further confideration thereof to a particular treatife by it felfe.

CHAP. XII. The fiege of Auaricum continued.



the night, the mount was seene to smoke, the enemie having set it on fire with amine. And at the same instant of time, a shout being taken up by them that stoode upon the wall, they made a fally out at two gates on both sides the towers: some cast firebrands and drie matter from the wall wate the mount, powring pitch and other things to nourish the fire; that no man knew whither to run first, or where to give helpe. Notwithstanding for asmuch as Cæsar had appointed two legions by turne to watch before the campe, and two other to follow the workes, it happened, and that quickly, that some were readie to confront the sallies, and others to draw backe the towers from the front of the mount, and to cut the mount asunder, the whole multitude comming out of the campe to quench the fire. The rest of the night being now Spent, the fight continued every where, and ever the enemic tooke new spirits, and had hope of victorie, the rather because they saw the sheddes or houels belonging to the towers burnt; and that the fouldiers could not come neare the faid towers to manage them, as was fitting without shelter and couert, and that they ever fent fresh men to take the roomes of Juch as were wearie and ouer laboured: Supposing the Safetie of all Gallia to confist in that instant of time. There happened my selfe beholding it, an accident worthie memorie which I thinke not fit to omit. A certaine Gaule before the gate of the towne, casting with his hands balles of tallow and pitch to increase the fire, right ouer against the tower was shot through the right side with a cros-bow, and fell downe dead: one that stood next him stept over him and began to do the like service: he likewise was staine with a shot out of a cros-bow: him a third man succeeded, and the third, a fourth: neither was the place for saken untill the mount was quenched, the enemie remoued, and the fight ceassed.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Whether there need not as many men to defend atowne, as to besiege it.

T were a matter worthie observation to consider, whether there ncede not as many men to defend a towne, as to beliege it? Which at the first fight may peraduenture seems friuolous: for-almuch as the defendants are but to make good the place which they hold, and to stand onely vpon their defensive guard, hauing the aduantage of the place, the shelter of the wals, the strength of the ditch, and many other like helpes for their defence and fafetie: whereas the affailant is to striue against all these aduantages, and to oppose himselfe to the daunger of fo many difficulties. But if we looke a litle nearer into the matter, and confider the service to be performed on either part, we shall find that to fay, as many men are necessarie to defend a towne as to besiege it, is no Para-

The defence of a towne colifteth in four points.

For the better vnderstanding thereof, we are to know, that the defence of a towne touching matter of fight, confifteth chiefly in these foure points. First, in manning and making good all parts of the wall: for if the defendant be not able to strengthen all parts with a competent force, then he hath not men enough to defend the town, forafmuch as all parts are fubiect to affault, & what part foeuer is not made good, that lyeth open to an enemie: or otherwise if the affault be onely to be made at a breach, the rest of the wall being strong enough to defend it selfe, there is required a competent strength within the towne to defend that breach. In this point there is litle difference touching a competent number of menbetweene the affailant and the defendant: for if he that layeth fiege to a towne hath men enough to affault all parts at one inflant, the enemy must have an answerable proportion to defendall, or if he have no vie of more men then may ferue to give an affault at a breach, the defendant must have the like proportion for the defence of the breach.

The second point is, in releeuing wearled men, either fighting or working, with fresh supplies to continue that businesse, as oftentimes it falleth out in the fiege of a towne. Wherein likewife there is finall or no difference touching an equalitie betweene both parties: for if the defendant be not aswell able to releeue his wearied fouldiers with fresh supplies, as the enemic is to continue the affault, the towne may quickly have a new maifter.

The third point, is in defeating and making voide fuch workes as the enemie shall make against the towne, as mounts, mines, approches, and such like inconueniences, which being fuffered to go on without opposition and preuétion, the towne cannot hold out long. In this point the defendant hath the difaduantage, having need of more men to ouerthrow and prevent the workes. then the affailant hath to make them good: for there he that beliegeth the place fighteth with the aduantage, and hath the fame helpes as the defendant hath in the fastnesse of his hold: which caused this extraordinarie accident which Cafar noteth touching the fuccessive slaughter of so many Gaules, who labouring

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to burne the Romaine workes with balles of tallow and pitch, were all flaine with the blow of one mans bow.

The last point is in sallies, which is as necessarie for the defence of a towne as any thing else whatsoeuer: for if the defendant be not able to sallie out, the enemie will quickly coope him up, and tread upon his belly. And herein the defendant needeth more men then the affailant: for he that is in the field, lyeth in the strength of his trenches, wheras the other cometh out naked vpon him.

And thus much touching this question in particular. Concerning the generall, if it be demaunded whether there have bene more men lost in the defence of Oastend, then in besieging it? I answer, that neither side can much vaunt of a fmall loffe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

N the second place there are two observable points: the one, The eye of the Cefars continual attendance vpon the workes, being prefent maister feath the horfe night and day without any long intermission, which did much aduantage their proceeding at that time, and was as important to a fortunate issue, as any other thing whatsourer for where an

enemie is extraordinarie, either in valour or diligence, there must needs be extraordinarie meanes to counteruaile the height of fo great a resolution, which Cafar ouertopt with monstrous and huge workes, and speeded those works with his continuall attendance.

The fecond point is the fuccessive tasks of the Romaine armie, being eight legions present at that siege (for the other two were left at Agendicum with the carrages of the armie) in fuch fort, as halfe the armie was alwaies at reft, and the other halfe imployed: two legions at worke, and two legions in the watch: and thus they cased each other, and still continued the worke: for otherwise they had not bene able to have vndergone the burthen, as the faying is: Quod caret alterna requie durabile non est.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar by an assault taketh Auaricum.



ME Gaules having tried all meanes, and none taking effect, the next day they consulted touching their leaving of the towne, Vercingetorix both commaunding and perswading them water it, which they hoped they might do in the night time without any great losse unto themselves, for a much as Vercingetorix was not farre off with his campe, and all the We way thither was a continall bogge, which would hinder the

Cafar.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS Romaines from following after them. And for that purpose they prepared themselves against the next night : which the women perceiving, did run suddenly out into the streetes and other publike places, and cast themselves at the feete of their husbands. and by all meanes intreated them, not to leave them and their children to the cruelty of the enemie, whom nature and infirmitie of body would not suffer to flie away, but finding them to continue resolute in their purpose, for a souch as in extreame perill. feare for the most part hath no commiseration, they cried out and signified their slight unto the Romaines, wherewith the Gaules being feared, they defifted from the course lest the wayes should be forestalled and laid by the Komaine horsemen. The next day Cæfar hauing advanced forward the tower, and perfited those workes which he had determined to make there hapned to fal a great rain which he thought to be a fit occasion for his purpose: and for a smuch as he saw the guard upon the wall to be somewhat negligently disposed, he commanded his men to work saire and softly, and shewed them what he would have done, and incouraging the Legions which were hid in a readines under the vines, at length to intoy the fivetnesse of visiony for their manifold labours the provided areward for fuch as were feene first upon the walles and gave them the signe to begin; the fouldiers flying suddenly out of all parts, did quickly possesse themselues of the walles . The enemie being frighted with so sudden an accident, and put from the towers and the walles, imbattefied themselves angle wise in the market place, and in other spacious streets of the citie, with this resolution that if they were as-(aulted in any part, they would refift in forme of battell: but when they (aw no man to descend on even ground, but to inclose them round about woon the wall, fearing least there would be no way to escape, they cast their armes away and sted all to the furthest part of the towne-part of them sticking in a throng at the gate, were there saine by the fouldiers, and part being got out of the gate were flaine by the horfemen i neither was there any mathat looked after pillage, but being moved to anger with the slaughter of our men at Genabum, and with the travell and labour of those great workes, they neither spared old men, women nor children. In the end of all that number which was about fortiz thousand, scarse eight hundred (that upon the first noise forlooke the Towne) came lafe to Vereingetorix. These he received with great silence, being now farre in the night, least any sedition should have growne in the camp, through the pitie and commiseration of the vulgar people, and sent out his familiar

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

friends and chiefest men of each State to meet such as had escaped away, and to bring

them to their owne people as they lay quartered in the campe.

The Gauls in the beginning are more the me, & in the end lesse thĕ women.

(a) E may fee here the saying verified touching the disposition of of the Gaules for matter of valour, which in the begining feemed for of Cafars armie, and was expressed with such industrie and resogreat, that it needed no further straine to countervaile the worth lution, both in spoyling and disappointing the Romaine workes, as also by ingenious fortifying and making good their owne labors, that a man

would have deemed them virtute pares. But being a litle spent in the action. like a pot that hath a mouth as bigge as the belly, and powreth out all the liquor at an instant, they fell at length to that basenesse, as shewed lesse spirit then the women did, who chose rather to betray their husbands purposes to the enemie, then to hazard their lines by escaping to Vercingetorix. And this is that which is so often noted by Historiographers: Quod multa bella impetu valida per tadia & moras enanuere. The first thing that I obserue, is that which Casar himselfe noteth: Quod plerumque in summo periculo, timor misericordiam non recipit. Which was true on either fide: for the Gaules were fo fet vpon flying to no pitty. Vercingetorix, that they regarded not the wofull laments of the women and children, whom they were well content to hazard, whileft they themselues might escape in safetie. And on the other side, the women did forget to be pitifull to their husbands, whom they would not fuffer to escape, and leave them in their weakenesse behind as a prey to appeale the wrath of the bloudie souldier, which would confequently follow in that escape. Which sheweth, that there is no tye comparable to the bond of nature, specially when it concerneth the preservation of life. For as in other things, respect and affection may easily worke a communication of good things vnto others, as also a participation of their cuils for their reliefe: so herein we are altogether sencelesse, and the loue we owe to our liues is fo great, that it admitteth no respect. Agesilaus to his friend was without respect a friend, and yet notwithstanding being driuen one day to remoue vpon the fudden, and to leaue one ficke behind him whom he loued dearely: the ficke man calling him by his name as he was going away, befought him that he would not for fake him: Agefilaus turning backe againe, answered: O how hard it is both to loue and to be wise: according to the saying; Sapere & amare vix Deo conceditur.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

T is a principle among ft men of warre, not to put necessitie vpon an enemie, nor make him valiant whether he will or no, (as I haue

A General

A General

A General

Must at put

well observed in this particular service at Anaricum: for being pof
meessigning to put

mee fest of the walles, they did not suddenly assault them in the mar- an enemy. ket place, where they had made head for their defence, but gaue them a breathing time, the better to viderstand what they did; and respite, to bethinke themselues of a starting hole for the safetie of their lives. Which as it was quickly apprehended by the Gaules, so it made an easie execution to the Romaine sol-

And as it feemeth it was the more carefully handled in respect of the condition of the enemie being revolters: for such Provinces as have rebelled, are harder to be recouered after their reuolt, then they were at first to be subdued. For at the first, they have no occasion to scare any hard condition, but yeelding

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

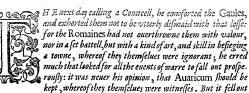
Renolters are in the conditió both of an enemie and of an offendor.

to subjection do looke for fauor: wheras rebels and revolters, besides the condition of an enemie, are in the nature of offendors, and stand in feare of the extremities of warre, which maketh them more obstinate then otherwise they would be. And therefore it behoueth a Generall not to impose any further neceffitie vpon an enemie, then the qualitie of the warre doth lay vpon them: which oftentimes is more then can be well auoided.

CHAP, XIIII.

Vercingetorix doth comfort the Gaules for the losse of Auaricum.

Cafar.



by the imprudencie of the Bituriges & over great indulgence of the rest that this losse happened unto them, which not with standing he would speedily heale with greater helpes: for by his diligence he would unite (uch States unto them as were not yet of the confederacie and make one purpose of all Gallia, which the whole world was not able to resist : and that he had almost effected it alreadie. In the meane time he thought it fit that they should yeeld unto one thing for their safeties sake, which was to fortifie their campez to the end they might better sustaine the sudden assaults of the enemie. This (peech was not unpleasing to the Gaules: and the rather that he himselfe was not delected in spirit upon so great a losse, nor did hide himselfe, or flie the presence of the multitude: being the more esteemed, for a smuch as when the matter was in questio, he first thought it fit that Auaricum should be burned, and afterwards he perswaded them to for lake it wherein as misfortune and advertitie do impaire the authoritie of other commaunders: so contrariwise his honour daily increased by the losse which he received. And withall they were in great hope wpon his affirmation, to winne the rest of the States unto them. And that was the sirst time that the Gaules beganto fortifie their campe, being so appalled in spirit, that where they ever were unaccustomed to labour, yet they thought it their part to fuffer and undergoe all that was commanded them.

T H E

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

EX T to the knowledge and experience of warre, there is no- A great Cothing more requisite in a great Commander, then greatnesse of mander, must foirit: for wherehis employment confifteth in managing the great bufineffes of the world, fuch as are the flaughter of many thousands in an houre, the sacking of cities, the fighting of bat-

tels, the alteration of Commonweales, victories, triumphes, and the conquest of kingdomes, which like the constellations in the eighth iphere, are left to succeeding ages in such characters as cannot be defaced, and makeun impression of the greatest measure of ioy, or the greatest heape of forrow; it is necessarie that his courage be answerable to such a fortune, neither to be crushed with the waight of aduernitie, nor puffed up with the pride of victorie; but in all times to shew the same constancie of mind, and to temper extremities with a setled refolution.

Of this mettall and temper, is the Philosophers borno quadratus made of, Homo quafuch as Camillus was in Rome: for neuer speech did better beseeme a great perfonagethen that of his, having knowne both the favour and the difgrace of fortune: nec mihi dictatura animos fecit, nec exilium ademit, saith he. Whereas weake spirits do either vanish away in the smoke of folly, being drunke with the joyes of pleasing fortune, or otherwise vpon a chaunge of good times, do become more base and abiect, then the theese that is taken in the fact: such as Perfeus the last Macedonian king was, who besides his ill fortune for loosing his Platark. kingdome in the space of one houre, hath euer since stood attainted of a base Paulus Eand abiect mind, vnworthie the throne of Alexander the Great.

The wife Romaines vsed al meanes to give courage and spirit to their leaders, and to free their minds from such externall respects, which losse or dishonour might cast vpon them. And therefore when Varre had fought so rashly at Cannes, that he had like to have lost the Romaine Empire to Anniball, vpon his returne to Rome the whole Senate went out to meete him, and although they could not thanke him for the battell, yet they gaue him thankes that he was rereturned home againe, whereby he feemed not to despaire of the state of Rome.

In like maner did the Gaules congratulate Vercingetorix, that notwithftanding to great a loffe, he was neither dejected in spirit, nor did hide himself from the multitude, but as a commander of high resolution, had found out means to heale those harmes, and to recompence the losse of Anaricum, with the vniting of all the States of Gallia into one confederacie.

Plutarke.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

It is dagerous to be the anthor of a cousel in a state.

Holinshead.



Econdly we may observe, how daungerous it is to be the author of a counsel touching any important or graue deliberation, or to lay downe any project for the service of a State; for all men are blind in this point, that they judge of good or ill counfell by the fuccesse, and looke no further then the end which it taketh,

which prouing disasterous or unfortunate, doth either bring the author to destruction, or into danger both of life and state.

In the occurrences of this kingdome, it appeareth that Henry the fift being follicited by the commons touching the Abbies in England, and moued by petition exhibited in Parliament, to that which was afterwards accomplished by Henry the eight, was diverted from those thoughts by an eloquent oratio made in Parliament by Henry Chechley Archbishop of Canterburie a grave and learned Prelate, perswading the King by many concluding reasons, to carie a great power into France, and there to make his claime for that kingdome, according to the right deriued vnto him from his noble progenitors. Whereupon the King was perswaded to undertake that war, which albeit fel out most happily, yet the Bishop to satisfie both the king and the people for his former counsel, whereby many men were lost, built a colledge in Oxford dedicated to Alsoules, wherein he placed fortie scholers, to make supplications for all soules, and specially for

Vercingetorix was happie in this point, for he perswaded the Gaules not to keepe Auaricum, but to fuffer it to be burned as an enemie to their fafetie: and thereupon he did not let to put them in mind of his opinion, as free from the daunger which hapned to a great man neare vnto Perfeus whom I last spake of, who after his ouerthrow by Paulus Emilius, being told by that partie of many errours which he had committed in the cariage of that warre, turned himfelf toribusita res fuddenly, faying, Traitor hast thou reserved thy counsell vntill now, when there is no remedie: and therewithall (as some report) flue him with his owne hand. And this was it that gaue Versingetorix that happinesse: Vireliquorum imperatorum res aduersa, authoritatem minuunt: sic huius ex contrario, dignitas incommodo accepto indies augebatur.

fuch as had mischieued in France in the time of that warre.



Vercingetorix

CHAP. XV.

Vercingetorix laboureth to vnite all Gallia into one league for the vpholding of their warre.



EITHER did Vercingetorix omit any indeuour for the Cafar. accomplishment of his promise, to draw the rest of the States vnto him: and to that purpose he dealt with their chiefest men both by rewards and promifes, and chose out fit men, that either by subtile speeches, or friendship, or some other meanes, might win the unto him. He took order that such as had escaped from Auaricum should be both clothed and armed: and withall, that he might reenforce his troopes which were weak-

ned be commaunded every State to furnish out certaine supplies, and to be brought by a day to the campe: he commaunded likewise all the archers, of whom there is great store in Gallia, to be fought out and sent unto him, and by this meanes he speedily repaired his loffes at Auaricum . In the meane time Teutomatus the fonne of Olloucio King of the Nitiobriges, whose father had the title of a friend from our Senate. came to him with a great number of horsemen, which he had brought out of Aquitaine.

OBSERVATIONS.



T seemeth by this place, that Fraunce in those dayes did fauour archerie: for (as the storie faith) they had great store of archers amongst them, but of what value they were is not here deliuered: the vice they made of them followeth after in this Com-mentarie, which was to intermingle them amongst the horse,

and to they tought as light armed men. In the times that our English nation caried a scourging hand in France, the matter betweene vs and them touching archerie, stood in such tearmes as gaue England great aduantage: for I have not heard of any bowmen at all amongst them: whereas our nation hath heretofore excelled all other, as well in num- *Things conber of bowmen, as in excellent good shooting, and hath made so good proofe siderable wilthereof against the French, as it needeth not any long dispute.

*Concerning Archerie I find these things considerable: first that every man In the time of be so fitted with bow and arrowes, as he may be apt for strong and quick shooting; wherein I cannot so much commend these liverie bowes, being for the most part heavy slugs, and of greater weight then strength, and of more shew then feruice.

Secondly, that in a day of service the bow-men endeuour so to deliuer their yard long be-

the English l'ow-men did comonly shoet an arrow of a

Sais the head

Vt felicitas re rugestaruexercitus beneue lentia imperaaduer[æ odia conciliant. Lib.3.bel.ciu.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

quiuers, that the whole band or fleeue of fhot may let go all at one instant of time: for fo the shower of arrowes will be more fierce and terrible, and moreauaileable against an enemie.

Thirdly, the fittest forme of imbattelling for bow-men, which must not at It is not so pro any hand be deepe in flanke, for so such as are in the hindmost rankes, will eimingle bowne, ther shoote short or to no purpose. And therefore the fittest forme of imbattelwithother fores ling for archerie, hath ever bin accounted a long fided (quare, refembling a of weapons, as hearfe, broade in front and narrow in flanke.

Fourthly, their defence in a day of battell, which must either be a couert to put them al wooddieplace, where the horse of the enemie cannot come at them, or a into one body. At the battell trench cast before them, or the place must be fortified with galthrops & stakes, fuch as were deuised by Henrie the fift at Agincourt field, or some other meanes blacke Prince to avoid the cavalrie. The last thing is the effect which the bow-men worke, which are two-first the galling of the enemy, and secondly disorder. Touching the galling of the enemie, there cannot be a better description then that which Plutarke maketh of the ouerthrow of the Romaines by the Parthian arrowes. stăding in the The Romaine fouldiers hands (faith he) were nailed to their targets, and their feete to the ground, or otherwise were fore wounded in their bodies, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt, and turning and tormenting themselues vpon the ground, they brake the arrowes sticking in them. Againe, striuing by force to plucke out the barbed heads, that had pierced farre into their bodies through their veines and finewes, they opened Galling the the wounds wider, and so cast themselves away. Plut.Crassus

The diforder or rowting of an enemie which is caused by the bow-men, cometh from the fearefull spectacle of a drift of arrowes: for a shower of arrowes well deliuered and well feconded, for a while is fo terrible to the eye, and fo dreadfull in the successe, that it is almost unpossible to keepe the enemie from

The two great victories which our nation had in France at Cressie and Agincourt, next to the valour of the English, are attributed to our archery: and the effect of our archerie at those times, was first disorder, and consequently slaughter. In the battell of Cressie the King of Bohemia fighting for the French, caused his horfmen to tie the bridles of their horfes together in ranke, that they might keepe order notwithstanding the galling which he feared from our English archerie: but it fell out as ill as if he had tied their heads and their tailes together in file, for the drift of arrowes fell fo terribly amongst them, that they ranne together on heapes with fuch confusion, as made the slaughter great, and their particular destinies most miserably fortuned. At Agincourt the number of prifoners which every fouldier had, was admirable to speake of; for some report that many of our English had ten prisoners apeece, which happened chiefly from the disorder which fel amongst the French, and that disorder came by our archery. And doubtleffe if euer we should have occasion to go against an enemie that so aboundeth in horse as the French do, there could be no better Argebuse and meanes against such horse, then our English bowmen. I know it hath bene said. that now the times are altered, and the argebuse and musket are so generally

The battell of Cressie.

of Craffie the

leading the

vanward ba

the archers

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The archeric

worketh two

2. Diforder.

hearse.

effects.

The battell of Agencour

puskes.

received, and of fuch reputation in the course of our moderne warres, that in comparison of them, bow-men are not worth the naming. Wherein I will not goabout to extenuate the vse of either of these weapons, as knowing them to be both very seruiceable vpon fit and conuenient occasions, nor take vpon me to determine which of them is most effectuall in a day of service, but onely deliver my conceit touching their effects, and leave it to the confideration of wife and discreete Commaunders.

And first touching shot. Awing of muskaters is available against an enemie, onely in fuch bullets as do hit; for fuch as do not hit, passe away insensibly How farre a without any further feare, and the cracke is but as the lofe of the bow. Of fuch wing of fine bullets as do hit, the greatest part do not strike to death, but are oftentimes caried vntill the skirmish be ended before the party do feele himselse hurt : so

that an enemie receiveth no further hurt by a charge of shot, then happeneth to fuch particular men as shall chaunce to be flaine out-right or fore

A fleeue of archers is audilable against an enemie, aswell in such arrowes as Howfarrea do not hit, as in such as do hit: for whereas the cloud of arrowes is subject to our fight, and enery arrow is both suspected and able to bring death sitting on chers is anailthe head, an enemie is as much troubled at fuch arrows as come fairevpon him able against and do not hit, as at those that do hit, for no man is willing to expose his flesh an enemie. to an open and eminent daunger when it lieth in his power to avoide it. And therefore whilest enery man feeketh to avoide hurt, they fall into such confusion, as besides the losse of particular men, the enemie doth hardly escape disorder, which is the greatest disaduantage that can befall him. Moreouer, the arrowes having barbed heads; although they make but a light hurt, yet they are not eafily pulled out, which maketh the fouldiers not to intend the fight vntill they be deliuered of them: and the horse so to sling and chase, that it is impossible they should either keepe their rancke, or be otherwise managed for any feruice.

And this much touching bow-men and archerie, which is a weapon as auncient as the first and truest historie, and is of the number of such weapons as men vie to fight with afarre off. The vie whereof is too much neglected by the English at these times, considering the honour they have atchieued by it in former ages.



CHAP. XVI.

A controuersie fell out in the state of the Hedui touching the choise of their chiefe Magistrate.

Cefar.



ÆSAR staied many dayes at Auaricum: for finding there great store of corne and of other provisions, he refreshed his armie of their former labour and wants. The winter now being almost ended, and the time of the yeare being fit for warre, he determined to follow the enemie, to fee whether he could draw him out of the woods and bogs, or befrege him in some place. Being thus resoluced, divers of the principall men of the Hedus came wato him, beseeching him that he

would stand to them, and a sist their state in a time of great neede, the matter being in extreame daunger, for a much as their auncient v fage was for one to be created their annuall Magistrate bauing regall authoritie for that yeare: whereas now two had taken upon them the faid office, both of them affirming themselues to be lawfully created the one was Conuictolitanis, a famous and flourishing young man, the other Cotus borne of an auncient family, and he himselfe of great power and kinred, whose brother Vedeliacus had borne the said office the yeare before. All their State was in armes, their Senate and their people divided, together with their clients and followers: if the controversie continued for any time, it would come to a battell; the prevention whereof confifted in his diligence and authoritie. Cæfar, though he knew it would be disaduantagious unto him to leaue the warre and to for sake the enemie, yet knowing what inconveniences do viually arise of such discords and dissentions, least to great a State, and so neare to the people of Rome, which he himselfe had alwayes fauoured, and by all meanes honoured, should fal to warre among st themselues; and that faction which distrusted their owne strength, should seeke helpe of Vercingetorix, he thought it most necessary to be preuented . And forasmuch as such as were created chiefe Mazistrates amongst the Hedui, were by their lawes forbidden to go out of their confines : to the end he might not feeme to derogate any thing from their lawes, he him felf determined to go unto them. At his comming he called before him all the Senate. and those also that were in controverse for the office : and finding in an assembly almost of the whole State, that one of them was chosen by a few privily called together. in another place, and at another time then was accustomed, the brother pronouncing the brother: whereas their lawes did not onely forbid two of one family both being 4liue to be created Magistrate, but also to be of the Senate together: he compelled Cotus to gine ouer his interest in the magistracie, and confirmed Conuictolitanis being created by their Priests, and according to the custome of their State. This decree being ratified, he adhorted the Heduito forget their private controversies and dissentions, and to give their best helpe to the warre in hand, wherein they might cha. lenge and expect (the Gaules being subdued) such rewardes as they deserved,

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commaunding all their horse and ten thousand foote to be speedily sent unto him, whichhe meant to dispose into garrisons for the better provision of corne. And then dividing his armie into two parts, he fent foure Legions towards the Senones and the Parisians under the leading of Labienus; the other foure he led himselfe against the Aruerni, to the Towne of Gergonia, along the river Eleuar sending part

OBSERVATIONS.

of the horfe with him, and keeping part with himfelfe.

O loofe the least jot of that which a man hath in possession, is No minor est more dishonourable, then to faile of getting what he hath not.
And therefore Casar chose rather to forgo the aduantages which a specific pursuit of the enemic might have affoorded him to the interior.

All therefore Casar chose rather to forgo the aduantages which a specific pursuit of the enemic might have affoorded him to the interior.

ending of that warre, then to hazard the loffe of To great a State, and To well affected to the people of Rome as were the Hedui, wherein he caried fo equall and indifferent ahand, that he would do nothing but what the lawes of that State directed him vnto, as most affured that such directions were without exception.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæfar passeth his armie ouer the river Eleuar, and incampeth himselfe before Gérgonia.

HICH thing being knowne, Vereingetorix having broken Cefar. downe all the bridges of that river, tooke his iourney on the other fide of Eleuar, either armie being in view each of other, and incamping almost over against one another: discoucrers being fent out towatch, left the Romains shold make a bridge in any place, and carie over their forces. Casar was much I troubled, left he should be hindred by the river the greatest part of that Sommer, foralmuch as Elevar is not palla-

ble at any foord untill towards the Autumne. And therefore to present that, be encamped himself in a wooddie place right over against one of those bridges which Vercingetorix had comanded to be broken. The next day he kept himselfe there secretly with two legions, and fent forward the rest of the forces, with all the cariages as were accustomed, taking away the fourth part of each cohort, that the number of legions Demptis might appeare to be the same, commainding them to go on as farre as they could, and making conjecture by the time of the day, that they were come to their camping place, wpon the same piles, (the lower part whereof remained there whole) he began to reedifie the bridge, and having speedily ended the worke, and caried over the Legions, and

chosen a fit place to encampe in, he called backe the rest of his forces . Vercingetorix having notice thereof, left he should be forced to fight against his will, went before by great sourneys; Cafar with five incampings went from that place to Gergonia, and after a light skirmish betweene the horse the same day he came, having taken a view of the lituation of the towne which was built upon a very high hill & had very hard and difficult approaches on all sides, he dispaired of taking it by asfault, neither would he determine to besiege it untill he had made provision of corne . But Vercingetorix hauing set his campe on a bill before the towne, had placed the severall forces of the States by themselves, in small distances round about him, and having possess himselfe of all the toppes of that hill made a very terrible shew into all parts where he might be seene: he commaunded likewise the chiefe men of the States, whom he had chosen out to be of the Councell of warre, to meete alwaies together with him at the dawning of the day, to know if any thing were to be communicated unto them, or what elfe was to be done. Neither did he omit any day to skirmish with his horseinen, with archers intermingled among ft them: to the end he might trie what courage and valor was in his people. Right oner against the towne at the foote of the hill, there was a knowle exceedingly fortified, and hard to be come unto on all sides, which if our men could get, they were in hope to hinder the enemie, both of a great part of their water, and also from free forraging: but the place was kept with a strong garrison. Notwithstanding Casar went out of his campe in the silence of the night, and before any helpe could come out of the towne, he put by the garrison, and possessed himselfe of the place, and left two legions there to defend it, and drew a double trench of twelve foote in breadth from the greater campeto the leffe, that fingle men might go fafe too and fro from any sudden incursion of the enemie.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

OBSERVATIONS.

The meanes which Casar vsed to passe ouer the rincr Elanar.



IRST we may observe his manner of passing over the river E. lauar, without any impediment from the enemie, not with standing the care which Vercingetorise had to hinder his passage, which was plotted with asgreat dexteritie as could be deuised in such a matter: and to shadow his purpose the better, that the number of legions marching yp the siver might appeare to be the same, he

number of legions marching vp theriuer might appeare to be the fame, he tooke the fourth part of euery cobort, which in the whole amounted to two legions. For as I haue alreadie deliucred in my former Observations, a legion consisted of ten cohorts, and euery cohort contained three maniples, and euery maniple had two companies which they called Orders: so that euery cohort hauing fixe companies, the fourth part of a cohort was a companie and a halse, and in a legion came to fifteene companies, and in eight legions to one hundred and twentie companies, which being reduced make threesfore maniples, which were equall to two legions: and prougt that which I haue already noted, the fit and conucnient disposition of their troupes, to take out at a lithes competent forces for any service without seeming to lessen any grant. Secondly, I observe the phrase which he vseth in this place, **Quintie castrie Gergoriam**

peruenit, which implyeth their infallible cuftome of encamping enery night within a dirch and a rampier: for as we viually fay, that to fuch a place is for many dayes iourney, because an ordinarie traueller maketh so many iourneys before he come thither: so the Romaines reckened their iourneys with their army by their incampings, which were as duly kept as their iourneys, and were the most signall part of their dayes journey.

CHAP. XVIII.

Conuictolitanis moueth the Hedui to areuoult.

HILES T these things were a doing at Gergonia, Conui Casar.

Color Ctolitanis the Heduan to whom the magistracie was adjudged by Casar, being wrought by the Aruerni with money, a brake the matter to certaine young men, among so whom Litanicus was chiefe, and his brethren being youths of a great house: with them he treated at sirst, and wished them to remely be that they were not onely borne free men, but also to empire and governement. The Hedui were the onely State which kept

Gallia from a most assured victorie: for by their authoritie and example, the rest would be concluded, which being setouer, there would be no place in Gallia for the Romaines to abide in. To uching himselfe, he had received a good turne from Cæsar, but in such fort, as he had but his right: but he oved more to the common liberties for why should the Hedui rather dispute of their customs and lawes before Cæsar, then the Romaines come before the Hedui? These young men were quickly persuaded as well by the speech of the Magistrate, as by rewards; insomuch as they offered themselves to the authours of that Councell; but now the meanes was to be thought on, forasmuch as they were persuaded that the State would not easily be drawne to undertake that warre. They determined at last, that Licanicus should have the leading of those tenne thousand men that were to be sent to Cæsar, and that his brethren should be sent before to Cæsar, and concluded likewise in what sort they would have other things caried.

Litauicus hauing receiued the armie when he was about thirtie miles from Gergonia, calling the fouldiers suddenly together, and we sping: Whither do we go (faith he) fellow fouldiers? all our horsemen and our Nobilitie are slaine, the Princes of our State, Eporedotix and Vividonanus, heing fally accused of treasonare put to deith by the Romaines without calling them to their answer: wederst and these things sto them that are escaped from the slaughter: for 1 my selfe (my brethen and kinsune heing slaine) am hindred with griese from telling you what hath happened. Presently those were brought foorth, whom he had taught beforehand what he would haue said: who weristed to the multitude those things which Litauicus had spacen: that all the horsen of the Hedui were slain, sor as much as they were said to haue had speech with

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the Aruerni: for themselves they were hid amongst the multitude of souldiers, and were escaped out of the midst of the slaughter. The Hedui cry out all together, and do beseech Litauicus to looke to himselfe, and to them also: As though (saith he) the matter needeth any advice or counfell, and that it were not necessarie for vs to go directly to Gergonia, and to soyne our selues with the Aruerni. For do we doubt, but that the Romains, having begun fo wickedly, will run prefently upo us to take away our lives? And therefore if there be any courage at all in vs , let vs persecute their death that have perified to undeferuedly, and let us kill thefe theenes. He showed them dinerse Romaine citizens that were in the troupes for safetie of connoy: and foorthwith he feized upon a great quantitie of corne and other provisions, and tortured the cruelly to death: he fent out meffengers throughout all the State of the Hedui, continuing the same falle suggestion touching the slaughter of the horsemen, and the Princes perswading them to revenge their injuries in like manner as he had done

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Gratia oneri vltio in questu habetur.

A L B HIS trecherous practife of Connictolitanis, who a litle before (as we may remember) had received fo great a benefit from Cafar, proueth true the faying of C. Tacitus, That men are readier to requeste a good turne, forafmuch as Gratia oneri vitio in questu babetar: a good turne is as a burthen

and a debt to a man, whereas reuenge is reckoned a gaine. The debt of loyalty and good affection, wherein Connictolitanis stood engaged to Cafar, for confirming that right vnto him which ciuill diffention had made doubtfull, together with the respect of the generall cause, made him so willing to reuch from the Romaines, and in lieu of thankfull acknowledgement to requite him with hostilitie. A part so odious and detestable, that vertue gricueth to thinke that a man should be capable of any such wickednesse, or be stained with the infamy of so horrible a crime. Other vices are faults in speciall, and are branded with the feuerall markes of ignominie: but ingratitude is equal to the bodie of euill, and doth countervaile the whole nature of hateful affections: according to that of the Philosopher: Ingratum si dixeris omnia dixeris. Ingratitude is culpable of all forts of wickednesse, and descrueth the greatest measure of revenge. Arid therather for that it taketh away the vie of vertue, and maketh men forget to do good: for whereas the nature of goodnesse is specially seene in communicating it felfe to the reliefe of other mens wants, we ought to give all diligence not to hinder this inlargement, nor by a froward and crooked example to prejudice others that stand in neede of the like fauour.

I have often heard it spoken, but I know not how true it is, and am loath to belieue it, that in the exchange of a good turn, the partie that receive thit, bath more affurance of his benefactor, touching a faithfull and friendly disposition for the future time, then he that shewed the kindnesse can have of the receiver: for men are loath to loofe both the fruite and the feede, and will rather bestow COMMENTARIES. LIB. VII.

more cost and more labour, then forgo the hope of their first indeauours, expecting both in reason and nature, fruite answerable to their feed: whereas the badnesse of our nature is such of it selfe:

Vt gratia oneri vltio in questu habetur.

THE SEECOND OBSERVATION.

HER Eis no meanes fo readie to abuse a multitude as false sugge- A multitude ftions, which like a lying spirit seduceth the minds of men from is easily abuthe truth conceived, and fashioneth their hearts to such purposes, sed by fasse as seemeth best to the abuser: and the rather when it is delivered suggestions. by a man of place and authoritie, & fuch a one as pretendeth care-

fulnesse for the safetie of a people: for then it flieth as fast as the lightning in the ayre, and deludeth the wifeft and best experienced of the multitude. A mifchiefe that can hardly be preuented, as long as there is a toung to speake or an care to heare. But as Socrates faid of paine and ease, that they are alwaies tyed Phedo Platotogether: fo men must endeuour to redeeme the hurts of such an euill, by the benefite which thereby is confequently implyed: for it were hard if wife men could not make the like vie of a multitude to good purposes, as these deceivers do for their owne aduantage.

Numa Pompilius (to whom the Romaine Empire did owe as much for lawes and civill government, as to Romalus for their martiall discipline) the better to establish such ordinances and decrees, as he made in his kingdome, fained familiar acquaintance with a goddesse of that time called Egeria, and by her he faid he was affured, that the flatutes which he made, were both equall and iuft, and good for the Romaines to observe, and the people found no hurt in beleeuing it.

In like manner Lycurgus having given many lawes to the Spartans, repaired to the citie of Delphos, and there he got a pleasing oracle, which he sent to Sparta, affuring them that his lawes were very good, and that citie keeping them, should be the most renowned of the world.

And Sertorius for want of other meanes vsed the seruice of a white hind, as a gift fent him from Diana, to make the Lusitanians believe whatsoever might best aduantage his businesse. And thus a multitude lyeth open to good and ill purposes, and is either happie or unfortunate in the counsell of their Leader.

Seneca.

CHAP. XIX. Cæsar hindereth the revolt of the Hedui.

Cafar.



POREDORIX the Heduan, a young man of great parentage, and of great power in his country, together with Viridomarus of like age and authoritie, but not fo nobly borne, who being preferred to Cæsar by Divitiacus, was by him ad-D uanced from meane estate to great dignitie, came both to Cæfar with the Heduan horsemen, being called out by name to

that warre by him: betweene thefe two there was alwayes contension who should be the chiefest, and in that controver sie for magistracie, the one stood for Convictolitanis, and the other for Cotus: of these two Eporedorix understanding the resolution of Litauicus, opened the matter to Cæsar almost about midnight; he prayed him not to suffer their State to fal away from the friendship of the people of Rome by the wicked counsell of your men, which would necessarily fall out if he suffered so many thousand men to some themselves to the enemie, whose safetie as neither their kinsfolks would neglect, so the State could not lightly esteeme of . Caelar being much perplexed at this message, for smach as he had alwayes cherished the State of the Hedui, without any further doubt or dispute , he tooke foure expedite and unburthened Legions and all the horse out of the campe, neither was there space at such a time to make the campe lesser, for a smuch as the matter seemed to consist in expedition, he left behind him C. Fabius a Legate with two legions for a garrison to the campe. And having given order for the apprehending of Litauicus brethren, he found that a litle before they were fled to the enemie : thereupon adhorting the souldiers not to thinke much of their labour in so necessarie a time, every man being most willing, he went five and twentie miles, and then met with the forces of the Hedui. The horsemen being sent to stay their march, he commaunded not to kill any one of them, and gaue order that Eporedorix and Viridomarus (whom they thought to be slaine) to ride up and downe amongst the borsemen, and to call to their countrimen. They being once knowne, and the fraude of Litauicus discouered, the Heduistretched out their hands, making signes of submission, and casting away their weapons desired to be spared from death. Litauicus with his clients and sollowers, who by the custome of Gallia must not for sake their patrons in the extreamest danger, fled to Gergonia. Cafar having dispatched meffengers to the State of the Hedui to acquaint them that he had saued their people, which by the lawe of armes he might have flaine, gave the armie three houres rest that night, and then returned towards Gergonia. In the midde way certaine horsemen sent by Fabius made knowne unto Cæsat in what danger the matter stood: the campe was assaulted with all the enemies forces, and for a smuch as such as were wearied, were still releeved with fresh men, it came to passe that our men fainted with continual labours: for the campe was so great

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that they were alwaies to stand upon the rampier to make it good, and that many were wounded with the multitude of arrowes and other forts of weapons; wherein their en. gines had served them to good purpose for their desence . Fabius when these messengers came away, had shut up two gates, and left other two open, and had made sheddes and houels for the better defence of the wall, and prepared himselfe for the like fortune the next day. These things being knowne by the exceeding travell of the souldiers. Cælar came into the campe before Sun rifing.

OBSERVATIONS.

S often as the people of Rome had occasion to make warre, befides the bodie of the armie involled for that service, in such fort Esocations and with fuch ceremonies as I have formerly delivered; the they were. Confull or Generall had authoritie to call out fuch others either of the communalty or the Equites, as for their long feruice were

freed by the lawes from giving in their names at a muster: and these they called Euscati, as a man would fay, called out, being all men of special note and seruice, and fuch as were able to give found advice for matter of warre. These Euocati went all for the most part vnder an ensigne, and were lodged together in the campe behind the paullion of the Generall, neare vnto the gate which they called Porta Pratoria, and were alwayes free from ordinarie duties, as watching, incamping and fighting, vnleffe it came to fuch a paffe, that every man would put too his helping hand: but in all feruices they had their place appointed them according to their former experience and worth. And thus the Romaines strengthened their armie with the wisedome and experience of fuch as for many yeares together, had bene acquainted with the difficulties and casualties of warre, and oftentimes were able to affoord such helpes both by example & otherwise by good directions, as the wisedome of the General did gladly embrace. Concerning these two young nobles Eporedorix and Viridomarus, whom he nameth in this place Euocati, we are to understand that they were called out to that warre under the fame title, but to another end: for being men of great place and authoritie, he feared least in his absence they might be fo wrought to fauour Vercingetorix, as neither himselfe nor the Hedui should haueany cause to commend them, according as it happened to Litanicus.

CHAP. XX.

The Hedui robbe and kill divers Romaine Citizens.

Cafar:

90

MILE these things were a doing at Gergonia, the Hedui A having received the first messages from Litavicus, gave them-Selues no time to understand the truth, some being led on by of couetousnesse, others by anger and rashmesse, as it is naturally ngrafted in that nation to take a light heare say for a certaine truth, spoiled the Romaine citizens of their goods, and sue them besides, or drew them into bondage; Convictolitanis

stirring up the common people to madneffe, that when they had done some wicked fact they might be assumed to be good again. They drew Marcus Aristius a Tribune of the fouldiers as he went to the Legion, out of the town Cauillonium, notwithstanding their faith and promise before given, causing the rest to do the like, which were there for matter of trade these they set upon continually as they travelled, robbed them of their carrages, and befreged such as made resistance day and night, many were flaine on both fides, & a greater number were flirred up to take armes. In the meane time newes being come that all their fouldiers were under Cæsars power, they runne speedily to Aristius, they tell him that nothing was done by publique authority, they called such as robbed the Romaines of their goods to answer the matter, they confiscate the goods of Litauicus and his brethren, they sent Ambaffadors unto Calar to cleare themselves of these disorders : and this they do for the better recovery of their people that were now with Cafar . But being contaminated with a wicked fact, and taken with the shame of robbing the Romaine citizens, many of them being touched in the fact, and much perplexed for feare of punishment; they privily entred into consultations of warre, and sollicited other States to that purpose by their Ambassadors: which although Casar understood, yet he entertained them as curt coulty as he could, telling them that for the ignorance and leuitie of the common people he would not thinke hardly of the State, nor abate any thing of his good will and fanour to the Hedui.

OBSERFATIONS.

One ill act be gesteth another.



Wicked act is not onely hurtful in it felfe and of it owne condition, but is like that boxe of cuill, which the Poets faine to have bene given to Pandora to be kept alwaies shut: for when the way is once made, and the gappe opened, one mischiese draweth on another, and the tayle that followeth is more viperous

then the head. Therewas neuer any one that stained himselfe with any detestable crime, but was moued to commit a fecond euill that had relatio to the first:

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for wicked deedes are instified by themselves, and one crime is vpheld by another. When the hand is dipt in bloud, it feemeth no great matter to imbrue the arme: and the loyaltie of a people being once shaken by the indirect practises of a few, it is no straunge matter if the whole bodie of that state do immediatly enter into treasonable consultations: as it happened in this place with the Hedui, who from that time which disclosed the trecherie of their heart, caried no faithfull regard to the Romaine gouernment, vntill the bitternesse of that warre which happened shortly after, had made them know their error.

It shall be necessarie therefore, as much as lyeth in the possibilitie of our meanes, to keepe the bodie of vertue fafe from wounding: for albeit the wound be neuer fo litle, yet it is alwaies wide enough to let out both the bloud and the foirits, euen to the euacuation of the vitall breath of morall honestie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Onuictolitanis plebem ad furorem impellit (saith the storie) as the The poorer fittest instruments to trouble the state, and to leaven the rest of fort of people the people with the furie of madnesse. For the poorer and mea- do imbrace al ner people, that have no interest in the Commonweale but the vse of breath, nor any other substance but a Flie in the commons, are alwaies daungerous to the peace of that kingdome : for having nothing to loofe, they willingly imbrace all meanes of innouation, in hope of

gaining something by other mens ruine, beleeuing altogether in the Prouerbe, which auerreth the fishing to be good which is in troubled waters.

Casiline conspiring against the Romaine Empire, made choice of such to accompanie him whose fortune was desperate. And thereupon Salust faith: Homini potentiam querenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua chara, Salust in the

quippe qua nulla sunt, & omnia cum pratio honesta videntur. Livie writeth, that vpon the rumor in Greece of warre betweene Perseus and Catiline. the Romaines, the poorer fort did put themselues in pay under Perseus, with this refolution, that if there hapned no alteration vpon this occasio, they wold then cleaue to the Romains, and affift them to put the state of Greece into a garboile: Semper in ciuitate (laith Salust) quibus opes nulla sunt, bonis inuident, malos extollunt; vetera oderenoua exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student.

There are these two meanes left for a state to ease it selse of this fort of people, either to employ them abroad in warres, or to interresse them in the quiet of the Commonweale, by learning them fuch trades and occupations as may giue them a tast of the sweetnesse of peace, and the benefite of a civill life.

onspiracie of

Cafar.

CHAP. XXI.

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS

Cæsar spieth an occasion to advance the seruice at Gergonia.



Æ S A R suspecting a greater revolt of the Gaules, lest he might be hemmed in with the strength of al the States of Gallia, he entred into deliberation how he might leave Gergonia and get all his armie together againe, that his departure might not seeme to rise from the feare of their revolt, and thereby be thought to flie away: and as he thought upon these things, he seemed to spie an occasion of doing somewhat to purpofe: for comming into the leffer campe to view the workes, he

observed a knoll which was kept by the enemie to be bare of men, which the day before could scarce be discerned by reason of the multitude of people: and wondering at it he enquired the cause of the runawaies which came daily in great numbers unto him: they all agreed of that which Cafar had before under flood by the discourrers. that the backe of that hill was almost levell, but narrow and woody where it gave paflage to the other part of the towne. The Gaules did much feare that place for the Romaines having tooke one knoll if they should possesse themselves of another, the Gaules were almost blockt inround about and cut off from forraging, or any other iffuing out of the towne: and therefore Vercingetorix had called them all to fortifie that place. This being knowne, Casar sent many troupes of horse to that place about midnight, commmaunding them to ride up and downe all thereabout somewhat tumultiously: and early in the morning he caused many horses and mules for cariage to betaken out of the campe with horsekeepers upon them, having caskes upon their heads the better to resemble horsemen, and to be caried round about the hilles, and to them he added a few horsemen, to the end they might spurre out the more freely, and so make a better shew, commaunding them all to go to the same place by a long circuit about. These things were done in view of the towne: for Gergonia softood that they might from thence see into the campe, but yet in so great a distance they could not certainly perceive what was done. He fent likewise one Legion to the same hill, and appointed them to go a litle way, and then to make a stand in a dale, and to hide themselues in the woods. The Gaules began more to suspect that place, and all their forces were drawne thither, for the strengthening of it. Cæsar perceiuing the enemies campes to be void of men, hiding his enfignes and colours, he drew the fouldiers by litle and litle out of the greater into the leffer campe, and acquainted the legates to whom he had given the severall legions in charge what he would have done, warning them especially to keepe in the souldiers, lest they should be carried out either with a defire of fighting, or in hope of bootie: he propounded unto them the incommodities of the disaduantage of place, which must onely be anoyded by expedition, the matter conlisting rather in occasion and oportunitie then in fighting.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

T is an easy matter to begin a busines, & to make work for many It is an easier hands; but to put it off againe, and to quit it without prejudice matter to beof other important respects, is no small labour. Cafar being inga- gin a worke, ged in the fiege of Gergonia, & fearing a generall reuolt through - then to quit it out all Gallia, was not a litle troubled how he might cleare him-

felfe of that busines, without suspition of feare or flight, and gather all his forces credit. into one bodie againe, which he had before deuided into two armies: for as Marcellus faid to Fabius touching the fiege of Casselium, Multa magnis duci- Linie. bus sicut non ag gredienda, ita semel aggressis non dimittenda esse quia magna fama momenta in vtramque partem fiunt. An enemie wil conceiue greater hopes from such a retreit, then from a greater advantage. And therefore a Generallought to have as speciall a regard to the opinion which he desireth to be held of his proceedings, as of any part belonging to his charge; for fame is the spirit of great actions, and maketh them memorable or vnworthy by report, cateris mortalibus in eo Stare consilia quid sibi conducere putent, Principum (saith Tacitus) diuer am effe fortem quibus pracipua rerum ad fama dirigenda: wherin there cannot be a better rule for the anoiding of that inconvenience, then that which Lucretius observed; of whom Livie faith, Id prudenter vt in temere susceptare Romanus fecit, quod circumspectis difficultatibus, ne frustra tempus terreret celeriter absistit incepto: for the speedie leaving of any such enterprise, doth excuse the rashnesse which might be imputed to the beginning, and men are not so much blamed

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

for making triall of an ill disgested project, as they are for obstinate continuing



in the fame.

OME services (saith Casar) are Res occasionis non pralij, whereof Some services i haue alreadie disputed. Notwithstanding giue me leaue to are Res ocidde the mistake, which often falleth out in matter of oportuni- cafionis non ie: for in viewing the occurrences of the warres of these latter Pralij. times, we may find that fome hot-spurre commaunders, having

tafted of the good successe which occasion affoordeth, have thought of nothing but of feruices affifted with oportunitie, in fuch maner as at length they forgot that occasion came but feldome, and caried their men ypon such desperate attempts, as prooued the bufineffe to be a matter fearfe affoording meanes to fight for their lines, but were often swallowed vp with denouring daunger: wherein they did mistake the condition of the service, and fell short of Casars example: for albeit he fent out his men to struggle with the height of the hill, and the disaduantage of well fortified campes, yet he knew they should find litle refishance by the enemie, being drawne away vpon other occasions, if they made that expedition as was requifite in this feruice, whereby he left them not

CHAP. XXII.

The Romaines make an affault vpon Gergonia.

Cafar.

Descriptions HESE things being delinered, he gaue the foldiers the figne to begin, and at the same time he fent out the Hedui by another afficent on the right side. The wal of the towne was distant by a right line from the plaine and the foote of the hill (if it lay euen withour any dale or valley) a thousand and two hundred paces: what soeuer more was added in fetching circuits about

to clime the steepe of the hil, was over and besides that distance: from the middest of the hill in length as the nature of the place would beare it, the Gaules had with great stones raised a wall of sixe foote in height, to hinder the assault of our men, and all the lower part being left void and empty, they filled the upper part of the hill even to the wall of the towne with thicke and frequent campes. The fouldiers upon the signe given were quickly come to the workes, and passing over them they possess themselves of three campes with such speed and expedition, that Teutomatus the King of the Nitiobriges being surprised in his tent as he rested about noone time, the upper part of his bodie being naked and his horse wounded, did hardly escape the hands of fouldiers occupied in bootie. Cafar having got that which he propounded to himselfe, commaunded a retreit to be sounded, and the Ensignes of the tenth Legion stand but the fouldiers of the other Legions not hearing the found of the trumpet, forasmuch as a great valley was betweene them, and it was staid notwithstanding by the Tribunes of the fouldiers, and the Legates according as Casar had given in charge: but being caried away aswell with a hope of a speedy victory as by the flight of the enemie and the fortunate battels of former times, they thought nothing so difficult but they could ouercome it by their valour, infomuch as they desifted not from following untill they came to the wal and the gates of the towne. Then a great outery being took up in all parts of the towne, such as were further off being terrified with the suddennes of the tumult thinking the enemie had bene within the gates, did cast themselves out of the towne, and the women cast down their apparel & their siluer fro the wals: holding out their naked breasts of their hands spread abroad, adjured the Romains to faue them, or that they wold not (as they had done at Auaricu) destroy both women and children and some women slipt downe by their hands fro the wal, and gave themselves freely to the souldiers. L. Fabius a centurion of the eight legion, who was heard to fay that day that the bootie which he had got at Auaricum fo firred him up, that he would suffer no man to get up upon the wal before himselfe: having got three of his manipular fouldiers, with their helpe he climed up to the top of the wall, and then he himselfe did helpe up his fellowes. In the meane time such as were on the other side of

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the towne busied infortifying that place (as we have already delinered) first the noise being heard, and then stirred up by often messengers, that the Romaines had tooke the towne, seading their horsemen before they hasted thither in great numbers, and fill as they came they food under the wall, and increased the number of such as they found fighting: a great multitude being at length come together, the wome that a litle before had reached out their hands from the wall to the Romaines, began now to adiure their owne people, and as the maner of the Gaules is, to shew their haire lose about their eares, and to bring out their children.

OBSERVATIONS.

T is both fafe and honourable for Souldiers and inferiour Com- It is honoramaunders to keepe their directions : for whenfoeuer they go a. I bout to inlarge their businesse according to their owne fantasie, in keep their directions. howfocuer occasió may seeme to further their desires, shey inuert the street whole course of discipline, and do arrogate more to them-

felues, then they do attribute to their Generall.

The Romaines were strict in this point, as may appeare by that of Manlius, who put his ownerforme to death for making a happie fight againft the enemie contrary to his directions: for although it fortuned to fall out well at that time, yet the example was fo dangerous in a wel ordered war, that he chose rather to bring a mischiefe vpon his own son, then an incouenience to their military gouernement. Iniussu tuo (faith one in Liuie to the Consull) nunquam pugnabo, non si certam victoriam videam, making profession of true obedience, and ranging himselfe in the order of such parts as have no other office but observance: for an armie is as a bodic, and the fouldies are as particular parts, every man according to his place: the Generall is as the life and foule, and giveth motion to euery part according to reason: and as in a naturall bodie no part can moue without directions from the life; fo in the bodie of an armie, when any part moueth without the confent of the head, the motion is either monftrous or exorbitant, and fareth with fuch an effect as condemneth the instruments of vnaduised rafhneffe.

Polybius faith, that men haue two wayes to come by wildome, either by their owne harmes, or by other mens miscasualties: such wisedome as is got through correction happening by their own errors, is dearely bought, but fitting neare them, is not eafily forgotten: that which is obtained by other mens misfortunes, is well come by, and at an easie rate, but for the most part it is soone forgotten: but fuch as can retaine it to a good vie are most happie men. This precept to fouldiers touching obedience, and the precife keeping of their directions, hath by other mens harmes fo often bin vrged, as a man would thinke that latter ages should beware of this disorder. And yet it falleth out almost in euery smal service, for the greatest losse which the English received at any one time at Oastend, was in a fally, wherein captaine Woodward having possess himselfe of some of the enemies workes, when by his directions he should have stayed,

thinking to improve his reputation by some further service: deeming it easie peraduenture to go forward, he went on beyond the compasse of his commaund, whereby it hapned, that both the enemie had greater scope to reuenge their former dishonour, and the rest of our English troopes that had their part in that project by way of fecond helpes, could not proceede according to their

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of Cyrics.

directions, and so they all returned with losse. That which Zenophon reporteth touching one Chrysantas, is notable to this purpole, who being in the heat of a conflict, & having his fword lift vp to ffrike one of the aduerse partie, he chanced to heare a retreit sounded, whereupon he presently withdrew his hand, and did forbeare to smite him: which how soener to some may seeme ridiculous, and vnsitting the temper of a souldier in time of battell, yet let them know that Zenophon a great Commaunder, and an excellent historian, did alledge that example to the eternall memorie of the forenamed partie, for the knowledge and inftruction of Cyrus, whom he propounde th to the world as an absolute paterne both of militarie and civill vertue.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Romaines continue the affault, and were beaten off with losse.

C.c/ar.

HE contention was not indifferent to the Romaines, neither in place nor in number of combattants, being wearied withall, both with the long race which they had run, and with the continuance of their fight whereby they did not so easily beare the enemy being whole & fresh. Cafar feeing the fight to be in an unequal place of theenemy fill to increase their forces fearing

vnequal place of theenemy still o increase their forces scaring bis people he sent to T. Sextius the legat, who he had lest to comand the leffer camp, to bring out the cohorts speedily & to place the at the foot of the hil on the right side of the enemy to the end that if our me were forced to for sake their place, yet the enemy might be terrified fro following them over freely he him felf remouing a litle out of that place where he stood with the legio, atteded the event of the battel: and as they fought at hand very fiercely, the enemy trusting in the place and in the multitude, and our menin their valour, the Hedui sodainly appeared on the open side of our men, whom Cæsar had sent up by another assent on the right hand, and although they faw their right armes shewed or put forth, which was a signe of peace, yet they doubted lest the enemy had weed that pollicy to deceive them. At the same instant L. Fabius the Centurion, and those that climed up upon the wall with him being flaine, were cast downe from the wal againe, and M. Petreius a Centurion of the same legion as he was about to cut downe the gates, being oppressed with the multitude and despairing of his owne life, having received many wounds: Forasmuch (saith he to his fouldiers that followed him) as I cannot faue my felfe and you too I will certainly prouide for your safetie, whom I have brought into danger whilest I thirsted after honor:

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You while you may, hift for your selues, and withall he brake through the thickest of the enemy and with the flaughter of a couple he removed he rest from the gate. And as

his fouldiers went about to helpe him, In vaine (faith he) do you indeuor to faue my life, which bloud and strength have already for saken: and therefore get you bence while you have meanes, and betake your selves to the legion, and so fighting fell downe dead but faued his men. Our men being overcharged on all sides with the losse of sixe and fortie Centurions, were beaten downe from the place, but the tenth legion which stood for a rescue in a more equall place, hindered the Gaules from following ouer eaverly And againe the cohorts which Fabius had brought out of the campe seconded that legion having got the advantage of the upper ground. The legions assome as they came into the plaine stood still and turned head to the enemy : Vercingetorix drew backe his men from the footc of the hill, and brought them into their camps. That day

OBSERVATIONS.

few lesse then seven hundred souldiers were wanting.

ND this is the end of prefumptuous rashnesse, when men are become so pregnant, as to take vpon them more then is required. But as they fay of faire weather, that it is pitic it should do hurt: so is it great pitte that valour and resolution should proue disaduantageous. For this ouerdoing of a service, is but the spirit of valiant carriage, and the very motion of prowelfe and courage, memorable in the offenders themselues: as we may see by this particular report of Fabius and Petreius; and much to be pitied, that vertue should at any time be ouerquelled with a greater strength.

At this service the Romaines stood in these tearmes, they were overmatched in number, they had spent their strength in speedie running to the place which in it selfe was not fauourable vnto them, but almost as great an enemie as the Gaules, onely they trusted in their valour, and thought by vertue to cleare all difficulties. The Gaules had the fauour of the place, a farre greater number of fighting men, they came fresh to the battell, and were alwaies seconded with fresh supplies. Cafar seeing the two armies ingaged one with another, could neither part them nor recall his fouldiers, but fet fuch forces as were free in fuch convenient places, as might rescue his people in the retreit, and keepe the Gauls from following the chase, or making any great slaughter of the Romaine souldier. Whereby it happened, that in so great an inequalitie, where there were so many fwords drawneto make way to death, there were not feuen hundred men lost of the Romaine armie. And yet it happened to be the greatest losse that cuer he received in those warres in his owne presence, when the issue of the coflict gave the enemie the better of the day.

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CHAP. XXIIII.

Casar rebuketh the rashnesse of his souldiers, and maketh light but successefull skirmilhes vpon the enemie.

Cafar:



Æ S A R the next day calling the armie before him, rebuked the temeritie and cupiditie of the fouldiers, for a smuch as they had tooke upon them to judge how farre they were to go, or what they were to do: neither would they stay upon the sounding of a retreit, nor hearken to the Tribunes nor the Legats a) that would have kept them backe : he laid open unto them how auaileable the inequalitie of the place was, and what he himfelfe thought of it, when at Anaricum he tooke the enemie

without a Generall and without caualyie, and did forgo a most assured victorie, lest in the buckling he might have received a small losse through the inequitie of the place. How admirable was the greatnesse of their spirit? whom neither the fortifications of the campes, the height of the hill, nor the wall of the towne, could stop or hinder? Wherein he blamed their licentious arrogancie the more, for a smuch as they had tooke upon them to judge better of the victorie and the successe of that service, then the Generall himfelfe: neither did he so much desire to find courage and vertue in his fouldiers, as modestie and sobrietie. This speech being delivered, and in the end confirming their minds that they might not be discouraged at the matter, nor attribute that to the woorth of the enemie, which indeed was in the nature of the place, keeping his former purpose of departure, he brought the legions out of the campe, imbutteled them in a convenient place, and finding that Vercingetorix would not be drawne into an indifferent place, after a light skirmish of horse wherein the Romaines had the better, he caried his armie backe againe into the campe, and doing the like the next day, thinking it sufficient to abate the pride of the Gaules, and to strengthen the courage of his soldiers, he removed his campe into the State of the Hedui, the enemy refusing to make after him.

OBSERVATIONS.

Reparation of honour, what it is.



Eparation of honour is a chiefe point in the cariage of an army: for he that leaueth an enemie vpon a losse received, when his fouldiers are either awed or well beaten, must looke to find the fame spirit and courage in them, when they shall come againe to confront the enemie, as they had when they last lefthim with a disaduantage: which is nothing else but an vnskilfull continuance of his own loffe, and a preparation to a fecond ouerthrow. In the warre the Romaines had

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with Anniball, in all the fights they made, they continued their first losse vnto the battell at Nola, at what time by Marcellus good directions, they gave him an ouerthrow, which was the first time that ever Annibals souldiers began to the life of giue place to the Romaines, and repaired the Romaines valour againe, after fo Marcellus. many battels as they loft: for then they were perfwaded that they fought not withan enemie altogether inuincible, but that he was fubiect to losse and ouerthrow. And in respect of this so happies fortune, restoring the Romaine fouldiers to their auncient valour and good fortune, it is that Linie faith: Ingens eo die res, ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta sit. Casar did well vnderstand this Philosophie: and therefore helaboured to repaire the breach which the enemy Lib. 3. bel. had made in the valour of his fouldiers, by light and small skirmishes, before he cimil post pugwould aduenture to hazard the maine drift of the businesse in any set conslict. And the rather for that he had a purpose to leave the enemie for a time, where Casar negue by he seemed to end the former services wherein he had a special care not to sais militabus depart with the last blow, having alwaies before that time had the better: for perterritis cothe condition of the end doth challenge much of the former proceedings, and fidebat, firedoth draw the opinion of men to deeme of al as the conclusion importeth. Ac- tiurng, intercording as Claudius Nero told his fouldiers: Semper quod postremo adiectum fit, ponendum ad

recreandos animos puta-

CHAP. XXV. The Hedui reuolt: Cæsar passeth his

armie ouer the river Loier.

id rem totam videri traxisse.

HE third day be reedified the bridge at the riner of Eleuar, Cafar. and caried ouer his armie: there he under food by Viridomarus and Eporedorix, that Litauicus was gone with all the enemies horse to sollicite the State of the Hedui, and therfore it was requisite that Cæsar should send them before to confirme the State, and keepe them in loyalty. And although Cxfar did mistrust the State of the Hedui for many causes, and did thinke that the departure of these two Nobles would ha-

stentheir renolt, yet he did not thinke it fit to detaine them, lest he should either seeme to do them wrong, or to give any suspition of distrust. At their departure he propounded unto them briefly, how well he had deserved of their State, how low and weake they were when he received them, confined within their townes, their lands extended, all their forces taken from them, a tribute laid upon them, pledges extorted from them with great contumelie: and into what fortune and greatnesse he had brought them againe, that not onely they had recovered their former state, but did exceed the dignitie and fauour of all former times: and with these mandates he let them go. Noniodunum was a towne of the Hedui situate in a convenient place, upon the banke of the river Loicr, thither had Cæfar fent all the hoftages of Gallia, the corne, the publike treasure, and the greatest part of the baggage of the armie, and thither he had

likewise sent great store of horse, which he had bought in Spaine and Italy for the seruice of this warre. Eporedorix and Viridomanus comming thither, and understanding touching the affaires of their State, that Litauicus was received into Bibract by the Hedui, which is the Metropolitane citie of their State, and that Conui-Ctolitanis their chiefe Magistrate, and a great part of the Senate were come unto him, and that publike messengers were sent to Vercingetorix touching a league of peace and amitie, they did not thinke it fit to omit (o great an oportunitie. And thereupon having flaine the Guard at Nouiodunum, with fuch others as were there either by way of trade or trauell, they deuided the money and the horses betweene them, and tooke order that the hostages of the other States should safely be conveyed to Bibract. For the towne, for a smuch as they thought they were not able to keepe it, lest the Romaines might make any vee of it, they burned it: such corne as they could carie on the Sudden they coneyed away in boats, the rest they either burned or cast it into the river. They began to raise forces in the countrie next adioyning to dispose of watches and garisons, on the banke of the river Loies: to shew their Caualrie in all places, to the end they might exclude the Romaines from provision of corne, or drive them through necessitie of want to for sake the Province . Whereof they were the rather assured forasmuch as the Loier was much swelled by a fall of snow, whereby it was unpassable at any foord. Thefe things being knowne, Cafar thought it necessarie for him to make hast, to the end he might give them battell before they had gathered a greater head: for touching his purpose for returning into the Province, he did not thinke it fit by any meanes, both in respect of the shame and infamie thereof, as also for a much as the opposition of the hill Gebenna, and the difficultie of the passage did binder him, but especially for that he did exceedingly desire to ionne himselfe with Labienus and the Legions that were with him. And therefore making great iourneys both by day and night beyond all mens expectation, he came to the river Loier, where the horfmen having found a convenient foord for the necessitie of the time, that the souldiers might passe ouer with their armes and shoulders aboue the water, to hold up their weapons, disposing the horse in the river to breake the force of the streame, and the enemy being affrighted upon their first shew, he caried over his armie in safetie. And having satisfied his souldiers with corne which he found in the fields, and good store of castel, he determined to march towards the Senones.

OBSERVATIONS.

The change which the re solt of the Hedui made in Gallia.

H Egreatest difficultie that ever Casar found in the course of these warres, was at this instant upon the renolt of the Hedui: for wheras that state after Gesars coming into Gallia, was ever reputed the fauorite of the Romaine Empire, having received fuch speciall priviledges and prerogatives above the reft, as might tye them

with an inuiolable bond of amitie to the people of Rome: it was not to be expected that they should for sake so great a stay, or fauour any thing that might tend to the weakening of that authoritie, which preferred them in dignitie before all other states of that continent: and was as a Remora to divers other nations of Gallia, from thewing that defection by plaine and open reuolt, which they had folong before conceived in their minds.

But when it appeared (not with standing any precedent benefite, or the merit of imperial fauours) that the Hedui did affect the common cause of their countries libertie, and were content to ingage themselues therein, as farre as their liues or fortunes could any way be valued: it was not to be doubted, but that fuch other Commonweales, as before that time had remained newtrall. and had leffe cause then the Hedui to keepe backe their hands from a worke of that pietie, would apprehend the matter, as a businesse importing the safetie of their countrie, whereunto Cafar and the Legions were common enemies. The confideration whereof, made Cafar to thinke of returning backe into the Prouince, hadnot the dishonour of such a retreit, and the desire he had to ioyne with Labienus, hindred that purpose.

CHAP. XXVI. Labienus commeth to Lutetia with foure Legions.

@ To a op of HILE these things were done by Cæsar, Labienus hauing Casar. left those supplies which came last out of Italie, at Agendicu for the safetie of the cariages, went himselfe with fuse legions to Luccia a towne of the enemie understanding of his comming, viuer Sequana. The enemie understanding of his comming, great forces were speedily brought together out of the countries neare about: the chiefest commaund was given to Camulo.

genus of the nation of the Aulerci, who not withft anding his great age was called to that honour for his singular knowledge in matter of warre. He finding it to be a continued bog that ran into Sequana, and much hindered all that place, did ftay there with his armie, and purpo (ed to hinder the passage of the Romaines. Labienus did first indevour to drive the vines, to fill up the bog with hurdles and earth, and so to make the passage sirme: but after that he perceived it to be very hard to effect, in the third watch of the night he went out of the campe with silence, and the same way that he came, he went to Melodunum a towne of the Senones, situate in an Islandof Sequana, as Lutetia is: and having surprised some fiftie shippes and boates, and manned them with fouldiers, the town finen being affrighted with the noueltie of the matter, of whom a great part were called out to that warre, he possess himselfe of the town without any relistance: the bridge being reedified which the enemie had cut downe a few dayes before he transported ouer the armie, and went downe along the river towards Lutetia. The enemie having notice thereof by such as escaped from Melodunum, commaunded Lutetia to be burned, and the bridges of the towne to be broken: they themselues for saking the bog, sate downe upon the bankes of Sequana right over against the campe of Labienus. By this time Caesars departure from Gergonia was knowne abroad, with the revolt of the Hedui: and rumors were brought of a second

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tuna committere aduer sus bostem (as Liuy saith) quem tempus deteriorem indies & locus alienus faceret. And to conclude this point, Cafar vpon the loffe which he received at Dyrrhachium, Omnem sibi commutandam belli rationem existimauit, linia. as the storie faith: which was nothing else but varying with the time, and helping a bad fortune with new directions.

CHAP. XXVII.

Labienus passeth the riuer of Sequana, and fighteth with the Gaules.

OR the avoiding of these great difficulties which came so sud- Cesar. dealy wpon him, he knew there was no help to be had, but that which the vertue of his mind would affoord him: and therfore calling a councell a litle before the evening, he adborted them to execute such things as he commaunded both with diligence and industry; and so taking the ships which he had brought from Melodunum, he divided them amongst the Romaine horsemen, and after the first watch he commaunded them to go

foure miles downe the river in silence, and there to attend him : he left five cohorts which he thought to be too weake for any fight as a garrifon to the campe, and fent the other five cohorts of the same legion about midnight with al the cariages up the river, commaunding them to make a great noise and tumult as they went : he sought out all barges and boates, and fent them up the river with much noise and beating of oares: and a litle while after he himfelfewent quietly with three legions to the place where he had commanded the ships to abide him. At his comming thither, the enemies discouerers which were disposed on al parts of the river, were sodainly and at unawares surprised by our men, by reason of a sodain tempest that did rise in the meane time: & the army and the horse were by the diligence of the Romaine Knights (to whom he had committed that businesse) caried over. At the same time a little before day light, the enemy had intelligence that there was an extraordinary noise and tumult in the Romaine campe, and a great troope went up the river, and the beating of oares was heard that way, and a litle below the fouldiers were caried ouer Which being knowne, for a smuch as they judged that the legions were caried ouer in three places, and that they were so perplexed at the revolt of the Hedui, that they fled away: they divided their forces also into three parts, for a garrison being left right ouer against the Romaine campe, and a small band fent towards Glossendium, which was to go so farre as the boates went, they carried the rest of their army to meet Labicnus. By the dawning of the day all our men were caried over, and the enemy was discovered ranged in battell. Labienus adhorting the souldiers to bethinke themselues of their auncient vertue, and to recall the memory of their fortunate battels, and to suppose that Cæsar himselfe was present, under whose leading they had oftentimes overthrowne the enemy, he gaue the signe of battell. Voon the first affront on the right wing where the se-

rifing and motion in Gallia: it was certainely confirmed, that the Gaules were in cosultation, that Casar was kept backe both by the difficulties of the passage, and the riuer Loier, and for want of corne was constrained to returne into the Province. The Bellouacialso understanding of the revolt of the Hedui, whereas they were before trecherous and disloyall of themselves, did now begin to raise forces and prepare for open warre. Labienus upon fo great a chaunge of things, under stood that it was necesfarie for him to take another manner of course then was before intended . For now he thought not of making any conquest, or orging the enemie to battell, but to bring the armie backe in (afetie to Agendicum. For on the one fide, the Bellouaci flood ready to charge him, being a people that had the name for deedes of armes of all the nations in Gallia the other side was kept by Canulogenus with an armie readie in the field: and last of althe legions were kept from their garrison and their cariages with a great river that ranne betweene them and it.

OBSERVATIONS.

He that will do things wel, must vary with the time. HE great alteration which the reuolt of the Hedui made in Galfue, caufed Labienus to let fall his former refolutions, and to shape fuch a course as might best answer the extremity of the tempest; forhe that will attain the end of his desires, or make peace with the affections of his mind, must not thinke at all times to carie a

way contentment with the strength of his meanes, or subdue resistance with force of armes, but must be well pleased to be driven with the streame, untill he meet with a tide of better oportunitie: for oftentimes it falleth out, that the opposition of resisting power is more available then ten legions commaunded by Cafar, or what the Romaine Empire could adde besides to so great an armie: for there is no quantity fo great, but there may be found a greater; nor none fo litle but there may be a leffe; which may teach a man neither to conceit himfelfein a matchlesse singularitie, nor to despaire of a weake condition. And this is that which is so often recommended to the consideration of discrecte Gouernours, whether they be Magistrates in peace, or Commaunders in warre, to put them in mind of the condition of times, and to cary themselues answerable thereunto: forasmuch as fortunate and happie successe, rifeth for the most part from fuch meanes as have respect to the occurrences of the time, not running aiwayes vpon one bias, nor failing at all times with a fore-wind, but fometimes to preffe forward, and fometimes to give backe, according as the circumstances of the time shall make way to good fortune.

Plutarke in the life of Fa

Fabius the great Romaine, thought it no scorne to be called coward, or to vndergo the displeasure of the people of Rome, while he gaue place to the furie of the Carthaginian, and refused to receive a third overthrow. And thus he altered the course of the Romaine warfare according to the time, and overthrew that enemie by shunning to encounter him, which in a battel would have hazarded the conquest of Rome. In like maner Cn. Sulpitius the Dictator did imitate this wisedome of Fabius against the Gaules, by lingring out the warre. Nolens se for-

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uenth legion flood, the enemy was beaten backe and put to flight; in the left cornet where the twelfth legion was the former rankes of the enemie being pierced through and beaten dead downe with the piles, the rest notwithstanding did secretly resist, neither did any man give suspition of stying. Camulogenus the Generall was present with his men, and encouraged them to fight, the victory being uncertaine. When the Tribunes of the seuenth legion understood what was done in the left wing they shewed the legion behind on the backe of the enemy, and there began to charge them, and yet none of them for soke his place, but were all inclosed and slaine, Camulogenus ending his dayes by the same fortune. Such of the enemy as were left ouer against the Romaine campes, understanding that the battel was begun, came to second their fellowes, and tooke a hil, but were not able to abide our conquering fouldiers, but ionning themselues to the rest that fled, were neither protected by the woods nor the mountaines, but were all flaine by the horsemen. This businesse being ended, Labienus returned to Agendicum, where the cariages of the whole army were left, and from thence came to Cæfar with all the forces.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Abienus being to passe the river of Seine, which was strongly guarded by the Gaules, was forced to feeke a meanes out of the vertue of his mind (as Cafar faith) and to lay fuch a project as might amuse the enemic, and keep him in suspence what way to take to preuent

his paffage, vntill he had effected that which he defired: which bringeth to our consideration the saying of Epaminondas the Theban, that there is nothing more necessarie or behouefull for a Generall, then to viderstand the purposes anderstad the of the enemie. A point fo much the more commendable, by how much it is in it selfe difficult, and hard to be discouered; for it were hard to understand their fecret deliberations, which for the most part are oncly knowne to the Generall, or to such chiefe Commaunders as are neare about him, when their very actions which enery man knoweth, and fuch things as are done in the open view of the world, are oftentimes doubtfull to an enemic.

Liuy hath a notable storie to this purpose. Sempronius the Romaine Confull giuing battell to the Equi, the fight continued vntill the night parted them, not without alteration of fortune, fometimes the Romaines prenailing, and fometimes the Equi: the night coming on, both fides being wearie and halfe routed, they for sooke their campes, and for their better safetie tooke each of them a hil. The Romaine armie divided it felfe into two parts, the one part followed the Confull, and the other a Centurion named Tempanius, a fellow of great spirit, and had shewed much worth in the battell. The next morning the Confull without further inquirie, made towards Rome; and fo did the Equi withdraw their armie backe into their countrey, either of them deeming themselues ouerthrowne, and casting victorie vpon ech others shoulders. It happened that Tempanius with that part of the armie that kept with him, inquiring after the

enemy,

enemie, tound him to be ouerthrowne and fled : whereupon he first went to the Romaine campe and made that good, and then marched to the campe of the Equi, which he tooke and rifled, and fo returned victor to Rome.

The morning following the battell of Agincourt, Montjoy the French He- Holinshead. rald comming to inquire for prisoners, King Henry asked him who had wonne Henry the 5. the field to which he answered, that the French had lost it: which was vnknowne to that worthy Conquerour. Plutarke writeth, that Cassius killed himfelfe youn the like errour, not knowing the fortune of the right wing of his armie. And therefore it must needes be a commendable matter, to vnderstand the deliberations of an enemie, when the iffue of a battell is oftentimes fo vncertaine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Amulogenus hath the report in this place of fingular knowledge The fittest and experience in matter of warre, and being of a great age he age of life for fought as resolutely as the youngest gallant of them all : which a Generall. may bring to our confideration the fittest age of life to be wihed in a Generall, for the atchieuing of noble and worthy ex-

ploits: wherein we are to confider, that the youthand former yeares of a mans age, are plentifully stored with hot bloud and nimble spirits, which quickly apprehend the conceptions of the mind, and carie them with fuch violence to execution, that they bereaue the judgement of her prerogatine, and give it no refpite to sensure them; whereby it commeth to passe, that young men are for the most part heedlesse, inconsiderate, rash and resolute, putting more vpon hazard then vpon good aduice.

On the other side, old age is cold in bloud, and not so quicke of spirit, but being beaten with the rod of long experience, it learneth to be flow and lingring, full of doubts and confideration, inclining rather to a feminine feare, then to a forward refolution-

Neither of these attributes are simply in themselves the best attendants of noble enterprises: for a hot-spurre gallant may runne apace, but not go sure; and what young man foeuer be advanced to commaund, had neede of an old mans wit to discharge it. And if authoritie did at any time fall into the hands of youth in the Romaine gouernement, which was very feldome, it was Pramium virtutis, non statis. Pompey was extraordinarie happie in that behalfe, for he attained the furname of Great, because he had deserved the honour of triumph before his beard was growne. And yet Sertorius tooke fuch aduantage at Pom- Plutarke in peys youth, comming against him in Spaine, that he said he would have whipped the yong boy to Rome againe with rods, had not that old woman (meaning Metellus) come to helpe him.

Againe, where old age heapeth doubt vpon doubt, and falleth into the dan- Hist. 3. ger of unprofitable lingring, Nec ausus est satisnec providit, it wanteth boldnesse

the life of Sertorius.

Necessary for

a Generall to

Plutarke in the life of Marius.

to steele the enterprise, and falleth also short of good prouidence, as Tacitus speaketh of F. Valens. Augustus Casar purposing to commend Tiberius his fuccessor with an extraordinarie praise, said he was a man that neuer put one thing to be twife consulted of. And it is said of Marius, that being come to the age of threescore and fine yeares or thereabouts, he shewed himselfe very cold and flow in all his enterprises, forasmuch as age had mortified his actine heate, and killed that readie disposition of bodie that was wont to be in him. The Romaines finding Fabius Maximus to be full of doubts and delay, good to defend, but not to offend, and Marcellus of a stirring spirit, neither quiet with good nor ill fortune, (as Anniball truly faid of him) they thought to joyne Marcellus youthfull courage with Fabius feare and wisedome, and so make a temperature fit for a Generall; whereupon they called Marcellus the fword, and Fabius the buckler: wherein Cafar of himselfe was excellent, of whom Suctonius reporteth, Dubium cautior, an audentior.

The best state of yeares then for this businesse, is that which tempereth the heare of youth with the coldnesse of age, and quickneth the slow and dull proceedings of double aduice, with the rathnesse of youthfull resolution: and falleth out betweene the yeares of fiue and thirtie, and fiue and fiftie. Scipio African commaunded the Romaine armie in Spaine at foure and twentie yeares of age, and died at foure and fiftie. Anniball was chosen Generall to As a ruball at fixe and twentie yeares, and poyloned himselfe at threescore and ten. Pompey was flaine at nine and fiftie, and Cafar at fixe and fiftie : Marcellus kept his youthfull resolution to his old dayes, for being threescore yeares of age, he neuer longed for any thing more then to fight with Anniball hand to hand.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Gaules consult of the cariage of that warre.

Cafar.



2 CAGE HE reuolt of the Hedui being knowne, the warre waxed greater, Ambassadors were sent out into all parts, and they laboured to draw the rest of the States to their party, as farre as either fauour, authoritie, or money could preuaile: hauing oot the pledges into their hands which Casar had left with them, they terrified such as stood doubtfull, by threatning to kill them . The Hedui do desire Vereingetorix to come unto them, and to acquaint them with the course of that warre: which being yeelded unto, they labour to have the chiefe commaund transferred upon them: the matter growing unto a controversie, a generall Councell of all Gallia was summoned at Bibract: thither they repaired in great multitudes : and the matter being put to voices, they

all with one consent made allowance of Vercingetorix for their Generall, The men of Rhemes with the Lingones and Treuiri were absent from this Councell, the two first continuing their affection to the Romaine partie: the Treuiri were farre off, and were annoyed by the Germaines; in which respect they were absent from that warre, and remained neutrall. The Hedui were much grieued that they were put by the principalitie, they complaine of the chaunge of their fortune, and wished for Casars former indulgence, neither durst they disionne themselves againe from the rest, the warre being already undertaken: but Eporedorix and Viridomarus, two young men of great hope, were constrained, though unwilling, to obey Vercingetorix; he commaunded pledges to be deliuered by the rest of the States, and appointed a day for that businesse: he commaunded sisteene thousand horse to be speedily brought together: touching foote forces, he would content himselfe with those which he had; for his purpose was not to wage battell but where as he was very strong in horse. He made no doubt to keepe the Romaines from corne and forrage, onely they must patiently endure to have their come spoiled and their houses burns; which particular losse would quickly be recompensed with libertie and perpetuall soneraigntie. These things being ordered, he commaunded ten thousand foote to be raised by the Hedui and Segutiani bordering upon the Province, and to them he added eight hundred horse, and sent them under the commannd of Eporedorix his brother, to make warre against the Allobroges . And on the other side, he caused the Gaballi and the nearest villages of the Aruerni to set upon the Heluij, the Rutheni, and the Cardurci, and to depopulate their countrey. Notwithstanding by secret messages he dealt with the Allobroges, whose minds he thought to be scarce setled from the former warre: he promised money to their shiefest men, and to give the governement of all the Romaines Province to their State. To answer all these chaunces, there were provided but two and twenty cohorts, which being raised out of the Province, were disposed by L. Cæsar a Legate to prevent these mischiefes. The Hedui of their owne accord giving battell to their borderers, were beaten out of the field, and were driven into their townes with the slaughter of C. Valerius Denotaurus, the sonne of Caburus the chiefe man of their State, and of many other. The Allobroges having fet many watches and garrifons upon the river Rheine, did with great care and diligence defend their borders. Cafar vnderstanding the enemy to be stronger in horse then he himselfe was, and the passages being shut that he could not send either into the Province or into Italie for any Supplies , he sent over the Rheine into Germanie, and got horse from such States as he had quieted the yeare before, with such light armed footemen as were accustomed to fight amongst the horse : at their arrivall, forasmuch as they were not well fitted with horse, he tooke the horses from the Tribunes and the Romaine Knights, and distributed them among st the Germaines.

OBSERVATIONS.

Three chiefe meanes to wir men to fanor a matter. i Fanour or friendship. 2. Authoritie 3. Money.

HERE are three principall meanes to drawa state into a partie which of it felfe standeth newtrall, or to win the minds of men, when they carie equall or indifferent affections. The first is, by fauour or friendship. The second, by authoritie: and the third by

Friendship relyeth vpon former respects, and the exchaunge of precedent courtefies. Authoritie concludeth from future daungers, and the inconueniences which may follow the refufall. Money doth gouerne the prefent occasio, and is more generall then either fauour or authoritie. The Gaules were not wanting to make their partie good in any of these three perswading motiues: but as Cafar faith: Quantum gratia, authoritate, pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas ciuitates mituatur.

Wherin as they went about to lay the stockevpon it, so they left themselves but one triall for the right of their cause, and ioyned issue for all youn the fortune of that action: for when they should see their best possibilities too weake, and their vttermost indeauours profite nothing against a mightic preuailing enemie, the greater their hopes were which they had in the meanes, the greater would be their despaire when such meanes were spent : for it is a shrewd thing for men to be out of meanes, and not to drive a hope before them.

It is vsuall upon such maine occasions to imploy the chiefest man in a State, in whome the fouldiers may have most affurance, and to accompanie him with fuch meanes as the strength of the Commonweale may affoord him: but if their greatest hopes die in his ill successe, or waxe faint through cold fortune, the kingdome receiveth loffe, and the enemie getteth advantage, as may appeare by the fequele of this great preparation.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Caualrie of the Gaules do set vpon the Romaine army, and are beaten.



HILE these things were a doing the enemies forces and the horsemen that were commaunded to be leavied in all Gallia, met together and came out of the territories of the Arucrni. A great number of these being gathered together, as Casfar marched against the Sequani by the borders of the Lingones, to the end he might the easier releeve the Province, Vercingetorix sate downe about ten miles from the Romaines in three senerall campes, and calling the Captaines and Coro-

nels of horse to counsell, he told them that the time of victorie was now come: for the

Romaines left Gallia, and fled into the Province: which was sufficient for the obtaining of their present libertie, but availed little for the peace and quiet of future time. for asmuch as the Romaines did not purpose to make an end of the warre, but to returne againe with greater forces. And therefore it was necessarie to set upon them in their march laden with carriages. If the foote did afift their horse, then they were not able to make any way or proceede in their iourney. But if (which he hoped would rather happen) for faking their cariages every man shifted for himselfe, they would depart both robbed of their necessaries and of their honour: for they need not doubt of the enemies horse, of whom he was most assured that they durst not go out fro among st the foote forces. And to the end they might be the better incouraged, he would draw al the forces in a readines out of the campe, and place them so as they might be a terror to the enemy. The horsemen cryed out all together, that this resolution might be strengthened with an holy oath: Let him neuer be received under any roofe, or have ascesse to his wife and children, that did not twice runne through the armie of the ezemie. The shing being well liked of, and energy man forced to take that oath, the next day he devided his canalrie into three pares: two armies shewed themselves on each side, and the third began to make stay of the vanward: which being knowne, Casar deuided his horses likewise into three parts, and sent them to make head against the enemie. At the same time they fought in all parts, the army stood still, the cariages were received within the Legions: if our men were oversharged any where, Cafar bent the Legions that way, which did both hinder the enemie from following them, and affure our men of hope of refeve. At length the Germaines having poffest themselues of a hill on the right side, did put the enemie from their place, and followed the as they fledeuen to the river, where Vercingetorix stayed with the foote companies. and flue many of them; whereupon the rest fearing lest they should be encompassed about, betooke themselves to flight: execution was done in all places. Three of the Nobilitie of the Heduiwere taken and brought to Cæsar, Cotus the Generall of the horse, who at the last election of Magistrates stood incontrover se with Convictolitanis, and Cauarillus who after the revolt of Litauicus, commaunded the foote troopes, and Eporedorix under whose commaund, before Cæsars comming into Gallia, the Hedui made warre with the Sequani: all the canalrie being put to flight Vercingetorix drewin his forces which he had imbattelled before his campe, and immediatly after began to march towards Alesia a towne of the Mandubij, commaunding the baggage to be speedily brought out of the campe and to follow him. Cçfar having conveyed his cariages to the next hill under the custodie of two Legions, he followed the enemie as long as the day would give him leave: and having slaine some two thousand of the reareward, the day following he encamped at Alcsia.

OBSERVATIONS.

HE Gaules were much stronger then the Romaines in Caualry, canadrie or both according to quantitie and qualitie, but the Romaine Infanterie was greater in vertue and worth then any foote forces of the of greater Manufactures greatest and of their inequalitie in number: which and of in a man their leading in a man their leading in a man their leading in a theweth that the Romaines did more relye vpon their legionarie warre.

Whether the

Cafar.

fouldiers, then vpon their Equites: and may ferue for an argument in the handling of that question, which is so much debated amongst men of warre, whether the horse or the soote companies be of greater importance in the cariage of a warre? Which indeed is a question a male divisis: being both so necessarie for the perfect execution of martiall purpoles, as they cannot well be dif-ioyned. And if we looke particularly in the nature of their feuerall feruices, we shall easily discerne the differences, and be able to judge of the validitie of their

Footmen fitter for more Ceruices then horfemen.

Wherein first it cannot be denyed, but that foote companies are serviceable to more purposes then troupes of horse: for the horsemen are of no vse, but in open and champion places: whereas footemen are not onely of importance in fielden countries, but are necessarie also in mountenous or woodie places, in valleys, in ditches, in feiges, and in all other parts of what fite or nature focuer, where the horsemen cannot shew themselves. Whereby it appeareth, that the infanterie extendeth it service to more purposes then the canalrie, and maketh the warre compleat, which otherwise would proue lame and vneffectuall.

The maine stroke in a da of battellis giuen by the footmen.

Touching the waight of the bufineffe when it commeth to a day of battell, it resteth for the most part vpon the foote troopes: for the horsemen are prositable to the armie wherein they ferue, by making discoueries, by harrying the enemies countrey, by giving fuccour or refeue vpon a fuddaine, by doing execution vpon an ouerthrow, and by confronting the enemies horse: but these

The vie of hor femen.

are but as second services, & fal short of the maine stroke, which for the most part is given by the footmen. Neither doth a rowt given to the caualtie feruing an armie royall, concerne the bodie of that armie further then the feruices before mentioned: but the armie doth oftentimes go on notwithstanding, and may well atchieue a happie victorie: whereas vpon the ouerthrow of the infanterie, the horsemen haue nothing to do, but to shift for themselues, and get away to their owne home. So that it appeareth that the foote companies are the bulke and bodie of the armie, and the horse as the armes and outward parts having expedient and necessarie offices, but alwaies subordinate to the maine stroke given by the foote.

in the warres: and why.

If any man looke for proofe hereof by example, he shall not need to seeke The Distator further then the Romaines, being maisters of the art militarie, who by an aunciforbidden the ent law interdicting the Dictator to have the vse of a horse in the warres for his we of a horse private case: intimated as Plutarke saith, The strength of their armie to consist in their footmen, which the Generall in a day of battell should affist with his presence, and in no wife for sake them if he would. But touching theyse of war amongst them, their Equites were so farreshort of the service performed by their foote troopes, that when they would stand to it indeed, they for sooke their horsesand fought on soote: as in the battell with the Latines at the lake Regillus, which I haue alreadie mentioned in my former observations. Neither were the Romaines good horsemen, as it seemeth by Cafar: for he tooke the horses from the Tribunes and the Romaine Equites, and gaue them to the Germaines, as better Rutters then any Romaines. But howfocuer a State that aboundeth in horse, and trusteth more in them then in soote companies, may harrie

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a champion country, but shall neuer beable to follow a war with that strength, as is requisite to make it fortunate.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar besiegeth Alesia, and fighteth with the enemies caualrie.



A SAR having viewed the site of the towne, and knowing the enemie to be much troubled for the overthrow of their horse in whom they put all their hopes, adhorting the fouldiers to take a litle paines, he determined to inclose the towne round a-bout with a ditch and a rampier. Alcsia was sited on the 300 a) of a hill in a very eminent place, and not to be taken but by a

continuall siege: at the foote of the hill rantwo rivers on each side of the towne: before the towne there lay a plaine of three miles in length, the other sides were enclosed round about in a reasonable distance with hils of equall height with the towne. Vnder the wall on the East side lay all the forces of the Gaules, having drawne a ditch and a driewall on that part of eight foote in height: the whole circuit of the workes which the Romaines made to inclose the town about, contained eleuen miles . Their campe was sited in a convenient place, where there were made three and twentie castles, which in the day time were kept by garrifons, and in the night by strong watches. The worke being began, there happened a skirmish betweene the caualrie of both sides in that plaine which lay before the towne of three miles in length: they fought eagerly on both sides: our men being ouercharged, Casar fent the Germaines to second them, and set the Legions before the campe, lest there might happen any sudden falley by the foote troupes of the enemie. V pon the safegard of the Levions our men tooke courage, the enemiewas put to slight, and be-ing many in number one hindred another, and slucke in heapes in the straight pasfage of their gates. The Germaines followed them close to their fortifications, and made agreat execution amongst them: many of them for saking their horses attempted to leape the ditch, and to clime over the drie wall. Cafar commaunded the legions imbattelled before the campe to advance a litle forward. The Gaules that were within the fortification were no litle troubled : for thinking the enemie would prefently have come unto them, they made an alarme: some were so frighted that they brake into the towne. Vercingetorix commaunded the gates to be shut lest the campe should be left naked of defendants: many of the enemie being slaine, and very many horfes taken the Germaines fell off and returned to Cafar.

One enent is not so certaine for the approsing of a cause saw then it is seconded with another of like condition. Orafinuch as cafualtie and chaunce haue oftentimes the prerogatiue of a feruice, and in mifdeeming opinions do carie away
the honour from vertue and valour: the first triall of a fortune is
not of that affirmance, nor fo much to be trufted, as when it is secondedazaine with the like effect; for whom a

conded againe with the like effect: for when a matter by often triall falleth out to be of one and the same qualitie, it sheweth a certaintie of a cause, producing ends of like condition. The Gauss (as it seemeth) were much discouraged vpon the first ouerthrow of their horse, in whom they so much beleeued, and altered the course of their high resolutions so farre, as where before they sware the ouerthrow of the Romains, they were now content to take the protection of a strong towne: but this second soile which they received, did fo affure them of a harder confrontment and stronger opposition then they were able to beare, that they neuer thought of any further triall, but were content to go away losers, rather then to hazard their lives in a third combat. And thus, when a second euent backeth a former fortune, it taketh away the sufpition of cafualtie, and maketh the winner bold, and the lofer desperate. Pomper was so trasported with iou for the blow which he gaue C.efar at Dyrrachin, that he sent letters of that daies victorie into all parts of the world, and made his fouldiers so secure touching the issue of that warre, vt non de ratione belli cogitarent, sed vicisse iam sibi viderentur: not remembring as Cafar faith, the ordinary chaunges of warre; wherein oftentimes a small matter, either of a false sufpition, or of a fudden fright, or some other accident, doth indanger an armie, which the enemie taketh to himselfe, perinde ac si virtute vicissent.

CHAP. XXXI.

Vercingetorix fendeth away the horse: Cæsar incloseth Alesia with a strong wall.



ERCINGETORIX thought it best to dismisse all the borse, and send them away in the night besore the sortifications were persited by the Romaines. At their departure he comanded them, that cuery man should repaire unto his owne State, and send all to that warrethat were able to be are armes; he layeth open his deserts towards them, and doth adjure them to have regard to his safetic, and not to suffer him to be delined over to the torture of the enemy, that had so wel deserved of the

common libertie; wherein if they should proue negligent, four escore thousand chosen

men would perish with him in that place: and looking into their provisions, he found that they had corne scarce for thirty dayes, but by sparing and good husbandry it might be made to serve longer. With these mandates he sent out the horsmen in silence about the second watch of the night, at that part of the towne where the workes were not perfited: he commanded all the corne to be brought waso him upon paine of death. The cattel he distributed to the souldiers by pole, whereof there was great store brought out from the Mandubij : the corne he began to measure out very sparingly . All the forces which he had placed before the towne, he received within the walles; and so he purposed to attend the supplies of Gallia: which being knowne by the runne-awayes and captines, Cæsar appointed to make these fortifications: he drew a ditch of twenty foot in breadth and depth, with straite sides, as broade at the bottome as at the top. The rest of the worke he made forty foote short of that ditch, which he did for these reasons; that the whole body of the Romaines might not eafily be inclosed about with an army of souldiers which he shought to preuent by taking in so great a circuit of ground; and secondly, lest the enemy fallying out upon a sodaine, should in the night come so destroy the workes, or in the day time trouble the fouldiers with darts and casting weapons as they were busied about the workes. This space of fortie foote being left, he made two ditches of fifteene foote in breadth and depth, the inermost whereof being caried through the fields, and the lower ground he filled with water drawne out of the river: behind them he made a ditch and a rampier of twelue foote, and strengthened it with a parapet and pinacles, and with great boughes of trees cut in cags like unto a Harts horne, which he set where the houels were joyned to the rampier, to hinder the enemie from climing up, and made towers round about the whole worke, in the distance of fourescore foote one from another. At the same time the Romaine souldiers were both to get stuffe for the fortification, to go a haruesting for provision of corne, and to make such great workes: our forces being much weakened, and were to seeke corne and stuffe far off from the campe, the Gaules oftentimes attempting to destroy the workes, and to fally out of the towne at divers ports: and therefore Cæfar thought it fit to adde this much more to the the foresaid workes, that the fortifications might be made good with the lesse number of men. He made ditches round about the workes of five foote deepe. and in them he planted either the bodies of trees or great firme boughs sharpened into many pikes and snags, being bound together at the bottome, that they might not be casily plucked up, and spreading themselues at the top into very sharpe cags. There were of these fine rankes, so combined and infolded one in another, that which way soener the enemie should enter upon them, he would necessarily runne himselfe upon a sharpe stake, these they called Cippos. Before these in oblique courses, after the manner of a quincunce were digged holes of three foote deepe, narrow at the bottome like a suger loafe; these they set with round stakes of the bignesse of a mans thigh, with a Sharpe hardned point, in such fort that they stucke not aboue foure singers out of the

earth, and for the better fastening of them they stucke all a foote within the ground,

the rest of the hole for the better ordering of the matter, was hid with ofiers and

spreads: of these were eight courses three foote distant one from another, and these they

called Lillies, from the refemblance they had to the figure of that flower. Before these

were galthrops of a foote long fastened in the earth, and headed at the top with bar-

bed hookes of iron, sowed up and downe in all places in a reasonable distance one from

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another, and these they called Stimulos. The inner fortistications being thus persited, be followed the euen and leuel ground as much as the nature of the place would give him leave, and tooke in source emiles in circuit, and made the like sortistications in all points against the enemie without, as he had done against the towne, to the end that is he were driven upon occasion to depart and leave the workes, it might be no dawnger for him to leave the campe: sor amuch as a few men would desend; he commaunded every man to have forrage and provision of corne for thirty dayes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Romaine workes

Promifed in my former observation to speake somewhat touching the Ramaine workes, and to shew the viet they made of them in their greatest occasions: but this description of the workes at Alesia, doth so farre exceede the inlargement of commenting words, that it hath drowned the eloquence of great Horians, and in stead of expositions and inforcements, hath drawne from them speeches expressing greater admiration then believe: circa Alesiam (saith Paterulus) tanta res gesta, quantas andere vix hominis perfecte ranslins nis Dei sturit. To inclose a towne with a ditch and a rampier of elenen miles in circuit, was a matter worthie the Ramaine armie: but to adde such varietie of workes, and to make such strange trapes and oppositions against an enemie, was admirable to the hearer; and not that onely, but to make the like workes without, to keepe the Gaules from raising the siege, did double the wonder: by which works he did besiege and was besieged, tooke the towne and ouerthrew the enemie in the field.

Such as fince that time haue imitated this industrie onely by a small disch and a rampier (for I thinke no man ever made such works) have wrought wonders in matter of warre. Castruccio got the name of renewing the auncient militarie discipline in Italy, chiesty for that he besteged Pistoia, and with the helpe of a double trenchaccording to the exaple of Castar, he kept in the Pistoyans on the one side, and kept out an armie on the other side of thirtie thousand soote and three thousand horse, in such maner as in the end he tooke the citie and made their succours of no effect. The States armie of the vnited Provinces vnder the leading of Grave Maurice, did the like at the towne of Grave in the yeare 1602. But of this at Alesa may well be said that which Liny speaketh of the battell at Nola: Ingens eo die res ac nessio an maxima illo bello gesta sit.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

T is here deliuered, that the outward circuit of the workes con-

tained foureteene miles, and the circuit of the inward workes I we cleuen miles: vpon which ground *Influs Lipfius* maketh an vniuft coniecture of the fpace betweene the outward and the inward conjecture of the space betweene the outward and the inward mistaken. workes where the Romaines lay incamped. For according to the Poliorceticon proportion betweene the circumference and the diameter, he maketh the dia- [Lib.2.Dial.2. meter of the greater circle foure, and of the leffer three miles: and then he taketh the leffer diameter out of the greater, and concludeth the space to be almost a mile betweene the inner and the outward rampier where the Romaines lay incamped betweene the workes: and least the matter might be mistaken in ciphers, he doth expresse it at large in fignificant words, whereby he maketh the space twife as much as indeede it was : for the two circles having one and the same center, the semidiameter of the one was to be taken out of the semidiameter of the other, and the remainder would amount almost to halfe a mile; which according to the ground here deliuered, was the true diffance between the workes, if the nature of the place (whereunto they had a respect) would fuffer them to keepe the same distance in all parts; but aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus, and no diffrace neither to the excellencie of his learning, deferuing all honour for the great light which he hath brought to the knowledge of Hi-

CHAP. XXXII.

stories, and for redeeming the truth from blots and Barbarisme.

The Gaules raise an armie of 24,8000. to raise the siege at Alesa.

HILE these things were a doing at Alessa, the Gaules have a ling summoned a Councell of the Princes and chiefest men of each State, they thought it not convenient to take all that were able to beare armes according to Vercingetorix direction. If the proportion of a certaine number for every State, less that of such a confused, multitude there would be no government, being not able to know their souldiers, or to martiall the in any good order, or to make provision of victuals for so great

a bodie. The Hedui and their clients were commaunded to fend out five and thirtie thousand, the Aruerni with their clients as many: the Senones, Sequani, Bituriges, Santones, Rutheni, Carnutes, twelve thousand: the Bellouaci, ten thousand, the Lemouices as many, the Parisij & Heluetij eight thousand, the Senones, Am-

a:

biani, Medionatrices fine thousand, the Attrebates foure thousand, the Vellocassi Lexonij, Aulerci, Eburones three thousand, the Raucaci and Boij thirtie thoufand, the States bordering upon the Ocean, whom by the custome of Gallia they call Aremoricæ, such as are the Curiosolites, Rhedones, Ambibarri, Caletes, Ofishmi, Lemouices , Vnelli fixe thousand: of these the Bellouaci refused to give their number, saying, that they would make warre with the Romaines in their owne name, and according to their owne directions, neither would they serue under any

mans commaund. Notwithstanding being intreated by Comius for his (ake they fent two thousand. Casar as we have heretofore delivered, had weed the helpe of this Comius the yeares before in Brittaine, being both faithfull and serviceable: for the recompence of which service he had freed his state of all duties to the Romaine Empire, and restored unto them their auncient lawes and customes, and to himselfe he

had given the Morini. Notwithstanding such was the vniversall consent of all Gallia to redeeme their auncient honour in matter of warre, as neither friendship, nor the memorie of former benefites could any way move them, every man intending that war as farre as either the power of his mind or the possibilitie of his meanes would reach unto: and having drawn together eight thousand horse, 2 hundred & forty thousand foote, they mustered their forces in the confines of the Hedui, there they appointed sap-

taines, and the chiefe commaund was given to Comius of Arras, and to Viridomarus, and Eporedorix Hedui: and to Vergafilanus of the Aruerni, and coufin germaine to Vercingetorix. To these there were certaine chosen out of every State to give assistance in councell of warre, and all of them went to condly and full of hope to Alesia. Neither was there any man that did thinke, that the very fight of fuch a multitude were able to be endured, especially when the fight would grow doubtfull by

Callies made out of the towne, and fo great forces of horse and soote should be seene without.

What num-

ber of men

are a compe-

tent proporti

for any fer-

utce.

OBSERVATIONS.



Ercingetorix defire was to hauchad as many of the Gauls fent to his refcue as were able to beare armes, grounding himfelfe vpon that maxime, where the whole state is in question, there the whole forces of that State are to be employed. But the other Princes of Gallia, thought it not expedient to raile fo great a

number: for they would have accrewed to fuch a multitude of people, as could not have bene contained within the rules of government: which may bring to our confideration that which the course of these times doth not often bring into dispute: What number of men well martialled and with good discipline, are a competent proportion for any feruice? Xerxes armie which he caried into Greece, was famous for two respects: first, in regard of the multitude which was so great, that when he himselfe returned backe into Asia, he left behind him three hundred thouland of the best fouldiers chosen out of the wholearmie, under the conduct of one Mardonius. Secondly, that of fo many fighting men, there were two hundred and threefcore thousand flaine in

one battel, with the loffe of one thousand & three hundred Grecians. Whereby it appeareth, that the conquest of a kingdome doth not necessarily follow the multitude of fouldiers in an armie; for either Xerxes armie was too few in number to conquer Greece, or too many to be well martialled.

Marius with fiftie thousand men defeated the Cimbri that were so many in Plutarhe in number, as they made a battel of thirtie furlong fquare, and of them he flue a the life of hundred and twentie thousand, and tooke threescore thousand prisoners. And Marius. for that I do remember of that which I have read, the greatest conquests that euer were made, were atchieued with armies vnder fifty thousand fighting me. The great Alexander subdued all Asia, and fet the Monarchy from the Per-

fian into Greece with thirtie thousand men.

The Romaines had very feldome ten legions in an armie which was about that rate, but commonly their conquering armies were farre under that proportion. Paulus Emilius onely had a hundred thousand in his armie against Plutark in the Perfeus, and wonne the battell in an houre. The condition of our times agoui- life of Paulis reth no dispute touching this point, for we seldome see an army of fiftie thou- Emilia. fandmen in the field, vnleffe it be the Turke or fome fuch Monarke.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Critognatus speech at Alesia, touching the keeping of the towne.

CAGA HEY that were besieged in Alesia, the day being past by which they looked for succour, their corne being spent, and not knowing what was done abroad, entred into confultations not knowing what was done abroad, entred into confultations touching the end of their fortune; and divers opinions being delinered, some of them tending to the yeelding up of the towne, and others persuading that as long as strength listed which there might be sallies continually made upon the enemic.

I will not omit the speech of Critognatus for the singular and wicked crueltie which it imported, a man of great birth and authoritie among 5t the Aruerni. I will fay nothing (faith he) of their opinion that call base seruitude by the name of rendry: neither do I thinke them fit to be acccompted citizens, or to be admitted to councell of State: with them will I deale withall that like well of fallies, in whose advice and councell even by all your confents the memory of auncient vertue seemeth to consist. It is no vertue but a weaknesse of the mind, not to be able to endure want a litle while. It is an easier matter to find men that will offer themselves willingly to death, then fuch as will endure labour with patience. For mine owne part, I could like well of that opinion (for honour much prevaileth with me) if I did not see a further losse then of our lives, but in these our consultations let vs looke vpon all Gallia, whom we have called together to succour vs. What spirits do you thinke would our friends and kinse-

men conceive, fourescore thousand men being slaine, in a place if they were constrained to wage battel upon their dead carcafes? I would not have you to defraud them of your helpe that do neglect all perill for your sake, nor by your foolishnesse and your rashnesse, or the weaknesse of your mind, throw downe all Gallia, and cast it into perpetuall bon. dage. Do you doubt of their faith and constancie, because they came not by a day? What do the Romaines then meane in these outward workes? Do you thinke they make them for exercise, or to passe away the time? If you cannot then receive assurance by their messengers all passage being stopt, whe them for witnesses that their comming is at hand, for feare whereof they labour night and day. What then? my advice is that we do as our forefathers did in a war against the Cimbri and Teutons not equal to this, who being shut up within their townes, and brought to the like necessitie, did satisfie their hunger with the bodies of such as were found wnfit for warre, neither did they yeeld them elues unto the enemy, whereof if we had not an example, yet I would judge it an excellent thing to be begun now for liberties sake, and to be left to posterity: for monat warre was like this? Galliabeing wasted and dispecpled, and the kingdome brought into great mifery, the Cimbri at length for fooks our country, and fought out other territories, and left unto us our lawes, customes, lands and libertie: for the Romaines, what is it they desire, or what would they have? But being drawne on with malice and envie whom they under food to be a noble and a warlike nation, their fields and cities they did desire to take from them, and to yoke them with eternall bondage as neuer making warre with other condition: for if you be ignorant what they do farre off in other countries, looke at home in that part of Gallia which is reduced into a Pronince. Their lawes and customes being changed, it is subjected to the axe and to perpetuall servitude. Their opinions being delivered, they decree that such as through age or sicknesse were unfit for war should depart the towns, and that they should prove all meanes before they yeelded to Critognatus opinion, and yet if the matter fo required, to consent unto it, and to attend their succours rather then to yeeld to any rendry and condition of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

How long a Commaunder may hold out in a siege.

T is oftentimes made questionable in the extremitie of a sleege, how farre the Commaunders may go in continuing their restigance to the danger and hazard of the people besieged? whether they may not in honour proceede as farre as Critognatus opinion would draw them? or how they may know when to leaue it, in the very point of discreete and valiant cariage; which is to be answered according to the qualitie of the enemic that giveth sleege to the place; for against a trecherous and disloyall enemie, that maketh prosession of inside-litie, and would not slicke after a composition to insnare them in a greater danger then the perill of death, there would be much endured rather then to vndergo so hard a fortune; and yet I do no way approoue the cruell resolution of

this Gaule, but do rather commend the example of the Hungarians at the fiege of Agria; for in the yeare 1562. Mahomet Baffa lay before that towne with an Agria. armie of threescore thousand Turkes, and layd batterie to it with fiftie canons. There were within the Towne two thousand Hungarians, who endured and put off thirteene most terrible assaults of the enemie: and for the better strengthening of their high resolution, they tooke a mutuall oath that no man vpon paine of death should once speake of a treatie, or of giving vp the Towne, or to make any answer to the enemie but by the hargebuse or the canon. And if the fiege should happen to continue long, rather to die for hunger then to put themselues in the hands of so cruell and barbarous an enemic. They determined further, that fuch amongst them that were not seruiceable with a weapon, should attend continually to reenforce the rampier and repaire the ruines. And to avoide trecherie, they tooke order that there might be no affemblies in the citie aboue the number of three together. They commaunded likewise that all the victual as was either publique or priuate, should be divided into equal portions amongst the fouldiers, and the best of it should be reserved for such as were hurt in fight. It is further reported, that the Baffa having oftentimes offered a treatie, they onely shewed for an answer to his sommons a funerall beare couered with blacke, lifted vp aboue the wall betweene two pikes, to fignific thereby that they would not come out but by death.

As this is a degree short of Critognatus resolution, so I do not denie but that a Generali may give vp a Towne before he come to these tearnes with true honour and wisedome. But the matter (as I have said) consistent altogether vpon the circumstances interlaced. But that which is further to be observed in this place, is the extreame contrainer of opinions, which are vsually delivered vpon dispute of such dissipute cases, wherein Quantum alteri sententia deest animi, tantum alteri superesse solves direction to his some Phaëtom in a matter of dissipute and great hazard, and observed in this place by the Gaules.

Lib.2.bel.cin



CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

The Gaules do set vpon Cæsars campe, both from the towne and the field side.

Cafar:

HE Mandubij who had received the armie into the towne, were themselves thrust out with their wives and children: they comming to the Romaine workes, did with weeping teares befeech them to receive them into bondage, and releeve them with food. Cafar gave order they should not be received. and fet a guard on the rampier to keep them out. In the meane No La time Comius, and the rest of the Captaines, that had the chiefe command given them, came to Alesia with all their forces, and having taken a hill on the outside, they sate downe not about halfe a mile from our workes. The next day bringing their caualrie out of their campe, they filled all that plaine, which as I have alreadic faid, extended three miles in length before the towne, festing their footforces a litle distant from that place, and hiding them upon higher ground, the profpect lay open out of the towne into the field: and upon the fight of thefe succours they rantogether and congratulated each other, and all their minds were filled with gladnesse. And thereupon the next day they brought their forces and placed them before the towne, and began to couer the next ditch untothem with hurdles, and to fill it up with earth, and to prouide themselvesto sally out, and to endure all chaunces. Cæfar having disposed of all his armie on each side of the workes, that if there were occasion, every man might both know and keepe his place . He commaunded the caualrie to be carried out of the campe and to charge the enemie. There was a faire view out of all the campes, which were feated round about upon the ridge of the hill, and all mens minds were bent upon the expectation of the event of the fight. The Gaules had mingled among ft their horse some few archers and light armed souldiers, which might releeue their fellowes, being overcharged, and to sustaine the force and assault of our horse: by these were many hurt upon a sudden and for sooke the fight. The Gaules being perswaded that their men had the better of the fight, perceiving our men to be ouercharged with multitude on all sides, as well those that were besieged, as the other that came to relieve them, they tooke up a showt and a howling to encourage their people: and for a smuch as the matter was carried in the sight of all men, so that nothing could be hid whether it were well or ill done: the defire of honour and the feare of ignominie did stirre up both sides to prowesse and valour. And having fought with a doubtfull fortune from noone tide untill almost sun setting, the Germaines on the one side with thicke thronged troupes gaue a fierce charge upon the enemie, and put them to flight: whereby it happened that the archers were circumvented and flaine. In like manner on the other fide, our men finding them to give ground, did follow the euen to their campes, and gave them no time to recover themselves: such as were come out of Alefia, returned backe fadinto the towne dispairing of victoric: one day being

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intermitted, in which time they made provision of great store of hurdles, ladders and bookes, about midnight they marched silently out of their campe, and came to the workes on the field side, and taking up a sudden shout to give notice of their comming to them of the towne, they cast their hurdles upon the ditches, and with slings arrows. and stones they began to put our men from the rampier, and to put in practise such things as belong to a siege. At the same time the shout being heard, Vercingetorix Sounded the trumpet, and brought his men out of the towne: our men betooke themselues to the fortifications according as encry mans place was allotted him the day before, and with slings and bullets which they had laid readie upon the workes, they did beate downe the Gaules, their fight being taken away through the darknesse of the night. Many wounds were received on both sides, and many weapons were cast out of engines. M. Antonius, and C. Trebonius Legates, who had the charge of those parts where our men were most laid to , canfed men to be taken out of the further Castles, and to be brought to second them. The Gaules being a good way distant from the workes, did much hart with multitude of weapons: but approching nearer either they strucke themselves unwittingly upon the galthrops, or falling into the holes, were struck through the bodies with the sharpe stakes, or dyed with murall piles being cast from the rampier and the towers. Many wounds being received on all sides, as the day appeared, the Gaules fearing lest they should be charged on the open side by a Callie from the upper campe, retired backe againe to their fellowes. On the inner fide, whilest they brought out such things as were prepared beforehand by Vercingetorix. andwere filling up the first ditches, being somewhat long in the execution of these things, did understand that the other Gaules were departed before they themselves could come neare the workes : and thereupon they returned into the towne without doing any thing.

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HE Gaules committed the commaund of this great armie to foure One armie Generals, contrarie to practife of warlike nations, and the order would have which nature observeth throughout all the severall kinds of crea- one General. tures: amongst whom there was neuer bodie found of many

heades, but one Hidra, being made as it feemeth, or rather fained to be made, to the end that Hercules might have a taske answerable to himselfe, and make it one of his twelue labours to kill the beaft. The ferpent Amphisibana is faid to Exgranis in haue two heads, whereby she either looseth the vie of locall motion, or at the generic capus least moueth so imperfectly, one head taking one way and the other another Amphifibana way, as there is no certaine or direct passage in her creeping.

These many-headed armies do resemble these screens, being carried according to the sence of their seuerall heads, and distracted by the diversitie of their many Leaders. The gouernment of Rome confifting of feuerall magistrates, hauing soueraigne authoritie, gaue occasion oftentimes to make two heads to one bodie, but with fuch fucceffe, as they were forced in the end to create one head for the repairing of that losse, which the multiplicitie of leaders had

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brought vpon their state, as it happened in the warre against the Fidenates reuolted, which nothing but their recourse to a Dictator, could make happie to
their Empire: whereupon Liuie saith: Tres Tribuni, potest are consulari, documento surre quam plurimum imperium bello inutile esse; tentando ad sua quisque consilia, cum aliy alind videretur, apparuerunt ad occasionem locum bosti. In the time of
their Consuls, Quintius and Agrippa being sent against the Equi, Agrippa referred the businesse wholly to his colleague, concluding as Liuie saith: Saluberum in administratione magnarum rerum est summum imperij ad vnum esse.

And therefore as one bodie requireth but one head, so one businesse would
have but one director, forasimuch as Emulatio inter pares & ex eo impedimen-

Tacitus.

CHAP, XXXV.

The Gaules do chuse out sixtie thousand of their best men, and do assault the weakest part of Cæsars campe.

Cafar.

HE Gaules being repelled twice with great losse, do fall into consideration what they were next to do: they call vuto them such as were well acquainsed with the nature and site of the place, by whom they understand of the situation of the upper campe. On the north side they a hill, which by reason of the greatnesse of the circuit, our men could not take in within the compasse of their works: and thereupon were necessarily consistency of their campe in an unequal place somulated to lay their campe in an unequal place somulated.

uing. This part was kept by Caius Antistius Rheginus, and Caius Caninius Regulus with two Legions. This being knowne by the discouerers, the Captaines of the enemie chose out sixtie thousand of those States which caried the greatest opinion of manhood, and did secretly determine amongst themselves, how and in what sort they would have the service caried, and do determine to put it in execution when the Sunne should be neare about the noone meridian, appointing Vergasilaunus to comaund those forces, being one of the foure Captaines, and kinsman to Vercingetorix. He going out of the campe in the first watch of the night came to the end of his journy a liste before day, and hiding himselfe behind a hill, commaunded his souldiers sorefresh themselves from the former nights travell. And when it beganne to be towards noone: he made towards that part of the campe which I have before mentioned: and at the same time the horsemen began to approach towards the workes, and the rest of the forces shewed themselves before the campe. Vercingetorix perceiving this out of the watch-tower of Alesia, went out of the towne, and caried with him long poles, hookes and such other provisions which he had made readie beforehand for a salley: they Sought at one instant in all places, all waies were tryed: where they thought it to be weakest thither they ran the Romaine forces were dismembred by reason of the large

extension of their workes, and the shout which was made behind their backes, did much affright our men, for a smuch as they perceived that their daunger did consist in other mens valour: for such things as are absent do for the most part greatly perplexe and trouble mens minds. Cælar having got a convenient place, doth fee what is done in enery part: if any were ouercharged he fent them succour, and was readie to answer all occasions on both sides the campe: he told them that that was the time, wheriait was behouefull for the to fight: the Gauls wold despaire of all good successe, unlesse they brake downe the worker. The Romaines if they obtained their purpose, might expect an end of their labours: the greatest contention was about that place to which Vergasilaunus was sent; a small rising in a place doth gine much adnantage in a shelving descent: some castive apons, others put themselves into a Testudo, and came under the workes, the wearied and overlaboured were seconded by fresh supplies: every man cast earth into the workes, which raised it so high, that the Gaules had adenanciage of affect: and the pikes and sharpe stakes which the Romaines had cumpingly hid under the earth to annoy the enemy, were thereby concredits came at last to that passe shat our men wanted both strength and weapons': which being knowne, Cæsar fent Labienus with fixe cohorts to releeue those that were overcharged commanding him (if he could not beare out the charge) to fally out voon them, but not valeffe he were constrained vato it : he himselfe went about to the rest, adhorting them not to faint under their labour, for a much as the fruite and benefite of all their former battels consisted in that day and that houre. The enemy within being out of hope of doing any good upon the workes made in plaine and champion places, by reason of the Grenzth of the fortifications tried what they could do in steepe and broken places, and thither they brought those things, which they had prepared, with the multitude of their casting weapons, they cast out such as fought from turrets, they fitted their passages with burdles and earth, they brake downe the parapet and the rampier with hookes. Casar fent first young Brutus with fixe coborts, and after him Fabius a Legate with seven more, and at length as the fight waxed hote, he went himselfe with a fresh supply. The fight being renued and the enemy beaten off, he hasted to that place whither he had fent Labienus, and tooke foure cohorts out of the next Castle. Part of the hor semen he commanded to follow him, and the rest to compasse about the outward workes, and to fet upon the enemie behind. Labienus finding that neither rampier nor ditches were able to keepe out the enemie, having got such forces together as were drawne by chaunce from the workes nearest hand, he acquainted Casar by mes-Seveners what he thought fit to be done. Cæfar made hast to be at the fight: his comming being knowne by the colour of his garment, which he was accustomed to weare in time of battell, and the troupes of horse and the cohorts being disconcred which he had commaunded to fellow him, as the shelling and declining places were subject to the view of higher grounds: the enemy begunthe fight, a great flowt was taken up on both sides: our men having throwne their piles, betooke themselves to their swords: suddenly the horsemen were discouered behind them, and other cohorts made their ap proches towards them. The enemie turned his backe and fled, the horsemen met them as they fled, the flaughter was great in that place. Sedulius, a Captaine and Prince of the Lemonici was slaine, Vergasilannus was taken aline, threescore and sourteene ensignes were brought unto Casar, and very few of so great a number returned safe

friends, being out of all hope, drew backe their forces from the workes. This being

knowne, the Gaules fled presently out of their campe: and if the souldiers had not bene wearied with that daies labour, they might easily have destroyed all their ene-

mies. About midnight the horse being sent out to fall upon the reareward, a great

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number was taken and saine, the rest escaped into their countries.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Vercingetorix yeeldeth himselfe, and the Towne to Cafar

as they were necessarily to yeeld to fortune, he made offer of

himselse vnto shem, either to satissie the Romaines with his death, or to be deliuered unto them aliue. Ambassadours were sent to Casar touching that point: he commaunded

their armes to be delivered, and the Princes to be brought out: he himfelfe face in the

fortifications before the campe : thither the Captaines were brought, Vercingetorix

was deliuered, their weapons were cast out. The Hedui and the Aruerni being reser-

ned, to the end he might recover the rest of the States by them: of the rest of the cap-

tines, he gaue throughout all the army, to enery man a prisoner, by the name of a

bootie. These things being ended he went to the Hedui and received in the State thi-

ther did the Aruerni fend Ambassadours unto him, promising to obey whatsoever

he commaunded : he demanded a great number of hostages, and sent the Legions

into their wintering campes: he fent home twenty thousand captives to the Hedui

and Aruerni: he fent T. Labienus with two Legionsinto the Sequani, and gaue

him M. Sempronius Rutilius to afsist him the lodged C. Fabius and Lucius Mi-

nutius Bafilius with two legions amongst the men of Rhemes, left they should receive

any dammage by the neare bordering Bellouaci : he fent C. Antiffius Reginus to

the Ambiuariti, and T. Sextius to the Bituriges, and C. Caninius Rebilus to the

Rutheni, with each of them a Legion: he placed Quintus Tullius Cicero and Pau-

lus Sulpitius at Cauillonis and Matiscona of the Hedui voon the river Arar for

provision of corne: he himselfe descrmined to winter at Bibract. These yeares service

being knowne at Rome, there was a feast of thankesgining appointed for twentie

HE next day Vercingetorix basing called a Councell, told them that he had not undertooke that warre for his owne occasions, but for the cause of common libertie, and for asmuch

Cafar.

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dayes together.

ERCINGETORIX notwithstanding a hard fortune, entertained a noble refolution: for having first acquainted the Gaules that he had not undertooke that warre for any respect to himfelfe, but for the cause of Gallia, and the auncient libertie of that continent, he made offer to satisfie the angry Romaines with his

body dead or aline.

Plutarke reciteth the maner of his deliuerie to be in this fort: being armed at Plutark in the all parts, and mounted on a horse furnished with a ritch capacison, he came to life of Casar.

Alittle is enough to fau

a longing.

T is an old saying of a hungry man, that it is an easier matter to fill his belly then his eye, which is as true in other cases: wherein our desires are oftentimes so great, that we thinke no meanes suf-ficient to accomplish the same: but when we shall come to put it in triall, and suffer enery man to be measured with his owne foote, it will appeare that our defires are better applyed to the infinitie of the mind, then to the necessarie occasions of our life. Vercingetorix was so farre intereffed in the successe of this warre, that he thought all the able men of Gallia not inough to make it happie vnto him: but the other Princes that were not fo deepely touched, and yet flood as well affected to the cause, refused to inrole all that were able to beare armes, but thought two hundred fortie and eight thousand men to be a competent force for this service. But comming to the execution of the bufineffe, they employed onely but fixtie thousand: and whé they failed of their indenour, and were rowted and ouerthrowne by the Romaines, the rest staid no longer to dispute the matter, but shed allaway by night: which sheweth the difference betweene the affections which are forerunners of a cause, and such as grow and increase with a businesse, and are not commonly found in one and the same subject in their greatest strengths. For these antecedent desires, are like womens longings, strong and violent at first: but decaying as fast againe before they come to any ripenesse: whereas such afferctions as rife from the cariage of a businesse, and grow from the occurrences of that proceeding, are not so easily abated, but do hold out strong either for constancie or obstinacie.

CHAP.

Plutark in the lsfe of Paulus

Emilius.

Casar and rode round about him as he sate in his chaire of Estate; then lighting off his horse, he tooke off his capparison and furniture, and vnarmed himselfe and laid all on the ground, and went and sate downe at Casar secte, and said neuera word. Casar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to be led afterwards in his triumph at Rome: but the civil wars did cut off that solemnitie.

If it be demaunded, what became of these great Princes and personages after the triumph, it will appeare that they did not stroke their heads, or make more of them then of miterable captines: for Paulus Emilius after the noble triumph for king Persons, pittying his fortune and desiring to help him, could never obtain a sheet produce the produce of t

uer obtaine other grace for him, then onely to remoue him from the common prison, which they called Carcer, into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being straightly guarded, he died, either by abstinence, or being kept from sleepe by the fouldiers. Two of his sonnes died also, but the third became an excellent Turner or Toyner, and could write the Rornaire tongue so well, that afterwards he became Chancellor to the Magistrates of Rome. And thus the

Romaines dealt with their captiue Princes, making them examples of Fortunes vnconstancie, and turning their diadems into shakels of iron.

And thus far did Cesar comment himselfe vpon the warres he made against the Gaules, being a noble and a worthy people, and bred in a large & fertile continent, the inhabitants whereof haue in all ages, euen to these times, challenged an eminencie, both for polliticke gouernment and martiall prowesse, amongst the Westerne kingdomes of the world: their actions and cariage from time to

an eminencie, both for polliticke gouernment and martiall prowesse, amongst the Westerne kingdomes of the world: their actions and catage from time to time deserving as honorable memory as these warres recorded by Casars owne hand, whereof Paulus Emilius, Philip Commines, and of late Iohn de Seres are very pregnant witnesses: they continued vnder the Romaine gouernement soure hundred fortie and one yeares, according to the computation made by Iohn Tillius, reckoning from the last victorie in Casars Proconsulship, to the time of Marcomerus a General of the French, by whose prowesses and meanes they denied to pay that homage and tribute to the Emperour Valentinianus, which Vereingetorix had lost to Casar.

The next Sommers feruice compiled by *Hirtins*, I haue purposely omitted, as intending no further matter then what *Cefar* hath related, who best knew the whole project of that businesse.

And thus endeth the feuenth and last Commentarie, writ-

ten by Cefar of the warre he made in Gallia.

Laus Deo in aternum.

FINIS.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF Cæsars Commentaries of the

THE ARGUMENT.

His Commentarie containeth the Motions and Contentions at Rome, concerning Cæsars giving vp his government: The rent in the State, vpon the disagreement of the Senate: How either side bestirred themselves, to seize vpon the Provinces. Pompey got the East, and Cæsar the West part of the Empire; and descated Afranius and Petreius in Spaine.

CHAP. I.

The Senates affection on Cæsars behalfe.



ETTERS beeing deliuered by Fabius, to the Confuls from C.C.efar , it was hardly obtained by the extreame importunitie of the Tribunes, to get them read in the Senate: but

to consult thereof, or to bring the Contents in question, would not be graunted. The Confuls propounded businesses, concerning the state of the Cittie. L. Lentulus, Consuls, protested his assistance should not be wanting, neither to the Senate nor to the Common-weale, if they would speake their mindes freely and boldly, but if they respected Casar, and had an eye to his fauour (as in former times they visually had) he would then take a course for him selfe, and not regard the authoritie of the Senate; neither wanted hee meanes of entrance into Casars friendship and good acceptance. To the same effect spake Scipio, that Pompey was resoluted to be ayding to the Common-weale, if the Senate would stand to him; but if they temporized, and dealt coldly, in vaine hereafter should they seeke ayde from him, albeit they instantly desired it. This speech of Scipios, seemed to come from B. Pompois

to: Magis ami-

raffus erat bel-

una locum fecit

Pompe wome mouth, he himselfe being absent, and the Senate at that time kept within the Cittie. Some others spake more temperately; as first, M. Marcellus. who thought it not convenient, that the Senate (hould bring the fe things in question, untill they had made a levie of souldiers throughout all Italie, and inroled an Army; by whose protection, they might safely & freely determine what they thought fit: As also M. Calidius, who thought it requisite, that Pompey should goe to his Provinces and Governments, to remove all occasions of taking Armes: For, Cafar having two legions newly taken from him, feared that Pompey kept them neere about the cittie to his presudice. And likewife M. Rufus, varying some few words, declared himselfe of Calidius opinion. All these were bitterly reprooned by L: Lentulus the Confull; who otterly denied to publish what Calidius had sentenced. Marcellus feared with these menaces retracted his opinion. And fo, what with the clamor of the Confull, the terrour of the prefent Armie, and the threatning vied by Pompeys faction, most of the Senators were compelled against their will, to allow that which Scipio thought sit : which was, that by acertaine day,Cafar should dissolue and dismisse his Armie; which if he did refuse to doe, that then he openly shewed himselfe an Enemie to the Comonweale. M: Antonius, and L: Cassius, Tribunes of the people, did oppose this decree. Their opposition was instantly spoken unto; and many sharpe & hard cenfures were given upon the same: for, according as any one spake most bitterlie. and cruelly, so they were most highly commended by Casars Enemies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

S the former Commentaries doe carie in their front the enlignes of honour, displaying the militarie valour of the Romaine people, in the Continent of Gallia, and other Kingdomes of warlike Nations: so are these Relations branded in the forhead with a note of Infamie, and titled with the direfull name of Ciuill warre; An odious and decried cause, ill befitting the integritie of that State, or the excellencie of the Actors, which are chiefe in this Tragedy; who neglecting all that might either enlarge the Empire, or repaire Romes honour for the loffe of Craffus, chofe rather to imbrew their ambitious fwords in the blood of their owne Countrey: Eagle against Eagle, and Pile against Pile, in a warre which could chalenge no Triumph. If it be now demaunded as formerlie it was, Quis furor ôCines? qua tanta licentia ferri?

Pares Aquilas. et pila minantia Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos Luc. lib. 1.

Arma ciuilia neque parari, neque haberi, per bonas Arte.

Was it Pompeis Ambition, or Cæfars high Thoughts, that bereft the State of libertie, with the loffe of fo many Romaines? It were befides the scope of these discourses, to lay an imputation vpon either of those Worthies; the one beeing chiefe Assistant to the Empire, when she put off her Consularie Government, and the other fitting sole at the helme, directing a course to fetch in many Cæfars. Onely this I may truely fay with Tacitus; That Civil wars were neuer set on foote by iustifiable courses. Yet for the Readers better direction, and for opening the truth of this storie (which is more to be regarded

Commentary of the Civill Warres. then either Socrates or Platos friendship) it in all not be impertinent to fetch Amicus Socrathe causes of this warre a little higher in a word then these Commentaries doe afford them.

Stot. 1. Ethi. The histories of that age do all intimate, that whe Rome had ennobled Pom-Pomp. Mag. pey with her fervice, & stiled him by imployments with the title of Greatness, as a fatisfaction for the injuries done vnto his father; he (forgetting the rights | Constantine of a State, which chalengeth the renowne of other mens labours, and suffereth no subject to be Copartner therein, further then by approbation of service & obedience) affumed to himselfe the honour due to the Common-weale, and Edict, that the became proude of that which was none of his: in which conceit, the ambition of his fpirit kept no measure, but over-valued his merits so far, that he thought be attributed himselfe rather a Soueraigne then a seruant; so easily are men bewitched when ohim, althe fauour of a State hath once made them absolute, and put it selfe under the awe of private commaund. In this height of greatnesse & authoritie, he made 1000. leagues way for Cæsar, his father in law; having a spirit as subject to ambition, and as off. capable of publique dignities, as any one amongst all the Patrician Families: And upon the ending of his first Confulfhip, in the yeere of Rome 695, obtained the government of Gallia Transalpina, and likewise of that other Gallia impellitur radio puniceus Rabiwhich they called Cifalpina, containing the Countries that lie betweene the on, et Gallica Alpes and the little River Rubico, together with Slauonia, and foure legions certus limes, ab of fouldiers for the tearme of fine yeares. At the expiration wherof, his charge Ausonijs dister minat arua colo was continued, by the like fauour and mediation of Pompey, and the afsistance of Craffus, for fine yeares longer, with a redoubling of his forces. But after Factatribus do that Crassus was slaine in the Parthian warre, and that Iulia, Cæsars daughter, who Pompey had maried, was deceased (wherby Cafar stood single, without Pompeius, Ca any tie of alliance, or other counterpoile of a third partie, to hold them balfar, et Crassus. lanced at the same weight as they stood while Crassus lived) Pompey jealous of those victories and passages of Armes which Casar had atchined by his is Medius mora. valour, and impatient of any partner in point of Lordship; found meanes first Nulla Santia to draw two legions from him, under colour of the Patthian watre; and afterwards, got a Decree of Senate, to fend him a fuccessor before his time was expired: and withall, to returne as a private person to Rome, to render an account of his Actions during his imployment. Which Caefar taking as an affurance of his downefall, gave huge fummes of money to gaine Paulus Acmilius, one of the Confuls, and C: Curio, a Tribune of the people, to relift this Arduares hac Decree. Howbeit, the succeeding Consuls beeing both his enemies, and has estimated non uing no hope of repealing the fame, hee intreated in the end, that hee might hold onely Gallia Cifalpina, and Illiricum with two legions, untill hee should Sapemaiori forobtaine the Confulthip; which was the effect of these Letters deliuered by Fabius. And beeing denied by Pompeys faction, in these partial and tumultuous affemblies of the Senate, caused him to forfeit his loyaltie to the State, verifying the olde faying; That oftentimes an injurie maketh way to a greater fortune.

B 2.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Oncerning the opposition of the Tribunes, it is to bee vnderstood,

The Tribunes of the people.

that the people eaten vp with vsurie, and other grieuous exactions, for sooke both the Cittie and the Campe, when the State had war with the Dosci and the Equi; and taking themselues to a Mountaine neere vnto Rome, would not returne from thence, vntill the Senate had given order for their grievances. In which transaction it was agreed, that there should be Magistrates chosen out of the body of the people, to counterpoise the power of the Senate, and to restraine the boundlesse authoritie of the Confulls: which office, was reconed in the number of their holiest things; neuer to be violated either in word or deed, but the offender should redeeme it with the loffe of his life. Their whole power confifted in letting & hindering. As, when either the Senate, or any one Senatour, went about a matter, which might be prejudiciall to the people in generall, or to any one of the comunaltie in particular; Then did the Tribunes interpose their authority, to frustrate and avert the same : which was availeable, albeit the matter was gainefaid but by one Tribune onely. By which intervention, they kept the Senate in awfull moderation, and were alwaies profitable to the State, but when they happened vpon factious and turbulent persons; howbeit, their power was bounded with the walls of Rome, and extended no further then the gates of the Cittie. Their doores were neuer shut, but stood open night and day, for a refuge to such as should flie to them for succour: neither was it lawfull for them to bee absent from Rome a whole day together. The robes of their Magistracie were of Purple; as Cicero intimateth in his oration Pro Cluentio. This Tribunitian power, began about the yeere of Rome 260; was supprest by Sylla; restored by Pompey; and vtterly taken away by the Emperour Constantine.

If it be demaunded what kind of Common-wealth this Romaine gouernment was; it is to be vnderstood, that vpon the expulsion of their Kings, the foueraintie rested in their Consulls. For, as Liuie saith, there was nothing diminished of kingly government, sauconely for the better establishing of libertie, that the Confular dignitie was made Annuall. But that held not long, for Publicolaimparted this fourrainty to the Communaltie; making it lawyusare Imperium full to appeale from the Consuls to the people. Whereby the Consular souerainty was diffolued, and the people tooke occasion to oppose themselues against the Fathers. Hence grew the reciprocall invectines between the Senate and the Tribunes; and when the Confull fent a Seriant to the Tribune, the Tribune would fend a Purseuaunt to the Confull. And so the Comon-wealth | Rate regions asy- | halted betweene an Aristocratic and a Democratic, vntill at length the voagg of the Communaltie, drew it to a perfit Democratie, and made their Acts of Senate of no value, vnleffethey were ratified by the people: Howbeit, the Senate, affoording alwaies many famous and eminent Men, fuch as having inlarged the boundes of their Empire, and kept on foote their auncient valour,

What kind of Commonwealth was th of Rome. Libertatis orig nem inde magi auia annuis c

Littor.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

and were the flower of that people, which Cyneas called a towne of kinges, Cyneas interro were consequentlie so engaged in the businesses of the State, that matters were for the most part, carried as they stoode affected; as appeareth by this fer? Respondit passage of Cæsar.

qualis Roma ef Regũ vrbem fib videri.Iusti.l.8.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, we may obserue, that violence and partialitie, are the bane Faction in a of all consultations : especiallie, when the common good is sha- Councell, is an dowed with prinate respects. And albeit, the granitie of the Ro-

maine Senate, farte exceeded all that can be spoken of other Councells of State, rectifying the inordinate affections of any Catiline that would life up his head higher then his fellowes: yet heere it suffered equitie and indifferencie to bee suppressed with faction, giving way to violence, which go- Nam mail effeuerneth all thinges vntowardlie; and with cordes of private hate, oftentimes taministrat imdraweththe Common-wealth into vtter desolation. For preuention whereof the Athenians fwore their Senatours, to make the common good the i odij pertinacia chiefelt scope of all their counsels: Implying thereby that private respects are inpublicum exi alwaies offenfine to publique ends; and the State euer suffereth, when favour prevaileth against the common profit.

Tully, going about to direct a Councellor in this behalfe, onely witheth a Atheniens Seman to deliuer fincerely what hee thinketh of any matter, although hee happen to stand alone in his owne conceit : for, the iffue of a businesse, dooth not fo much concerne a Councellor, as to speake truely his opinion thereof. And most. cor. Near. to that end, the custome of the Romane Senate was, that the youngest & such | 1. Philippic. as came last in place, should declare themselves first; that they might not bee forestalled in their opinions, nor put besides that they would have spoken; together with the equalitie which it made of their voyces: for, thinges first spoken, doe alwaies sticke fastest in our apprehensions. And for that cause, Theodorus (a Greeke Tragedian) would neuer thew himselse on the stage after

Pompey, after their new made alliance, would take his voice first, thereby to anticipate the opinion of others that should follow. The Emperours (as it seemeth) tooke what place they pleased; for, Tyberius in Marcellus cause said, that he would sentence openly, and vpon oath, that other men might doe the like. Wherevnto Cn: Pifo replied; What place wilt thou take to declare thy selfe, Cæfar? for, if thou speake first, I knowe

how to follow; if last, I am affeard I shall differt from thy opinion. But that which is most blameable in matter of councell, is, when they come to the Senate house as to a prize of flatterie. VVherein L: Piso is deservedly commended, for that hee neuer willinglie shewed himselse of a seruile opinion; but when necessitie forced him, hee tempered it with wisedome. Neither is it

publicke good.

non rarò, prinaum.Tac.1.hift.

any other Actor; as holding the first passages to affect most the Spectators. Notwithstanding which custome, it is reported, that Cæsar, in sauour of Inlig cesaris.

Tacit. 1. Annal.

Tacit.6. Annal.

quod diminutii quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Liv.

periŭ consulare gr. Liv. lib.

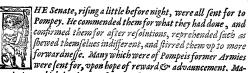
Viator.

Plutarch.

the least mischief, that the condition of loueraintie is such as will hardly indure reproofe; but must be disguised, as Appolonius corrected Lyons, by beating dogges before them.

CHAP. II.

The Senate proceede against Cæsar, with all eagernesse.



ny of the two legions which lately came from Cafar, were commaunded to attend; insomuch, as the Cittie swarmed with souldiers. Against the election of new Magistrates : C. Curio called out the Tribunes of the people: All the Consuls friends, the kinsfolks & allies of Pompey, and fuch others as had any former enmity with Casar were copelled into the Senate . By the presence & opinio of these Men, the weakest were terrified, the doubtfull confirmed, & the most part were cut off from giving absolute and free voyces. L. Pisothe Censor, and L. Roscius the Prator, offered themselves to goe to Casar, to adusse him of these things; requiring but fixe daies space to returne an aunswere. Others thought it fit, that Embassadors should be sent to Casar, to give him notice of the pleasure of the Senate. To all these was opposed what the Consult, Scipio, and Cato thought fit. Cato was incited through former enmitie, and specially, by the repulse of the Pratorship. Lentulus, out of a consideration of his great debts, hoping to commaund an Armie, to gouerne Prouinces, and to receive the liberall acknowledgements of Kings, whom he should thereby procure, to be stiled with the Title of friends to the people of Rome; insomuch, as he would not stick to boast in priuate, that hee was like to proue a second Sylla, on whom, the soueraine commaund of the Empire would be conferred. Scipio was drawen on by the same hope, of having the government of a Province, or the commaund of an Armie; which by reason of his alliance he thought to share with Pompey (beeing otherwife affeard to be called into justice) as also through flattery and oftentation, both of himselfe, and other great friends, which were able to sway much, as well in the course of instice, as in the Common-wealth.

Pompey, in his particular, was much provoked by Cafars enemies, and specially, for that hee could indure no man to be his equall. Hee was alienated altogether from Casars friendshippe, and had reconciled himselfe to their common Enemies; the greatest part of whom, were by his meanes gained to Cafar,

Pompeites vt primŭ rempub aggreffus est, non quemquit animo parë tuin the time of their alliance: as also by the dishonour which he had gotten by taking those two legions from their journey towards Asia and Syria, and vsing the for the advancement of his owne particular: which things moved him to draw the matter to Armes. For these respects, all things were caried impetuouslie and confusedly; neither was there leasure given to Casars friends to advertise him thereof; nor yet to the Tribunes, to avoide the danger which was falling upon them, or to vee their right of opposition which L: Sylla left unto them; but within seauen daies after they were entred into their office, they were forced to (hift for their (afetie : notwithstanding that the most turbulent and feditions Tribunes of former times, were never put to looke into their affaires, or to give account of their actions before the eight Month. In the end, they tooke themtelues to that extreame and last Act of Senate, which was never thought upon, but whe the cittie was upon the point of burning, or in the most desperate estate of the Common-weale. That the Confuls, Pretors, Tribunes of the people, and Nequil refind. (uch as had beene Confuls, and were restant neere about the cittie, should endenour that the Common-weale might not be indangered. This AET was made the Confecutions Seauenth of the ides of lanuary: So that the five first daies, in which the Senate dies Committimight sit, after that Lentulus was entred into the Consulfhip (excepting onelie des, perquos setwo dayes for the generall affembly of the people) most heavie & cruell Decrees poterat. Cic. L. were made, against the authority of Casar, and against the Tribunes of the peo- frairi. ple, famous and worthy men; who there-vpon fledde presently out of the cittie. Cafar beeing then at Rauenna, attended an aunswere to his easie and modest acmaunds, if by any reasonable course matters might be drawne to a peaceable

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

T is the condition of humane nature, to make good that which once particular, & tendeth rather to infamile then to profit; neither will it eafilie be reclaimed by motiues of reason, but is rather incited thereby (per Antiperistasin) to persist in wilfulnesse, then to hatken to that which is more convenient; especially, when either lealousse or revenge doe implie an advantage: for, then partialitie keepeth no measure; but to iusufficient errour, runnes headlong into all extremities, and slieth to the last refuge of desperate and deplored cases, to make disordered passions seeme good discretion. Which enidently appeareth by Pompeis faction, in resoluing of that desperate Act of Senate, which was never thought of but in most eminent danger. For, as in foule weather at fea, when a shippe rideth in a dangerous road, and through the violence of the tempest, is voon the point of shipwrack, the Mariners are wont to cast out a sheete Anker as their last refuge : so Supremalex had Rome anciently recourse to this Decree, at such times as the Common-Salus reipub. wealth was in eminent and extreame calamitie; whether it were by enemies abroad, or by serpents in their bosome at home. Linie speaking of the warre

ter; and by that meanes, obtained the government of Afia. In the beginning

Scipio.

of the Ciuil war, he brought good fuccors to assist his son in law, as it follows in the third Comentary: & vpon the ouerthroweat Pharfalia he fled into Affrick, where he renewed the war, & becam chief Commander of the remaining party against Cæsar; but being in the end descated, he made towards Spaine: and fearing by the way least he should fall into his enemies hands, he slew himselfe. Marcellus was of the ancient Family of the Claudians, which came origi- Marcellus. nally of the Sabines; on his behalfe there is an Oration extant of Tullies, intituled, Pro Marcello. He was afterwards flaine by one Chilo. M. Antonius is famous in all the Romaine hiltories, for attaining in a small Att. Anto. time to fo great a height in that government; for, in all the warres of Gallia, he was but a Treasurer under Cæsar, which was the least of all publique places of charge: In the beginning of the civill wars, hee was made Tribune of the people; and within lette then eight yeeres after, came to bee fellow partner with Octavius Casar in the government of the Empire. And if Cleopatras beautie had not blinded him, he might have easily through the fanous of the fouldiers Supplanted his Competitor, and seized vpon the Monarchie. The name of Cassius was ominous for trouble to the state of Rome, & their Cassius. ends were as vnfortunate. This L: Cassius, for his part, after the great troubles he had stirred up in Spaine, was drowned in the mouth of the River Eber. Piso was made Censor in the Consulship of L. Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, having himselfe been Consull eight yeeres before, in the yere of Rome Pifo. 695, fucceeding Cæfar, and Bibulus; and was the man against whom Tullie penned that Oration which is extant in Pisonem. Touching the office of Cenfor, it is to be understood, that about the yeere of Rome 310, the Confuls beeing distracted with multiplicitie of forraine businesse, omitted the Censure or asselment of the Cittle for some yeeres together twherevpon it was afterwards thought fit, that there should be a peculiar officer appointed for that service, and to be called Cenfor; for a fmuch as euery man was to be taxed, rankt and valued, according to his opinion & cenfure. The first part of their office confifted in an account or valuation of the number, age, order, dignity, & possession of the Romane citizens: for it was very material for the State to know the numnumber of Citber of their people, to the end they might be informed of their owne firength, and so shape their course accordingly, either in undertaking warres, transplanting Colonies, or in making provision of victualls in time of peace. It was also Their age. as requifite to know every mans age, whereby they grew capable of honour & offices, according to that of Ouid; finitaque certis De Fast. Legibus est at as, unde petatur honos. M: Antonius commaunded, that the names of the Romaine children fhould with a bebrought into the Trealurie within 30 daies after they were borne; according letatem 3. to which cultome, Francis the French king published an Edict, Anno 1529, S. De Cens. that every parish should keepea Register of burials and christenings: which Their calling. fince that time is vsed in England. quisquis fuit ille The distinction of conditions and states, ranging enery man in his proper fuorum, aut Paorder, is as necessfary in the Common-weale, and as woonthy of the Centors and diere notice, noli.

Commentary of the Civill Warres,

Their ability.

Florus L. 1.ca.

Gell. lib. 16. cap. 10. eris.

Poli. lib. 6.

L.Roscius.

notice as any thing befides. Neither may the affeiment of mens abilities bee omitted: which was ordained that every man might beare a part in the fervice of the State. In which respect, Seruius Tullus is commended, for rating men according to their wealth; whereas before that time enery man paid alike: for, men are taken to bee intereffed in the Common-weale according to their meanes. The last and basest fort of Cittizens, were named Capite censi, and were let in the Subfidie at 375 peeces of money. Such as were not affelfed, had no voice in the Common-weale.

The second and chiefest part of this office, was in reforming maners, as the ground-plot and foundation of every Common-wealth; to which end they had power to inquire into every mans life. If any one had plaid the ill husband, and neglected his Farme, or left his Vineyntrimmed, the Cenfors tooke notice of it. If a Romaine knight kept his horse leane, it was a matter for them to looke into. They deposed, or brought in, new Senators. They reviewed all degrees and conditions of men: advaunced this man from a meane Tribe to a more honourable, and pulled another downe. They had the care of buildings, repairing of high waies, with other publique works; and were reputed of the best rank of Magistrates in Rome. L. Roscius had formerly bin one of Cæfars Legates in Gallia: as appeareth in the fift Commentary, Tertiam in Effuos. L. Roscio. The Prætor was ludge in causes of controversie, & differences between partie and party; and was as the Caddy amongst the Turkes.

CHAP. III.

The Senate prepareth for warre.

Pompey hauing a charge of an Armie, could not enter into the Cittie prohibited b diuers lawes.

Faust . Sulla.

Rex Inba, foci-

Gallia & Syri fularie Prouin-

Quorum nemo stultior oft qua L. Domitius.

HE next day after, the Senate affembled out of the Cittie: where Pompey (according to such instructions as he had formerly given to Scipio) extolled their constancy @ magnanimity; acquainted them with his forces, confishing of ten legions in Armes; and further assured them, he knew of a certaine, that Casars souldiers were alienated from him, and

would not be drawne either to defend or follow him. And vpon the assurance of these remonstrances, other motions were entertained: As first, that a lenie shold be made throughout all Italy. That Faustus Sulla should foorth-with be sent as Proprator into Mauritania. That mony (hold he delinered out of the Trea (urie to Pompey. That king Iuba might have the title of friend & confederate to the people of Rome; which Marcellus contradicting, stopt the passage thereof for that time. Philippus, Tribune of the people, countermaunded Faustus commission: other matters were passed by Act. The two Consular, and the other Pratorian Provinces, overe given to private men that had no office of Magistracie. Syria fell to Scipio, and Gallia to L: Domitius. Phillippus and Marcellus, were purposely omitted, and no lottes east for their imployment. Into the other Prouinces overe fent Prators, vvithout any confent or approbation of

the people, as formerly had beene accustomed: and having performed their ordinary vomes, they put on their Military garments, and so tooke their iourney, Paludati exeŭt. The Confuls (which before that time was never feene) went out of the Cittie, & had their Seriants prinatly within the Cittie, and in the Capitoll, against all order and ancient custome. A leuiewas made ouer all Italie: Armes and furniture was commaunded: Money was required from Municipall townes, and taken out of Temples and religious places. All divine and humane Rights were confounded.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



the publique Weale.

He neglect of Ceremonies and formes in matter of State, is the ruine and abolishment of a Common-weale. For, if it hold generallie Ceremonies. true which Philotophers fay; That the forme giveth being to what-foeuer lublifleth, and that enery thing hath his name from his fashi-

on and making; then it must necessarily follow, that the life and perfection of a State, dependent wholly of the forme; which cannot be neglected but with hazard of confusion. For complements and solemnities, are neither Nimia nor Minima (as fomehaue imagined) either superfluities, which may bee pa. Minima (as fomehaue imagined) either superfluities, which may bee pa. red, or trifles of small consequence. But, as the flesh covereth the hollow deformitie of the bones, and beautifieth the body with naturall graces: fo are ceremonies, which ancient cultome hath made renerent, the perfection and life of any Common-weale; and doe couer the nakednesse of publique actions, which otherwise wold not be dultinguished from private businesses. And therfore the neglect of fuch ceremonies, as were viually observed to ennoble their Cinitatis legibra actions, was as iniurious to the fafety of the Empire, and as enident a demonfiration of faction and difloyalties as the allotment of Provinces to private per-

lons, or what soeuer else they broached, contrarie to the fundamentall rights of deskin. in Cte-

Concerning which, it is to be understood, that no man was capable of those The maner of governments, but such as had bornethe chiefest offices and places of charge. For, their manner was, that comonly vpon the expiration of their offices, the and govern-Consuls and Prætors did either cast lots for the Provinces, which they called ments. Sortiri provincias, or did otherwise agree amongst theselues how they should Sortiri Probedisposed: and that they tearmed, Comparare Provincias. Livie toucheth wincas, comparare both the one & the other; Principio insequentis anni cum Consules noui de Provincus retulissent, primoquoq; tempore, aut coparare inter eos Italiam et Macedoniam, aut sortiri placuit. Howbeit, sometimes the people (whose affent was alwaies necessary) interposed their authorite, & disposed the same as they thought expedient. But fuch as had neuer borne office of charge in the State, were no way capable of those dignities, nor thought fit to command abroad, having neuer shewed their sufficiencie at home.

For the maner of their fetting forward out of Rome, after they were assigned The maner of to imployments, it appeareth by infinite examples of histories, that they first forward to went into the Capitoll, & there made publick facrifices & folemn vowes, either their gouern-

Vota nuncu-Voti reus. Macrob. li. 3.

Paludati. Lib. 6. delinga

pari.

сар. 2. Saturnal.

Valerius, li.

Rex Iuba focius

Raptores orbis,

postqua cunctis

nec occidens (a

iauerit. Tacıt. Neminem esse

Regem folitum

🕳 amicii á Se

natu Populog; Rom: appellari.

nist qui optime

decad. 4.

Sequenti die

&c.lib.10.dea

de Rep.bene me

& amicus.

to build a Temple, or to due fome other worke woorthy good fortune, if their designes were happily atchined; which they called Vota nuncupari. And hee that had made fuch a vow, stood voti reus vntill his busines forted to an issue: and after he had attained his desire, he was voti damnatus, vntill he had aquitted himfelte of his promife.

Touching their habite expressed in this phrase, Paludati exeunt, it appeareth, as well by auncient Sculptures, as Medallies, that Faludamentum, was a cloake vied and worne by men of warre, whether they commaunded in chiefe. or as Lieutenants and Centurions; and was tied with a knot vpon their left shoulder. Festus calleth all militarie garments, Paludamenta. And Varro giuing a reason of that name, saith; Paluda à Paludamentis, sunt hac insignia et ornamenta Militaria: Ideo ad bellum, cum exit Imperator, ac Lictores mutant vestem, et signa incinuerunt, Paludatus dicitur proficisci: que propterea quod conspiciuntur, qui ea habent, et Palam funt, Paludamenta dicta. The colour of this cloake, was either purple or white. And therefore it was held a prefage of ill fortune, when at Carres, a Cittie in Mesopotamia, one gaue Crassus a black cloake insteed of a white, as hee went to lose the battaile to the Parthians.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He Romaines, not contented with the spacious circuit of the sunne, bounding their Empire with the East and the West, but for want of Regions and Countreys, fearthing the vastnes and depth of the lea; did fildome acknowledge any other foueraintie, or leave a par-

vastantibus detie worthy their amitie, in any remote angle of the then knowne world. But if fuere Terra, Mare scrutatur any Prince had been so fortunate, as to gaine the favour and estimation of a friend or a confederate to the State, it was vpon speciall and deserved respects, or at the instance of their Generalls abroad, enforcing the woorthines of such Potentates, and the aduantage they might bring to the feruice of the Empire. Which appeareth by that of Liuie, concerning Vermina, king Syphax fonnes that no man was at any time acknowledged either a king or a friend by the Senate and people of Rome, vnlefle first he had right well deserved of the Com-

itus effet lib. 1 The manner of this acknowledgement, is likewife particularly expressed by Liuie, in another place speaking of Scipio. The day following (faith hee) to putking Massinista out of his griefe and melancholie, hee ascended up to his Tribunall, and having colled an affembly of the fouldiers, prefented him before them; where he first honoured him with the appellation of king, accompanied with many faire praifes : and then gaue him a crowne of gold, a cuppe of gold, a chaire of State, a scepter of Iuorie, and a long robe of Purple. To which agreeth that of Cæsar: That Ariouistus was by the Senate stiled by the name of King and Friend, and presented with great and rich gifts; which happened but to few, and was onely given by the Romaines to men of great defert. How-

Lib. 1. de bell:

Commentary of the Civil Warres. beit, such as had gouernments and imployments abroad, did oftentimes make profit of giuing this honour: whereof Cælar taxeth Lentulus in the former Et Spe Apellanchapter. And in this fense was king luba brought in question, to bee called by dorum Regum. the Senate, a Friend and Affociate to the State of Rome. THE THIRD OBSERVATION. Ouching the franchifes and liberties of the townes of Italy, andothers in the dominions of the Romaine Empire, called Municipia; Municipes, it is to be noted, that according to Gellius, those were called Muni-Lib. 6. cap. 13 cipes, that beeing gouerned by their owne lawes, and their owne Lib. II. as they anciently vsed, before they were priviledged with the immunities of For the better vnderstanding whereof, we are to observe, that there were de- cumsuffragio grees and differences of Municipall townes; for some had voices with the Romane people, in all their elections and fuffragies; and some others had none at all. For, Gellius in the same place, saith, that the Cerites obtained the freedom of the Cittle, for preferning the holy things of Rome, in the time of the warre with the Galles, but without voice in elections. And thence grew the name of Cerites Tabula, wherein the Centors involed such, as were by them for some Cerites Tabula. inst cause deprined of their voices. And the Tusculani, beeing at first received Limit lib. 6. into the liberties of the Cittie, according to the admission of the Cerites, were The meanes of obtaining this freedome, was first and specially by Birth: Linie lib. 3. wherin it was required (as may be gathered by Appius Oration) that both the in his father lived and was free. So that the father being of Campania, & the mother of Puteolis, he judgeth the fonne to belong to Campania; According Linie lib. 3.

setting bond men at libertie: for in Rome, all men freed from bondage were taken for Cittizens; and yet rankt in the last and meanest order of the people.

Magistrates, were neuerthelesse indowed with the freedome of Rome, And therefore Adrianus maruailed, that the Italicenses and Vticenses, did rather defire to bee Coloni, and fortied to the obedience of fortaine & strange lawes, then to live in a Municipall state, under their owne Rights and Customes; and

as Festus addeth, with the vse of their peculiar rites for matter of religion, such Rome.

afterward, by the free grace of the people, made capable of giving voyecs. Parents, as well the mother as the father, should be free themselves. How beit, Vipian writeth, that the fonne may challenge the freedome of the State, wher-

to that of Canuleius; That the children inherite the condition of the father, as the head of the Family, and the better rule to direct in this behalfe. Neuerthelesse, Adrianus made an Act of Senate in fauour of Issue; That if the wife were a cittizen of Rome, and the husband a Latine, the children should be Romaine Cittizens. And the Emperour luftinian, caused it likewise to be decreed, that

the mother beeing a free woman, and the father a bond-man, the fon should be free. Such as were thus borne free, were called Cines originarij. Ciues originarij. The fecond meanes of obtaining this freedome, was by Manumission, or

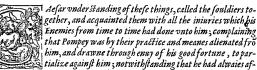
Bellarii ergo focij qui mille pericula mortis, mecum, ait co perti, decimo iam vincitis a 110. Oc. Lucan lib. x.

The third meanes, was by gift, or coaptation; and to Romulus at first inlarged and augmented Rome; Thefeus, Athens; Alexander Magnus, Alexandria, fited at the out-lets of Nilus; and Richard the first, London; by taking all fuch flrangers into the freedome of the Cittie, as had inhabited there for tenne yeeres together. The Emperours were profuse in giuing this honour. Cicero floutes Cæsar, for taking whole nations into the freedome of the Citty; and Anthony gaue it to all that lived in the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, as VIpian witheffeth, Rome was called Communis Patria. Popular states were more sparing in this kind; as may be deemed by the aunswere of one of the Corinthian Embassadours, to Alexander. Wee neuer gaue the freedome of our Cittie (faith he) to any man but to thy felfe and Hercules. And vntill Herodotus time, the Lacedemonians had never admitted any, but onely Tifamenus and his brother.

The priniledges of this freedome were great; for, the Cittizens of Rome were held to be Maiestate plenos. Is the best man of Gallia (saith Tully) to be compared with the meanest Cittizen of Rome? And hence came that law, requiring, that the life of a Cittizen should not bee brought in question, but by the generall affembly of the people. Verres having condemned one Cosanus, a Romaine Cittizen in Sicilia, Tully vrgeth it as a matter vnfufferable: Facinus est (inquit) vinciri Ciuem Romanum, scelus verberari, prope parricidium necari, quid dicam in crucem agi? with many the like examples: besides the lofque quos cen- possibilitie they were in, if their sufficiencie were answerable accordinglie, to become great in the State; and confequently, Commaunders of the Empire.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæfar tasteth the affection of the Souldiers.



fetted his honour, and endeuoured the advancement of his renowne and dignitie: Lamenting likewise the president which this time had brought into the State; that the Tribunes authoritie should be opposed and suppressed by Armes. which former ages had by force of Armes reestablished. For, Sylla having stript the Tribuneship, naked of all rights and prerogatives, yet left it the freedome of opposition: But Pompey who would seeme to restore it to the dignity fro which it was fallen, did take away that power which was onely left onto it. The Senate neuer resolued of that Act, That the Magistrates should take a course for the safetie of the Common-weale, whereby the people were necessarily summoned to

Armes; but in times of pernicious lawes, upon the violence of the Tribunes, or Whereof Lex the mutinie and secession of the people, when the Temples & high places of the the chiefest. Cittie were taken and held against the State: which disloyalties of former ages,

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

were expiated and purged by the fortune and diafter of the Saturnines and the Gracchi. But at this present, there was no such matter attempted, so much as in thought : no law published; no practice with the people; no tumult; no departure out of the Cittie. And therefore adhorted them; that for a much as under his leading and commaund, for nine yeres together they had most happily caried the government, fought many prosperous and victorious battels, settled all Gallia and Germanie in peace; they would now in the end, take his honor into their protection, and defendit against the malice of his adversaries. The souldiers of he had the but the xiy. legion which were present (for them onely had hee called out in the be- 500. foote, and ginning of the troubles, and the other legions were not as yet come) cried out instantly, That they were readie to undertake his defence against such wrongs, and to keepe the Tribanes of the people from injurie.

that fide the mounteth to the just number of a legion.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

tained by justice: fo likewife, fuch as live in the civil communitie of the same, and injoy the benefit of a well qualified gouernment, doe take themselues interessed in the maintenaunce of instice, and imprison. Xecannot indute the tyrannie of wrongs; vnleffe happely (as every man is parti- prophon Cyrop. all in his owne cause) they be the authors thereof themselves. The first dutie of instice, which is, Ne cui quis noceat, did Casar make the theame of his Oration to the fouldiers; aggrauating his particular injuries, by opening and en- guis motent. Cic. forcing the malice of his Aduerlaries: and making the State a partie in his fuf-

times of libertie, and inft proceeding, was facted and inviolable. These remonstrances were apprehended by the souldiers, as matters speci- Qui non defenally cocerning their dutie; holding the seller bound to redresse them, or dit nee obsisting interior, otherwise to be guiltie of betraying their parents, courry, copanions & friends. tamest in vitio, Some report, that one Lælius, a Primipile of Cæfars Armie, making aunswere qua fe parentes, to this speech, gaue assurance of the souldiers good affection; which the rest partial patriam, aut so approued with a generall acclamation. Howbeit, the argument lay couched gios deferat. Cic. in a Sophilme, pretending Cæfars right, but concluding the ruine of the State.

ferings, through the oppression and defacing of the Tribunethip; which in

IS Publique-weales and Societies are chiefely supported and main- Giant efficie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Econdly, we may obserue, that as discord and diffension, tenting a- Opulentis civifunder the bonds of civill communitie, are the bane of florishing feditio, magna and opulent Citties, and make the greatest Empires examples of imperia morta-Mortalitie: lo by the same rule of discourse, it is also true, that the live lib. 2.

neque Thesauri funt , verum amici. Saluft in bello Ingurth.

state excellit ita indiget. Arist. Ethic. 8.

Non Exercitus mutuall respects of well qualified friendship, are as expedient, both for the fastening of the joynts of a publique State, & for keeping the particular parts in due temper and proportion, as either treasure, or Armies, or any other thing required therevoto. Hence it is that Cicero faith, that wee haue as much vie of friendship, as of fire and water: and that he that should goe about to take it from among men, did indeauour (as it were) to take the funne out of the heauen; which by heate, light, and influence, giueth life vnto the world. And as ime opibus prin- men are eminent in place and authoritie, and have vie of many wheeles for the motion of their feuerall occasions; so have they the more neede of amitie and amicis maximi correspondencie, to second the multiplicitie of their desires, and to put on their businesses to their wished ends.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar taketh Arminium, receiueth and aunswereth messages from Pompey.

Rimini.



1 Aefar having founded the minds of the fouldiers, went directly with that legion to Arminium: and there met with the Tribunes of the people that were fled onto him, fent for the rest of their legions from their wintering Campes, and gaue order they should follow him . Thither came young L: Cafar, whose father was a Legate in Cafars Campe. And af-

ter some speech of the occasion of his comming, acquainted Calar, that Pompey had given him a message in charge to be delivered onto him: which was, that he defired to cleare himself to Casar, least he might peradventure take those things to be done in scorne of him, which were commaunded onely for the service of the State; the good whereof he alwaies preferred before any private respect: and that Cafar likewife was tied in honour to lay afide his indignation and affection for the Common-wealths (ake : and not to be so transported with anger and disdaine of his Adversaries, as he seemed to be ; least in hoping to bee auenged of them, he should hurt the publique weale of his Country. Hee added somewhat more of the lame lubiect, together with excules on Pompeys behalfe. Almost the felfe same discourse, and of the selse same things, Roscius the Prator dealt with Cafar, and faid that hee had received them in charge from Pompey: which although they seemed no way to satisfie or remoone the iniuries and wrongs complained of ; yet having got fit men, by whom that which he wished might bee imparted to Pompey, he praied the both, for that they had brought onto him what Pompey required, they would not thinke it much to returne his defires to Pompey; if happily with so little labour they might accord so great differences, and free all Italy from feare and danger. That he had ever held the dignitie of the Common-weale in high regard, and dearer then his owne life. He greeued much,

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that a benefit given him by the people of Rome, should be spightfully wrested fro him by his adversaries; that six months of his government were to be cut off. so he to be called home to the Cittie : notwithstanding the people had commaunded at the last creation of Magistrates, that there should regard be had of him. although absent. Neuerthelesse, for the Common-wealths sake hee could be content to undergoe the losse of that honour. And having writ to the Senate that all men might quit their Armies, he was so far from gaining the same, that contrariwise a levie was thereupon made throughout all Italy; and the two legions which were drawne from him, under a pretence of the Parthian warre, were still retained about the Cittie, which was likewise in Armes. And to what tended all this but his destruction? And yet not with standing, hee was content to condiscend to all things, and to indure all inconveniences, for the cause of the Publique weale. Let Pompey goe to his government and Provinces : let both the Armies be discharged; let all men in Italy lay downe their Armes; let the Citty be freed of feare; the assemblies of the people left to their auncient libertie; and the whole government of the State remitted to the Senate and people of Rome. For the better accomplishment whereof, under well advised and secure conditions, let an oath be taken for due keeping of the same: or otherwise, let Pompey approache neerer unto him; or suffer Cafar to come neerer to him, that these controuerses might happely receive an end by conference.

Roscius, having this message, went to Capua, accompanied with L. Casar; where finding the Confuls and Pompey, he deliuered unto them Cafars propositions. They having consulted of the matter, made an aunswere in writing, and returned it by them to Casar, wherof this was the effect; That he should returne into Gallia, quit Arminiu, & dismisse his Army: which if he did, Pompey would was made at Thiang, inth then goe into Spaine; In the meane time, untill assurance were given that Casar territories of wold perform as much as he promised, the Consuls & Pompey wold not forbeare L'auour, the 25 to levy (ouldiers . The condition was too unequall, to require Cafar to leave Arminium, and to returne into his Province; and Pompey to hold Provinces & le. gions belonging to other men: to have Calar dismisse his Armie, and he to raise new troopes; to promife simply to goe to his government, but to assigne no day for his departure; insomuch, that if hee had not gone untill Calars time of gouernment had expired, he could not have been blamed for fallifying his promise. But for a smuch as they appointed no time for a conference, nor made any shew of comming neerer, there could no hope be conceived of peace.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Aefar, lying at Ravenna, within his gouernment of Gallia, and vn- Plutards in viderstanding how matters past at Rome, according as Plutarch ta Cafarin. reporteth, commaunded divers of his Centurions to goe before

reportern, commanded characteristics reporter five design and to Arminium, without any other armour then their fwords; and to possesses the possesses possesses the possesses possesses and the possesses posses possesses possesses posses p uing the troopes about him to be commaunded by Hortenfius, he continued a whole day together in publique fight of all men, to behold the fencing of the Sword-

Multa videri volumus velle, fed nolumus.

Let it lie vpon Bonum eft dum in portu, pracauere tempestate co tempore, quo in medias irru eris procellas, trepidare. Iofep. de bello Ind.i

Sword-players. At night nee bathed his body, and then kept companie with fuch as he had bidden to supper; and after a while rose from the table, wishing enery man to keepe his place, for he would instantly come againe. Howbeit, having fecretly commaunded fome of his followers to attend him, in such maner as might giue least suspicion, hee himselfe tooke a Coach which he had hired; and making thew of going a contrary way, turned fuddenly towardes Arminium. When hee came to the little river Rubicon, which divided his gouernment from the reft of Italie, he ftood confounded through remorfe of his Seneca, epift. 96 desperate dessigne, and wist not whither it were better to returne or goe on:

but in the end, laying afide all doubtfull cogitations, he refolved upon a defperate Adage, importing as much as Fall back, fall edge. And passing over the River, neuer staied running with his Coach, vntill he came within the Cittle of adbue flat naus Arminium: Where he met Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people; and thewed them to the fouldiers, as they were driven to flie out of Rome, difquifuturam; et non sed like slaues in a Carriers cart.

It is faid, that the night before he passed ouer this River, hee dreamed that he lay with his mother in an unnaturall fenfe; but of that, hee himfelfe maketh no mention. This Cittle of Arminium, is now called Rimini, and franceth in Romania, vpon the Adriatick fea, in the Popes dominion. The River Rubicon, was anciently the bounds of Gallia; ouer which, Augustus caused a faire bridge to be built, with this infeription;

IVSSV. MANDATY-VE. P.R. COS. IMP. MILL TIRO. COMMILI-TO. MANIPYLARIS-VE. CENT. TVRMÆ-VE. LEGIONARI-VE. ARMAT. QVISQVIS. ES. HIC. SISTITO. VEXILLYM. SINITO. NEC CITRA, HVNC. AMNEM. RVBICONEM. DVCTVM. COMMEA-TVM.EXERCITVM-VE. TRADVCITO. SI. QVIS. HVIVSCE, IVS-SIONIS. ERGO. ADVERSVS. FECIT. FECERIT-VE. ADIVDICA-TVS. ESTO. HOSTIS. P.R. AC. SI. CONTRA. PATRIAM. ARMA. TVLERIT. SACROSQVE. PENATES. E. PENETRALIBVS. AS-PORTAVERIT. SANCIO. PLEBISCI. SENATVS-VE. CONSVLT. VLTRA. HOS. FINES. ARMA. PROFERRE. LICEAT. NEMINI. S. P. Q. R.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

F this manner of proceeding be brought into dispute, and the reason required why Cæsar kept not himselse in the province of Gallia, where he might haue held his gouernment according to his owne define, or otherwise haue drawne his adversaries to buckle with the strength of those conquering Legions; and so brought the businesse to a (hort end, with as great probabilitie of good successe, as by any hazard of undertaking: It is to bee understoode, that in causes of this nature, which fildome admitte anie treatie of accorde, hee that striketh first, and hath the advantage

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

advantage of the forehand, is well entered into the way of victorie: for, the rule is of old, that if an enemy hath a dessigne in hand, it is farre more fafe to begin first. and by way of preuention, to give the onset on him, rather then to shew a lere volenti prireadinesse of relisting his affaults. For, if blowes (ofnecessitie) must be way - or occurrate, qua makers to peace, it were a mistaking to be either wanting or behind hand therin ; besides the gaine which attendeth this advantage. For, hee that stands af [7]meyd. lib. 6. fected to deny what is just, and of right due, doth neuerthelesse grant all things which the sword requireth; and will not sticke to supply all vniust refusals, with instanced. as great an ouer-plus of what may be demaunded. For which cause, Cæsar Lucan.lib. 1. staid nor the comming of his whole Army; but began with those forces which were ready at hand; and so prenenting all intendements, hee put his adversaries to luch a straight, that they quitted Italie for feare, and lest Rome (with what oeuer was facred or precious therein) to the mercy of them whom they had adjudged enemies to their Countrey.

CHAP. VI.

Cæfar taketh diuers Municipall Towner.

OR which regard, he fent M. Antonius with fine cohorts to Cafar. Arctium: but he himselfe staid at Arminium with two legi- Halfe a legion ons, and there intended to inroll new troopes; and with feuerall cohorts, tooke Pifaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. In the Pifaurum. meane while, being advertised that Thermus, the Prator, did Pesaro. Ital. hold Tienium, with five cohorts, and fortified the place, and Fanum.

that all the inhabitants were well inclined towards him; hee Ancona. fent Curio thither with three cohorts, which he had at Pisaurum and Arminium. Vpon notice of whose comming, Thermus (doubting of the affection of the towne) arew his cohorts forth of the Cittie, and fled. The souldiers by the way went from him, and repaired home-ward. Curio was there received with the great contentment and satisfaction of all men. Vpon notice whereof, Casar conceiving hope of the fanourable affections of the Municipall townes, brought the cohorts of the 12 legion out of their guarizons, and marched towardes Auxi- Auximum. mum; a towne held by Atius, with certaine cohorts which hee had brought thi- Atius Varus ther with him: and having fent out divers Senatours, made a levie of men tho-

roughout all the Countrey of Picenum. Cafars comming beeing knowne, the Decuriones of Auximum repaired to Atius Varus, accompanied with great troopes of people; told him that the matter concernea not him at all: for, neither themselves, nor the rest of the Municipall townes, would shut their gates against such a Commaunder as Casar was, that by great and worthy service had so well deserved of the Common-wealth:

Picenum.

which might befall him in particular. Varus, beeing throughly wakened at this warning, drew out the Guarison which he had brought in, and so fled away : and

Commentary of the Civill Warres. THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

His word Decurio hath a double understanding : for, Romulus ha- Decuriores. uing 3000 foote, and 300 horse, divided them into three Tribes,& cuery Tribe into ten Curies, containing 100 foote men and tenne

horimen. Whereby Marcellinus concludeth, that Decuriones, et Centuriones à numero cui in Militia praerant dicebantur. But Vegetius is more Lib. 2. cap. 14. particular in this point. A Companie of footmen (faith he) was called a Cen-

turie or Maniple: and a troope of horse was called Turma, of Ter-denes, conrayning 30 men, whereof the Captaine was named Decurio. In which fense Cæfar speaketh; Ea res per fugitiues L. Aemyly Decurionis equitum Gallorum Lib. 1. de bell. hostibus nunciatur. But in this place it hath another signification: for, the Ro-

maines, when they feat any Cittizens to people and inhabite a place, they chose our every tenth man; such as were found most able, and of best sufficiencie, to make and establish a publique Councell: whom they called Decuriones; according as Pomponius and other Civilians understandit. So that these Decuriones were the Senate of that place.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus flieth in great feare out of Rome.

(afar commeth to Corfinium.

Hefe things beeing reported at Rome, the Cittie was fuddenly strooke into such a terrour, that when Lentulus the Confull came to open the Treasurie, and to deliver out money to Pompey according to the Act of Senate, he fled out of the

Cittie. O left the inner chamber of the Treasurie open. For, it was reported (although ontruly) that Casar was neere

appreching, or that his Caualrie was hard at hand. Marcellus, the other Conful, together with most of the other Magistrates, followed after. Pompey, departing the day before, was gone to those legions which he had taken from Casar, o had left in Apulia to winter. In the meane while, the involement of souldiers ceased

within the Cittie. No place seemed secure betweene that and Capua. There they began first to assemble and assure themselves; impresting for souldiers, such as by Iulius law were fent thither to inhabite. And the Fencers which were there Lex Iulia. trained and exercised by Casar, for the entertainement of the people of Rome,

were by Lentulus brought out, fet at libertie, mounted vpon horfes, & comaunded to follow him. But afterwards, opo advise of his friends (enery mans indgement disallowing thereof) he dispersed them heere and there throughout Campania, for their better safetie and keeping.

Cafar.

Сариа.

Cæfar,

L. Puppius.

being overtaken by a few of Casars first troopes, was compelled to make a stand; and there giving battell, was for saken of his men. Some of the souldiers went home, and the rest came to Casar. Among st them was taken L. Puppius, Centurion of a Primipile order, which place he had formerly held in Pompeys Army. Cafar commended Atius fouldiers; fent Puppius away; gaue thanks to them of Auximum; and assured them of a mindfull acknowledgement on his behalfe for this seruice.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Mongst other things which serue to inable our judgements, and do make men wife to good fortune: that which is gathered from fimilitude or likeneffe of qualitie, is not the valureft ground of our difcourse; but oftentimes giueth more light to guide our passage, tho-

rough the doubtfulnes of great enterprifes, then any other help of reason: for, he that will attend an overture from energy particular, and tarry for circumstances to accomplish all hispurposes, & make no vse of instances to better his advantage, shall neuer wade faire in businesses of moment, nor atchieue that which he defireth. Which Cæfar well observed: for vpon the accidentall difcouerie of the disposition of one towne, hee thereby took eoccasion to make triall how the rest stood affected; and either found them or made them answerable to his hopes.

Concerning these places taken by Cæsar, it is to be understood, that Pisau-Pefarò. Ital. rum is fited on the Adriatick fea, and belongeth to the Dutchie of Vrbine; a towne famous of old, by reason of the prodigious opening of the earth, and

fwallowing up the inhabitants before the battell of Actium, fome few yeeres after it was thus taken by Cæfar.

Fanum was so called of a faire Temple which was there built to Fortune. Tacit. Annal 10. Exercitus Vespasiani ad Fanum Fortuna iter sistit. It is a small towne on the same sea, and belongeth to the Pope.

Ancona is a famous towne vpon the Adriaticke fea, fited vpon a boaw-like promontorie, which taketh in the sea betweenetwo forlands; and so maketh one of the fairest Hauens of all Italie, as well for largenes as for safetie. From whence rifeth that common faying, expressing the rarenesse and singularity of three things; Vnus Petrus in Roma, noting the beauty of Saint Peters Church:

Vna Turris in Cremona, the excellent workman(hip of a steeple there : And v. nus Portus in Ancona, which is this Hauen. The Emperour Traian, to give it more shelter, and keepe it from the furie of the wind, raised the top of the Promontorie in fashion of a halfe moone, with a mount made of great Marble stones: and made it Theater wife, with descents and degrees to goe to the sea; together with an Arke triumphall in memoric thereof. The towne is now vnder the Pope.

Fanò. Ital.

Ancona.

Observations vpon the first

Picenum.

Cingulum.

Cafar, dislodging from Auximum, marched throughout all the Countrey of Picenum, and was most willingly received by all the Prafectures of those Regions, and relieued with all necessaries which his souldiers stood in need of ; in somuch as Commissioners were sent unto him from Cingulum, a towne which Labienus had founded, and built from the ground at his owne charges, promising to obay what soener he commaunded: wherevoon he required souldiers, & they fent them accordingly. In the meane time, the twelfth legion overtooke Cafar,

A (culum.

and with these two hee marched directly to Ascalum, a towne which Lentulus Spinther held with ten Cohorts: who, understanding of Casars approche, left the place; and labouring to carry the troopes with him, was for laken by the greatest part of the souldiers: and so marching with a few, happened by chaunce upon Vibullius Rufus, sent of purpose by Pompey into the Countrey of Picenum, to confirme and settle the people. Vibullius, being advertised how matters went there, tooke the fouldiers, and so dismissed him of his charge: gathering likewise from the confining Regions, what cohorts hee could get from Compeis former inrole. ments; and amongst others, entertained L: Hirrus, flying with fixe cohorts out L. Hirrus. of Camerinum, whereof he had the keeping. These being all put together, made 12 cohorts : and by long marches, he made towards Domitius Aeneobarbus, who

Camerinum Domitius Aeneobarb. Corfinium. Albania Marsia. Pelignia.

2 500 men.

was at Corfinium, telling him that Cafar was at hand with two legions. Domitius had raised twenty cohorts, out of Albania, Marsia, and Pelignia, adiacent Countreys. Asculum beeing taken in, and Lentulus driven out, Casar made inquirie after the fouldiers that had left Lentulus, and commaunded them to bee inrolled for him. And after one daies aboade for the provision of Corne, he marthed towards Corfinium. Vpon his approche thither, Domitius fent 5 cohorts out of the towne, to breake downe the bridge of the River, which was about three miles off. The vauntgard of Cafars Armie, incountering with Domitius fouldiers, draue them from the bridge, of forced them to retrait into the towne; wherby Casar past over his legions, made a stand before the towne, o incamped himselfe under the walles.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Sempre é cong unto invn me desimo suz getto l' Infolentia c la Timiditá.

Lib. 2.

De Officijs.

T is well observed by Guichardine, that Insolencie & Timiditie are neuer found afunder, but doe alwaies accompany one another in the fame fubiect; for, the minde beeing the center of all fuch motions, doth according to energy mans nature, give the like fcopero passions of contrariety, and extend them both to an equidistant circumference: as, if courage shall happen to dilate it selfe to Insolencie, then is doubtfulnesse in like manner inlarged to Cowardice; & will imbase mens thoughts as lowe, as they did rife in height by infulting. For which cause it is adulfed by such as treat of Morality, that men be well warie in admitting dilatation of passions, or in suffering them to slie out beyond the compasse of reason, which containeth the measure of Equabilitie, commended by Cicero, to be observed throughout the whole course of mans life. Lentulus the Confull may be an instance of

this weakenes, and learne others moderation by thunning his intemperancie. For, in question of qualifying the rage of these broiles, & forting of things to a peaceable end, his arrogancie was incompatible with tearmes of agreement, and overswaide the Senate with heedlesse impetuositie. And againe, when his authoritie, and Confular gravitie should have settled the distracted Comons, and made good his first resolution, his over-hastie flying out of the Cittie, did rather induce the people to believe, that there was no fafetie within those wals, not for fo small a time, as might serue to have that the Treasurie at his heeles; and so became as abiect, as before hee shewed himselfe insolent.

Commentary of the Ciuil Warres.

Concerning these words (Aperto Sanctione Aerario) it is to be noted, that Aerarium. Aerarium was their publique Treasurie; and by the appointment of Valerius Plutar. in vita Publicola, was made within the Temple of Saturne: whereof divers men make Publicola. Aerarium podivers conjectures. Macrobius faith, that as long as Saturne continued in Ita- pulus Romanus lie, there was no thest committed in all the countrey; and therefore his Tembabuit, Pofius. ple was thought the fafeit place to keepe money in. Plutarch thinketh rather. that the making of the Treasurie in that place, did allude to the integritie of the time wherein Saturne raigned; for, avarice and deceit was not then known amongst them. S. Cyprian is of an opinion, that Saturne first taught Italie the vie and coynage of money; and therefore they gaue the keeping thereof to his Dietie. Howfoever; it is manifest, that not onely the publique Treasure was there kept, but also their Records, Chartes, Ordinances and Edicts: together with such bookes as were for their immeasurable greatnes, called Libri Elebanphantini; contayning all their Acts of Senate and deedes of Armes, atchie-time. ued by the Commaunders abroad, as also their militarie Ensignes which they fetched alwaies from thence when they went into the field: and there likewise rio prompta fedid such Embassadours as came to Rome, enregister their names, as Plutarch runtur ad Die-

It was called Aeraria of Aes, fignifying Brass, for that the first money yied by the Romaines was of that metall, vntill the yeere of Rome 485, as Pliny witnef-Lib.z.cap.33. feth; when they began first to coyne peeces of filuer matked with the letter X. whereof they tooke the appellation of Denarium, as valuing ten affes of brais. which before they ysed for their coyne; and enery of the saide asses waied 12 ounces. Touching their order observed in their Treasurie, for their disposing and laying up of their moneys, we must understand, that as bodies politique require necessarie and ordinarie treasure to be imploied in such manner, as may best concurre with the publique honour and weale of the same: so there must be speciall care to provide against vnusuall and extraordinarie casualties, which are not remonued but by speedy and effectuall remedies. According to which prouidence the Romaines disposed of their treasure, and tooke the twentith part of their receit, which they called Aurum vice simarium, and referred it Aurum vicessi apart in an inner chamber; where it lay so priniledged, that it was a capitall crime to touchit, but in extreame and desperate necessity: as in time of warre with the Galles, or in a sedition and tumult of the people. Liuie affirmeth as much, where he faith, Catera expedientibus qua ad bellum opus erant confulibus auru vicessimariu, quod in canctiore Aerario ad vitimos casus seruaretur,

promi placuit, prompta ad quatuer Millia pondo Auri.

affirmeth.

Lib. 24.

To Vch as affect offices and dignities in a State, must euer haue

meanes to court Souerainty, according as may best sute with her Politia, either as the is espoused to a Monarch, or left in trust to a Multitude. Hence it was, that the Romaines to gaine the fauour of the people, & to make way for their owne ends, were very fumptuous in fetting foorth shewes and spectacles, of divers forts and fashions; and specially of Gladiators or Fencers, as best fitting a Romaine disposition, & more pleasing then others of any kind. Equidem (saith Tully) existimo, nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi, quam illud Gladiatorum, neque concionis vilius, neque verò vilorum Commitiorum. And in another place; Id aute spectaculi genus erat, quod omni frequentia, atque omni hominum genere

Their manner was to keepe great numbers of these Fencers, in some conuenient and healthfull townes of Italie, as at Rauenna, & Capua (which were as Seminaries of these people) and there to traine them vp in the feate of fencing, vntill they had occasion to vie them in their shewes, either at their triumphall entries into the Citty vpon their victories, or at the funerall folemnitie of some personage of memorie; or otherwise at their feasts and iollities.

celebratur, quo multitudo maxime delectatur.

Quin etiam exhilarare viris conviuia cade Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira.

They fought commonly man to man, at all aduantage, and were fildome excused, untill one of the two lay dead upon the place. Neither was hee then quitted that had flaine his companion, but stood liable to undertake another, and so a third, vntill he had foiled fixe or seauen Combattants. And if his hap were to preuaile fo often, he was then honoured with a Garland wound about with ribands of wooll, which they called Lemnisci, and received of the Prætor a great knotted staffe, called Rudis: which he afterward carried about with him as an enfigne of libertie. These bloudy spectacles continued vnto the time of Constantine the great; and were by him prohibited, as likewise also by Arcadius and Honorius; and veterly abolished after the raigne of Theoderick, king of the Gothes. Let him that would looke further into the fathion of these shewes, read what Lipsius hath written cocerning the same. That which I obferue heerein, is, the vie which the State made heereof: for, howfocuer thefe fights and folemnities were fette forth for the compassing of private ends; yet neuertheleffe, the Common-weale drew benefit from the fame. For, a multitude beeing of a fickle and mutable nature, are no way so well settled with contentment of the time, or kept from nouelties and innovations, as with publick shewes and entertainements: which are as staies to their affections, that they fwarue not from the gouernment by which they line in civill confociation. So we read how the Grecians instituted, as popular entertainements, their Olympian, Nemean, Ist mean, and Pythian Games; The Romaines, their Apollinary, Secular, Gladiatory, and Hunting shewes, with Tragedies and Comedies: and

And therefor

Pro Rofcio.

they were cal-led, Bustuarij à buftis. Sil. Italicus.

Spechatum fatie et donatum, ian rude. Horac. The Romanes neuer víed these Gladiators in any mi litary feruice, but onely in Ciuill warres. Ac deforme in-Super auxilium duo millia Gladiatorum : ſed per ciuilia arma Ceneris ducibus vsurpatii. Tac bifto. 1.

Commentary of the Civil Warres.

all for the fatisfaction of the people. Wherein, howfoeuer the Grecians feem more judicious, for inventing such Games as might both exercise and entertertaine the people, yet the Romaines failed not of the end aymed at in these spectacles; which was, to inure them to bloud and flaughter, and to make the dreadlesse in cases of horrour.

But, to leave all shewes of this nature, as either too little for earnest, or too much for pastime; it shall suffice to note, that these publique entertainements are so farre expedient as they consist of pleasure and comlinesse: for, as their chiefest end is to pleasure and content the people; so their manner must be directed by lawfulnesse and honestie. In which respect, a Tragedy is more commendable then a Comedy; forasmuch as few comical larguments doe sympathife with honestie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



O be great, and of a large proportion, doth not take away cafualties of inconvenience; nor can it give a priviledge, to free thinges from diftemperature: tall men are as subject to Feauers, as others of lesser stature; and great Empires as easily disturbed, as the states of pettie Princes.

O faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri difficiles!

Lucan. lib.1.

It is easier to attaine the end of high defires, then to keepe it being got: and better is the affurance of feeking, then of possessing. The Romaine, people that rere arduit.tuer. had over-awed the world with Armes, & left no kingdom vnfoiled with the fear difficilius. Liv of their legions, were as much difmaied at a subjects dissolutie, as was possible |116.37. for a meane State to be amuzed upon an alarum of any danger. And that Citty

which suffered no enemie to approche neer her confines, but in the condition

sic turba per Vrbem Pracipiti lymphata gradu, velut vnica rebus Spes foret afflictis patrios excedere muros, Inconsulta ruit.

of a Captine, was not trusted as able to give her owne people safety.

Lucan. lib. 1.

The advantage is, that kingdomes of great commaund, have great helps in cases of disturbance; but are otherwise as subject to apprehensios of distrust, as those of leffer power to resist.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæfar goeth on with the fiege of Corfinium, and taketh it.



OMITIVS, being thus ingaged, fent out skilfull men of the Countrey, with promise of great reward to carie Letters to Pompey, intreating and praying, that he would come and reblieue him; for, Cafar, by reason of the straightnesse of the paffages, might with two Armies bee eafily fout up : which opportunitie if he neglected, him elfe, with aboue 20 cohorts

there-about.

* Tormenta.

Sulmo.

of fouldiers, besides a great number of Senators and Romaine Knights, were in danger of running a hard fortune. In the meane time, hee exhorted his men to courage and refolution; placed his * Artillery on the walles; assigned every man his quarter to bee made good; promised in publique assembly of the souldiers, foure akers a peece to each man out of his owne lands and possessions: and the like rateable parts to the Centurions and Enocates. Meane-while, it was told Cafar, that the inhabitants of Sulmo, a towne distant season miles from Corfinium, were desirous to receive his commaunds, but that they were restrained by 2. Lucretius, a Senatour, & Atius Pelignius, that kept the towne with a guarizon of seauen cohorts. Wherevpon, he sent thither M. Antonius with fine cohorts of the seauenth legion : whose Ensignes were no sooner discouered by those of the towne, but the inhabitants and souldiers came all out, to gratulate and welcome Antonius, Lucretius and Atius conuaied themselues over the wall. Atius beeing taken and brought to Antony, desired to be fent to Casar. Antonie returning the same day, brought Atius & the souldiers that were found in Sulmo. to Cafar; whom he tooke to his Army, and fent Atius away in safetie.

Casar, the three first daies, made great workes to fortifie his Campe; caused fore of corne to be brought from the townes next about him; and there determined to stay the coming of the rest of his forces. Within the space of those three daies, the eight legion came unto him, with 22 cohorts newly inrolled in Gallia, together with CCC. horse, which the King of Noricum had sent unto him. Vpon the arrival of which forces, he made second Camp on the other side of the towne, and appointed Curio to commaund it. The rest of the time was spent in compassing the towne with a Rampier and with Castells: the greatest part of which worke beeing finished, it chaunced at the same time, that such as were sent to Pompey, returned. The Letters beeing read, Domitius dissembling the truth, gaue out in the counsell of warre, that Pompey would come speedily to succour flittis bilaritate them: and therefore wished that no man should be dismaied, but to prepare such things as were of ofe for the defence of the towne; and hee himselfe conferring secretly with some of his familiar friends, consulted how he might escape away. But for a smuch as his lookes agreed not with his words, and that his cariage seemed more troubled and timorous then of uall & likewife his fecret conferences,

Duces rebus af de industria siad Poly.

as also his avoiding of publique councells and assemblies, as much as hee could, the matter coulde bee no longer diffembled. For, Pompey had writ backe, that hee woulde not hazard the cause, by drawing it into such tearmes of extremitie: neither was Domitius ingaged in the keeping of Corfinium by his advice or consent; therefore, if by any meanes he could, he should quit the place, and bring the forces onto him: But the siege was so straight, and the workes did so begind the towne, that there was no hope of effecting it. Domitius purpose being knowne abroad, the fouldiers within the towne, about the beginning of the evening for sooke their stations, and drew themselves apart, and there upon had conference with the Tribunes of the fouldiers and Centurions to this effect: That they were befreged by Cafar, and the fortifications almost finished; their Generall Domitian (in hope and confidence of whom they were engaged in that place) fetting aside all matters what soener, was bethinking himselfe how hee might escape and flie away: and in regard thereof, they were not to neglect their owne fafetie. The Marsi at first began to differ from the rest, vpon that point; pos-(est themselves of that part of the towne which seemed to be strongest: and such a diffension thereby grew amongst them, that they had almost gone to blowes. Howbeit, understanding a while after (by messengers which past to and fro betweene them) of Domitius purpose to slie away, whereof formerly they were ignorant, they agreed together, and with one consent brought Domitius out into open publique; and fent some to Cafar, to let him know, they were ready to open the gates to receive his commaundements, and to deliver Domitius alive into his hands. Vpon advertisement whereof (albeit Casar found it a matter of great consequence, to gaine the towne with as much speed as he could, and to take the fouldiers into his Campe, least eyther by large promises and gifts, or by entertayning other purpoles, or otherwise through false bruits or deuised messages, their mindes might happely be altered, as oftentimes in the course of war, great and eminent chances & alterations do happen in a smal moment of time : yet for that he feared least the night time might give occasion to the souldiers upo their entrance to fack of pilfer the towne) hee comending those that came onto him. lent them back againe. & willed that the gates & the walles should be kept with a good guard. He himselfe disposed the souldiers upon the worke, which hee had begun; not by certaine spaces and distances, as he had accustomed the dayes before, but by continuall watches and stations, one touching another round about all the fortifications. Moreover, he fent the Tribunes & Captaines of the horse about, and willed them to have a care that there might be no eruptions or fallies, and that they (hould looke to the private slippings out of particular men. Neither was there any man so heavie or dull, that suffered his eyes to be shut that night; for, so great was the expectation of what would ensue, that no man thought of any other thing, then of what would happen to the Corfinians, to Domitian, to Lentulus and the rest. About the fourth watch of the night, Lentulus Spinther Lentulus spake from the wall to our souldiers that had the watch, and signified that hee Spinther. would willingly have leave to come to Cafar: which being graunted, he was fent

out of the towne, attended with some of Domitians Souldiers, who left him not

ontill he came in fight of Cafar. With him he dealt concerning his life or praied

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

Observations upon the first

him to pardon him; put him in mind of their former familiarity; acknowledged the favours received from Cafar, which were very great; namely, that by his collegium Pon- meanes, he was chosen into the Colledge of Priests; that upon the going out of his Pratorship, he obtained the province of Spaine; and in his suit to be Consult, hee was much assisted by him.

Cafar, interrupting his speech told him, that hee came not from his government to hurt anyman; but to defend himselfe from the iniuries of his adversaries; to restore the Tribunes of the people to their dignitie, that were thrust out and expelled the Cittie; and to put himselfe and the people of Rome into liberty. which were opprest with the partialities of a few factious persons. Lentulus, being reassured opon this aunswere, prayed leave to returne into the towne; and the rather, that this which he had obtained touching his owne (afety, might give hope to the rest: among st whom, some were so affrighted, that hee doubted they would fall into some desperate course; and having obtained leave, hee departed. Cafar, as soone as it was day, commaunded all the Senators and Senators children, together with the Tribunes of the fouldiers, and the Romaine Knights, to be brought out onto him. Of Senatours, there were L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Vibullius Rufus, Sex: Quintilius Varus, the Treasurer, L. Rubius; besides Domitians sonne, and many other young men : with a great number of Romaine Kinghts and Decurions, whom Domitian had called out of the Municipall Townes. These beeing all brought forth onto him, were protected from the insolencies and injuries of the souldiers. Moreover, he spake a few words unto the concerning the ill requitall on their behalfe, for the great benefites hee had done unto them: and so sent them all away in peace.

The gold which Domitian had laid up in the publique Treasury, being brought unto him by the two chiefe Magistrates or Bailiefes of Corfinium, he redeliuered to Domitian; least hee should seeme more continent in taking away mens lines, then their moneys: although he knew, that this money was part of the publique treasure, and delivered out by Pompey to pay souldiers. He commaunded Domitians partie to be sworne his souldiers. And that day removing his Camp, went a full daies march through the confines of the Marmurci, Frentani, & Larinati,

and came into Apulia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION. S it is true, that a friend is not folie ried to the respects of right; but

Latius patet of ficiorum quam iuris Regula.

Duumviri.

Stultitie videtur, alienam re Suo periculo curare. Saluft. de bello lugarth.

doth give more advantage by offices of good indevour, then by that which dutie requireth: fo is it dangerous for a man to put his fickle further into a haruest, then happely may deserve thankes of the owner. Neither can it be cleered from imputation of follie, to care an other mans business, with hazard and perill of our own fortune. Howbeit, the Current & drift of things, doth oftentimes fo ingage both our persons and affections, either in the maine action it selfe, or in some circumstances of the fame, that we cannot avoid the hazard of rebuke, if our indeuours doe not fort Commentary of the Civill Warres.

with his liking that is to approoue them. VV hereof Domitius may be an inflance; who, taking Corfinium on the behalfe of the State, was neuertheleffe disavowed in his merit, and consequentlie, brought into extreamitie of danger, for his over-forwardnes in the service of his Country. Such libertie hath soueraintie, either to take or leave, when the event shal not rise answerable to a good meaning.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

And Hen a partie is fallen into an exigent, it hath no better remedie for reliefe then that of the Comick, Redimas te captum quam queas minimo; which is not understood, that we should cleere the head, and leave the rest of the members to misfortune : for, that were to draw a double mischiese on the whole bodie. But the head is to escape with as little prejudice to the other parts, as by wifedome and vertue may be gained; and so much the rather, least in seeking to purchase safetie with hazard of the other members, it draw the whole destruction vpon it selfe; as it fell out with Domitius: Who, going about to flie out of the towne, and to leave such forces as by his meanes were imbarked in that cause, was justly made the facrifice of their peace. Sulla deserved better to be followed by men of adventure: for, beeing mooued to elcape himselfe away by night, and to leaue his troopes to fuch fortune as Jugurth vpon advantage should put vpon them; answered, Etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis quos ducebat, turpi juga, incerta ac forsitan paulo post morbo interitura vita parceret . And therefore, if a Commaunder shall at any time goe about to betray his forces, with hope of his owne fafetie, the iffue will bring out either his dishonour, or his

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

confusion.

Vch as vindertake great dessignes, doe likewise project the meanes of archieuing the fame, & doe propound vnto themselues such principles to be obserued, as they take to be speciall way-makers to the fortune they reach at; from which grounds they fildome or neuer

swarue. As appeareth by this of Cæsar; who ayming at the souerainty of that Empire, and knowing no way fo direct to leade him therevnto, as to clime vp by the steps of Mildness, and to make his Aduersaries debtors to his elemency, he left afide his Maximes of war, to hold firme that principle; and did forbeare to gaine a towne of great importance, with that speed which occasio & opportunitie did affoord him, and to take the troopes into his Campe, for the preuention of such chaunces and changes, as doe happen in a small moment of time; leafthis fouldiers entering into the towne, after the shutting of the eucning, might take leaue of the night time to make forfeiture of his mercie.

It shall therefore be well-befeeming the wisedome of a Leader, to have alwaies respect to the principles of his Meanes, and to distinguish between that which is fit and that which is more fit, in the native carriage of his bufiness.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

Collegium Pon

Oncerning this Colligium Pontificum, the Colledge of Priestes; we are to note, that Numa, the founder of the Romaine Common-weale, for the preventing of partialities and factions in that State,

which at that time confifted of two Nations or Tribes, did breake the whole bodie into manie small parts and fractions, making his division by Artes and Occupations; whereby he ordained, that all Minstrels or Trumpe-Plutarch in th life of Numa zers should bee incorporated into one Brotherhood: and that in like manner,

Goldsmithes, Carpenters, Diers, Shoomakers, Coriers, Tawyers, Belfounders. Potters, & all other trades & Sciences, should have their peculiar body or Fraternitie; appointing them feafts, affemblies, and feruices, according to the worthiness of each mysterie, as Plutarch hath observed in the life of Numa. Valerius Maximus maketh mention of the Colledge of Pipers or Minstrels. Lib. 34. cap. I. And Plinie, in like manner, mentioneth the Colledge of Coppersmithes. Ci-

by Caius, the Civilian. There are certaine Colledges at Rome, faith hee, in-

corporated by Act of Senate, and established with good ordinances and con-

fluntions, having certaine things in common, in imitation of the publique

ter government of such Colledges and Societies; so the same be not contrary

to the fundamentall lawes of the State. After the fame manner, the Prieftes

had their peculiar Colledge or corporation; & at the first institution were but

foure in number, and all of Patrician families, vnto the yeere of Rome 454: at

what time there were foure of the Commons chosen, and added to the former

number; whom Sulla increased to 15,28 Dio: witnesseth. And these were cal-

led Collegia Pontifica, wherof this Pontifex Maximus was prefident : one of the

absolutest dignities of Rome; as being for tearme of life, and of greatest and di-

uine authority. Which generall distribution of the Romaines into trades and

mysteries, doth not vnsitly bring into remebrance, that which is vsuall amongst

Cap de institutis cero taketh notice of the colledge or companie of Marchants, which hee cal-Lib.2. Epift.ad Qu. fratrê. E leth Collegium Mercurialium; for that of old time, the nimble tongued Merpift. 5. curie was believed in, as the Guider and Protector of Marchants. The priviledges & customes where-with these Fraternities were endowed, are set downe

In L. 1. S.

L. Pater filing weale: And as Scenola further noteth, with power to make lawes, for the bet-

Lib. 26.

the Turks, who by their law, are all bound to be of an occupatio; not excepting the Grand Signior himselfe. For, hee that now upholdes the Ottoman familie, Acometus the by the name of Sultan Acmet, is a professed maker of rings, which the Turkes great Turke. doe weare on their thumbe when they shoote, to let the string go easily without Fruterer Basha hurting them: and his father Mahomet was a Fletcher, and made arrowes. In Nailer, or palike manner, all his Courtiers are of trades and occupations; and enery man is rer of nailes, called by the title of his Art:as, he that was lately Vifier Baffa to the prefent Sulthaw, Gardener tan, was called by the name of Nateash Basha; the Visier Painter, beeing indeed

Commentary of the Civil Warres. the Sultans Painter; neither are they athamed to acknowledge as much: for, opening Letters which were fent into Turkie out of Christendome, that were limmed about the Margin, faid, he could paint as well as that himfelfe.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.



HE fift thing which I observe out of these passages at Corfinium, is the reftoring back of fuch meneys to Domitian, as were brought vnto Cæfar by the Officers of the towne, and which he knew to be of the publique treature of the State. Which howfocuer may feeme

admirable to the hearers of these times, wherein there is but this one rule for matter of mony, Vnde habe as quarit nemo, sed oportet habere: Yet fuch as wil Caput autemest iay a fure foundation of honour, and thrine in the courfes which they follow, morning rocumust not be ignorant, that there is nothing more requisite to gaine opinion & from maneris Pubreputation in the carriage of any publique business, then to bee cleare of the peliatur etam

least suspicion of couetousness. Neither is there any meanes that will sconer minima suspicion. win a multitude, to believe inthose thinges which are set abroach by publique | 2 ulla autom re, Authoritie, then those two virgin vertues, Abstinence & Continencie: espe- us benevolenting cially when they are found in Princes and chiefe Comaunders, that can other am multitudinis wise justifie their actions with soueraintie & vncontrolement. Nor on the other possible in quireifide, didener Apollo gine out truer Oracle then that, which saide; that there quan abstinen-

was no meanes to ruine Sparta but by Auarice. In which fenfe, C. Pontius, the Samnite, wished, that the Gods had referred

ratio, ot misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.

him to times wherein the Romaines would have beene corrupted with gifts: |cic.lib.x. offici.

tia et continen-

for, then he would foone have feene an end of their Comon-weale. And cer tainely, that Empire could neuer haue towred fo high, nor continued firme fo many ages, had not her foundation been laid by men of admirable temper in this kind: Such as was Paulus Aemilius 3 who having lacked Macedonia and brought as much wealth into the publique Treasurie, as gaue an end to Tributes and Subfidies, was no way the richer (but in honour) for all that hee had taken. And fuchalfo was Scipio Affricanus; that of all the wealth of Carthage,

brought nothing into his private house, but a high and triumphant Name, as a metit of his vertues and deedes of Armes: Leauing behind him this Oracle, as a document to following times; That concrous Captaines are good to note but to the Enemie. And to conclude, fuch was M. Curius, who having triumphed of the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus, refuled a great mass of lantes, Hostibus Gold, which was offered him by the Samnites : effecting it more honourable, funt fertiles. to commaund them that had Gold, then to have Gold of his owne. Howeit, Appear fuch is the frailetie of humaine nature, that for the most part, men haue alwaies cic. Cato Maior fuffered their delite of money, to increase with their wealth, although it were

that which he writ to Oppius, touching this accident: Hac noua sit vincendi

to their ruine and destruction. VVhich Cæsarwell discerned, as appeareth by

E 2

Plutarch, in vi

ta Romuli.



Pon occasion of Cæsars calling vnto him, out of the towne, Senatores, senatorumque filios, Equitesque Romanos, it shal not seeme impertinent, to note the degrees and conditions of state whereof the Romaine people confilted. For the better clearing wherof, it is

to be understood, that by that notable transaction at Comitium, between Romulus and Tatius, it was agreed; that both those Nations should dwell togeather at Romulus towne, which after his name, should bee called Rome: and that the inhabitants thereof, should be named Quirites, after the name of Tatius Cittie. Howbeit, speciallie they were divided into three Tribes, whereof they which were of Romulus partie, were called after his name, Ramnenses;

those that came with Tatius, Tatienses; and the third Tribe Luterences, of Lucus, a Groue: forafmuch as they beeing neither of Romulus retinew, nor yet of the Sabines, were neuerthelesse met together at that place, from divers parts, as at a Groue where commonly affemblies were made to offer facri-

fice, and to performe their heathenish solemnities. Each of these Tribes were divided by Romulus into ten Curiæ; and so made

the number of 30 Curiæ. And out of each of these Curiæ, he chose 3 persons, fuch as by their presence and sufficiencie, seemed fittest, and most woorthy; which amounted to ninetie. To whom, out of every Tribe heefurther added three, and one more of his owne choosing, to make the number vp a hundred; whom he established as his Councel or Senate: by whose adule he resolued of all matters of consequence, either concerning peace or warre, as Dionisius Halicarnasseus noteth. Howbeit, Plutarch saith, they were sildome assembled but to vnderstand the Kings pleasure: and had no other preheminence in the Common-weale, fauing they were the first that did knowe what was purpofed. Howfoeuer; they were stiled by the name of Senatores, quasi seniores, as thereby qualified to be admitted to Counsell: and in the same sense they were called Patres.

The Senate beeing thus established, Romulus selected out of every of those Curiæ ten young men, and so made vp the number of three hundred for a guard to his person; who for their readinesse and nimblenesse were called Celeres, all mounted on horsebacke: whence grew their Ordo Equestris, or band of Romaine knights, which were the meane betweene the Senate and the people; and as a Seminarie to supply the Senate; for, out of them were the Senators taken. The rest, that were not of these two Orders, were comprehended vnder the name of the Commons, or Populacy. Whereby it appeareth, that Rome confifted of three estates; Senators, Knights, and the Commons, according to that of Aufonius;

Martia Roma triplex; Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.

Touching the number of Senators, it is further to be noted, that Tarquinius Priscus, to gaine the fauor of the people, tooke 100 of the Commons, & added them to the Senate, who were called Senatores minorum Gentiu. And Brutus

Senatus.

Lib. 2.

Celeves or Equites: ordo Eque

Senatores minorii Gentium. Commentary of the Civil Warres.

having reduced it to a Common-weale, made the vp three hundred out of the band of Knights; and from that time they were called Patres conscripti. Neither were they at all times limitted in that number : for, the feditious Graceh added 200 more vnto them: and Inlins Cæfar admitted vnto the Senate all manner of persons. In which regard, Augustus (as Suetonius saith) Senatoru

affluentemnumerum, deformi, et incondita turba (erant enim super mille, et quidam inaignisimi ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit.

Concerning a competencie of wealth, to make a man capable of the place of a Senator; we may observe, that in the raigne of Servius, the King, hee that was worth a thousand affes (which are about 300 pound sterling) was eligible. But the ritches of the Empire increasing, a Senators wealth was rated at nine thouland pound, according to Suctonius; Senatorum sensum ampliauit, ac pro oct inventorum milliü summa duodecies H-S taxauit suppleuit que non habentibus. The wealth of a Romaine Knight, was rated at three hundred three score,

or there aboves.

This Corfinium, was the chiefe towns of the Pelignians, and stoode in the center of Italie, where all the confederate people affembled when they confulted of warre against the Romaines, for their right of Burgelshippe, or freedome of the Cittie, which was then denied them: which was was called Belli fociale, Marsicum, and Italicum. There is now nothing remaining of that towne but the rumes, as a marke of the place where it anciently flood vpon a Plaine, commonly called Pentina, or Sant Peligno.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey goeth to Brundusium: Cæsar maketh meanes to treate with him,

Cafar.

Compey, understanding of these things which had past at Corfinium, departed from Luceria, and went to Canusum, and Nocerum. from thence to Brundusium; causing all the power hee could to be raifed by new musters and involements, arming shep-heards and slaues, and mounting them on horsebacke; of who he made some 200 horse. In the meane time, L. Manlius, the

Prator, fled from Alba with fixe cohorts; and Rutilius Rupus, Prator, fled from Taracina with three cohorts: who descrying a farre off the Caualrie of Casar. commaunded by Binius Curius, for saking the Prator, turned their Ensignes towards Curius, and ionned with him. In like manner, the daies following, divers other cohorts came in as they marched, some to the foote troopes, and some to the horse. Cn. Magius of Cremona, maister of the workes, and of the munition in Pompeys Army, was taken on the way, and brought backe to Cafar: whom he fent backe againe to Pompey, with commission to treat with him to this effect; For-

netonius, 35.

Suetonius, 41.

almuch as therehad yet happened no opportunity of meeting or conference, hee was now determined to leek him at Brundusum; for, it much imported the Comon-weale, and every mans (afety in particular, that they two might confer together. Neither could thinges bee fo well handled, upon fo great a distance of way, where the articles of treatie must be carried to and froby a third partie, as when they met face to face to conclude of the conditions.

This me flage being first given he came to Brundusum with sixe legions, foure legions of old (ouldiers, and the other raifed by new inrolements, or made up as

he came along the Countrey: for he had prefently dispatched Domitians cohorts from Corfinium into Sicily. At his comming, he found the Confuls gone ouer to Dyrrachium, with the greatest part of the Armie, and Pompey remaining at Brundusum with twentie cohorts. Neither could hee certainely bee informed, whither he remained at Brundusium to make good the towne, whereby he might the easier be maister of the Adriatick sea, and commaund bo hihe otter parts of Italy, and the Regions of Greece, and so to keepe the warre on foote on the one fide and on the other; or whether he staied there for want of shipping. How soeuer; he would not endure, that Pompey should thinke hee could not be forced to quit Italie; and therefore resolved to stop up the mouth of the Hauen, & to take Casarbefieged away the vse thereof, which he went about in this manner: Where the mouth of the Hauen was narrowest, hee raised great mounts of earth on either side neere unto the shore; for, there the Sea was shallow: but going further into the deepe, Ann: vrbiscod, where no such mounts could be raised, hee placed double flottes of wood right against the same mounts, of thirtie foote square; and at the corners cast out foure Ankers to fasten them. These flottes beeing thus placed, hee then added other flottes of the same scantling, and covered them with bavin and earth, to the end men might come readily upon them to defend them. Hee armed them in front

and on each side, with hurdles and gabions; and on every fourth flotte, made a

towre of two stories high, the better to defend them from violence of shipping,

Against this worke, Pompey sent out great ships of burthen, which he found in the Hauen, armed with towers of three storics high, full of munition, & all sort of weapons, to hinder and disturbe the same. So that every day they fought a farre off each with other, with slings, arrowes and other casting weapons. Which business Casar so carried, as being willing not to let fall the conditions of peace, if happely it might be effected. And albeit hee greatly wondered that Magius, whom hee had sent to Pompey, did not returne againe; and that this Treatie so often attempted, did hinder much his dessignes: yet hee thought it fitte by all meanes to perseuer therein: and therefore sent Caninius Renilus, one of his Legates, and an inward friend, and neere allied to Scribonius Libo, to (peake with him, commaunded him to perswade Libo to mediate a reconciliation, and that Cafar himselfe might speake with Pompey. It might be, that there upon, both of them would yeelde to lay downe their Armes opon equall conditions: the greatest part of which honour would redound to Libo, if by his intercession the war might take an end.

Libo, having heard Caninius, went straight to Pompey; and within awhile returning.

Commentary of the Ciuil Warres. returning, told him: That for a much as the Confuls were ab fent, there could be nothing done touching an agreement. Where-upon, Cafar resolved to let sall the matter of Treatie, which hee had so often attempted, and to prepare for

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

His accident of taking Cn. Magius, hath made knowne an officer Prefellus Faof great place and we in the Romaine Atmie, of whom otherwise their Hultories make little mention. For, how locuer there is found in these Commentaries, many particular descriptions of admirable

and incredible workes; fuch as may feem to be made rather by Giants & Cyclops, then any labour of man; yet there is no mention of any Prafectus Fabram, or Marfter of the workes in any of Cæfars Armies. Howbeit, Vegetius, expressing their singular care to haue in abundance all manner of provisions requisite for an Armie, faith; That to enery legion did belong Carpenters, Bricklaiers, Smithes, Painters, & other Artizans, skilfull and fit to build lodgings for their wintering Campes; to make Engines and deuifes for warre; fuch as were their portatiue, or ambulatorie towres, targets, morions, corflets, bowes, arrowes, darts, and piles: or whatfoeuer elfe might ferue, either for offence or defence. Which Artificers were all knowne by the name of Fabri; and he that was Chiefe, and had the command of them, was called Prefest. us Fabrûm. And in like manner, Plutarch sheweth, that there was such an officer; as also, that the place was given by the Generall; where hee faith, that life of Cicero. Vibrus a Sicilian, refused to lodge Cicero, as hee passed to exile, thorough Lucania; although that in his Confulfhippe hee had bestowed upon him the place of Prafectus Fabrum. And albeit Cæsar maketh no mention of any

Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati N'isi impudicus, et vorax et Helluo, Mamurram habere, quod comata Gallia Habebat et ultima Britannia?

fuch officer; yet Catullus dooth it for him, in fuch biting Trimetres as will

not be forgotten:

Of which Mamurra, Plinie thus writeth; Cornelius Nepos, faith hee, wri- Lib. 36. cap. 6. teth, that Mamurra, a Romaine knight, borne at Formia, and Maister of the workes under Cæfar, in Gallia, was the first that concred all the walles of his house, which he built in Mount Calius, with leaves of Marble. Neither let any man disdaine the Author as a meane person; for, this is that Mamurra, whom Catullus dooth note in his verses; vyhose house vyas farre more stately then Catullus did expresse, by saying hee had gotten all the wealth of Gallia Comata. For, the faide Cornelius affirmeth, that hee was the first in Rome

Pompey at Prundufiŭ. tl

Pompeys fon maried Libo

his daughter.

and from burning.

Epist. ad Attic lib. 9. Epift.8.

that made the piliars of his house of folide Marbie, even hewen out of the quarries of Cariffus, or Luna: Thus farre goeth Pliny. Out of which may be noted, that exorbitancie in gaining, doth produce the like course in spending; and howfeeuer fuch commings in may be close and secret, yet the illuings out will proclaime it in profuse and lauishing manner; and therefore, such as commaund in these places, and have such meanes to inrich themselves, had neede to be cleane fingered. Cæfar writing to Oppius, mentioneth the taking of this man, as a thing of fome note. Cn: Magium, Pompei Prafect um deprehendi fcilicet, meo instituto vsus sum, et eum statim missum feci : iam duo Prafecti fabrum, in meam potestatem venerunt, et à me missi sunt. Concerning the vie of these manual Artes, and the prerogative they have in well ordered States; it is to be noted, that without these, no Cittie can conveniently bebuilt, fortified, or furnished with Armes. And therevpon such Artizans, haue alwaies chalenged a place of chiefe regard in the Common-weale. Whence it was, that Vlifles scorned not sefabrum profiteri.

Odifs. Homer. 23.

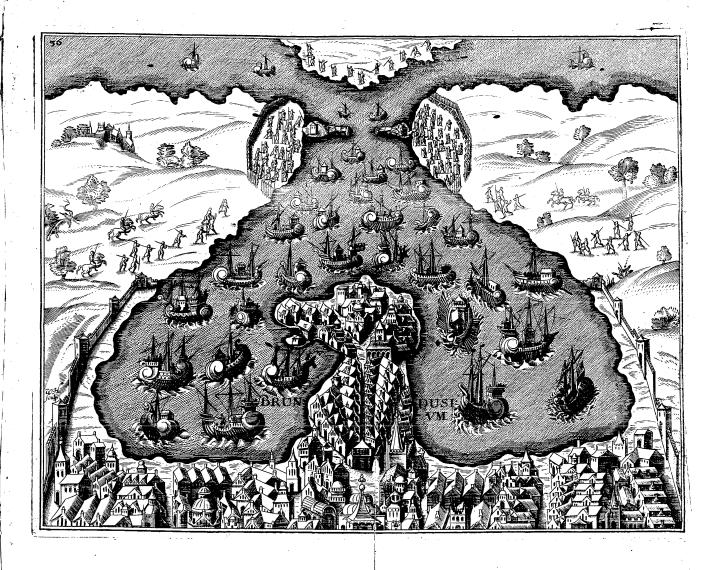
THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE Maxime proprium of watre, is opposition; and that vniuerfall, rather then any other kind of repugnancie: for, there is no sympathising condition betweene two enemie Armies, otherwise then by mutuall exchange of velle et nolle, throughout the whole course of

their intendements; as may be here observed vpon Cæsars arrivall at Brundufium. For, finding Pompey to remaine there after the departure of the Confuls, and not certainely informed of the reason of his stay; least he should think he could not be forced to quit Italy, Cæfar went about to thrust him out headlong: or otherwise, if his purpose were to follow after the Consuls to Dyrrachium, Cæsars dessigne then was to shut him in, and so to have followed the rule of contradiction; by which fouldiers are directed in their archienements.

Concerning the fite of Brundusium, which hath euer been famous for the commodiousnesse of the Hauen, and the vivall port where the Romaines tooke shipping for Greece; being but a hundred Italian miles distant from Apollonia in Epirus: We are to note, that the towne standeth upon a Langer of earth, extended into the Hauen Peninfule-like from the maine land, resembling the neck and head of a Stagge, and in that regard is called Brunda fium, of Bgevru, which fignifietha Stagge: which Langer hath many crooked guts, or inlets of of the Sea, capable of great shipping; besides the two maine Ports on either fide of the towne, which with the rest of the Hauen, make the safest and fairest roade of that part of the world. The mouth of the Hauen where Cæsar made his flottes, is very straight; and opposite therevoto, some three miles distant into the Sea, standeth a small Iland, to abare the violence and rage of the waues. Now, to befiege Brundulium, it was requifite to take away the vie and benefit of the Hauen: which Cæsar attempted with such rare and attissiciall works (of mounts where the Sea was shallowe, and of flottes where the

Brudusium qu dam Poets br uitatis causa Prendam dix runt. Festus.



water was deepe; and those made firme with earth, and fenced with hurdles & turrets) that the Reader may discerne it, by the description, to bee a Maisterpeece of excellent invention.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

T is truly faid of old; That peace is not deare at any rate. Which Antiochus well understood, when he bought it of the Romaines for Liui. lib. 8. twelue thousand Attick talents, and 540000 bushels of wheate: E- Dec. 4fleeming it as the foueraine happinelle of mans fortune; and an extraordinarie effect of those intelligent spirits, which guide the motions of the celestiall spheres, to keepe the elements in a disagreeing concord, and the feete of men in the pathes of tranquillitie. Hence it is, that fuch as are instruments of fo great a good, and shall thereby happen to redeeme a Nation from horror and confusion, have in all ages been crowned with honor & renowne, as the due rewarde of a Mediatour of Peace. And therefore Cæsar, perswading Libo to negotiate a cessation of Armes, and to worke in Pompey a disposition to an agreement, propounded the honour which attended this seruice, and the merit of that endeuour which brought backe peace into the Em-

CHAP. X.

Pompey leaueth Brundusium, and shippeth himselfe for Greece.



HE worke beeing halfe perfected, and nine daies labour bestowed upon it; the shippes that had transported the Consuls and the other part of the Armie, returned from Dyrrachium to Brundusium: and there opon, Pompey beganne to fitt himselfe for a departure; Beeing induced therevnto, either by the workes which Casar had begunne, or by a resolution

formerly taken to quit Italie. And the better to retard Casars prosecution (least vpon his issuing out, the souldiers should enter the towne) he mured up the gates. and stopt the enterances of the streets and passages; sunke ditches and trenches crosse the waies of therin stuck sharp piles of stakes; and covering the same with slight hurdles, levelled it with thin & light earth: leaving onely two waies free. which went unto the Hauen, which he hedged in with a strong Palisado of huge

These things beeing thus prepared he commaunded the souldiers to get a shipboard, without noise or tumult; and left vpon the walles, and in the towers here and there, some of the readiest Slingers and Archers, to bee called away upon a warning

Cafar.

lies to take them in, at an easie and safe place. The inhabitants of Brundusium,

beaftes; as it fellout at Athens, when Themittocles perfivaded the Athenians to leaue their towns and Countrey; and betake themselues wholly to sea; to fight against Xerxes.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar dispatcheth forces into Sardinia and Sicilie.

Catos endeuour to keepe Sicily for
Pompey.



Lbeit Casar well knew, that it much imported a speedy end of the business, to get shippes and passe the Seas after Pompey, before hee could ione himself ewith the sorces of the truss marine parts, yet doubting the lets, and the long time before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with himself, the shipping he could not and the himself, the second and the medium.

before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with him all the shipping he could get, and therby left him for the present no meanes to follow assert it remained that hee attended shipping to be brought from remote parts; as, out of Gallia, from Ancona and the Streights: which at that time of the yeere, would require a long and troublesome passage. In the meane time, he thought it no way fit, that Pompeys old Army, & the two Provinces of Spaine, should be settled and assured; (one of them being deepclie

ingaged to Pompey for many great and ample benefits) or that they should have time to raise new troopes, especially of horse; or that Gallia or Italie should bee solitized or wrought from him in his absence: And therefore for the present, resoluted to dessift from making any surther pursute after Pompey, and to goe into Spaine; giving order to the Duunviii of all the Municipall towns, to provide shipping, and send it to Brundussum. He sent Valerius, a Legate, into Sardinia, with one legion; and Curio, the Proprator, into Sicily with three legions; com-

maunding him, after he had possessed sicily, to transport his Armie into Affrica. Marcus Cotta gouerned Sardinia, and M. Cato Sicily. Tubero (hould by lotte hauc held Affrica.

The Caralitani, under standing that Valerius was to be sent unto them, before he had left Italy, of their own accord thrust Cotta out of the towne. Cotta amujed thereat, and perceiving withall, that the whole Province gave consent unto it, sled presently out of Sardinia into Affrica. Cato prepared and new trimmed the Gallies in Sicily, giaing order to the townes to build new, and prosecuting his direction with great diligence: Marganer, but is Legate must and in

his direction with great diligence: Moreover, by his Legats, muffered and inrolled Cittizens of Rome, in Lucania and Brutia, requiring rateable numbers of horfe and foote from the towns in Sicilie. Which thinges beeing almost accomplished, understanding of Curio his comming, he complained in publique how he was abandoned and betraied by Pompey; who, without any providence or preparation, had ingaged himselse in an unnecossary warre: and yet beeing demaun-

aea

oppressed with the iniuries and contumelies of Pompeys souldiers, did fauor Cafars partie; and understanding of this departure, whilst they were running up
and downe, and bussed about getting about, gaue notice thereof from the tops
of their houses. Which beeing perceived, Casar (not to omit any opportunitie of
atchieuing his purpose) commanded ladders to bee prepared, and the souldiers
to take Armes. Pompey a little before night weied Inker: and the souldiers
keeping guard on the wall, upon the watch-word given, were all called fro their
stations, and by knowne passages repaired to the shippes. Casars souldiers with
Ladders got upon the wall; but beeing admonished by them of Brundusium, to
take heed of the blind ditch, they shood still. At lass, they were brought a great
compasse about, and so came to the Hauen; and with skiffes and boates, seized

OBSERVATIONS.

two ships with souldiers, which stuck by chaunce opon the Mounts which Cafar

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

had made.

Orasmuch as this manner of Pompeyes departure from Brundusiwin, and the slight he vsed to imbarke himselfe and his Armie without danger of Cæsars entering the towne, is commended for one of the best strategems of warre that ener he vsed 3 Let vs a little contider the parts thereof, which present theselves of two forts: the one consisting of the workes he made, to hinder and retard Casfars entrance, if happelie hee should have knowledge of his departure: and the other, in the cleanlie convaiance of his men aboard, without noise or tumult; & the semblance hee made of keeping the towne, by continuing watch vpon the walles, to the end there might be no knowledge taken thereof. The workes were of three forts. For, first hee mured and stopped up the ends and enterances of streets and lanes, which might give accesse to a pursuing enemie. And to that end also, hee funk ditches, or trenches, croffe the waies and paffages: which he fluck full of fharp stakes and Galthrops, and covered them with light and thin hurdles, that the Enemie might not efpy them; And thirdly, hedged in the waies leading to the Port, with a strong Palizado of huge sharp piles : And so vsed both the Lions and the Foxes skin, to avoid the danger which might have fallen vpon him, if Cæsar happely had sound meanes to attache them, as they were incombered in getting to their ships, and disposing themselves to flie away. Which beeing an occasion that might have given him great advantage, was in this manner carefullie preuented by Pompey. Howbeit, this his quitting Brundusium, is censured but for a faultie resolution handsomlie caried: for, Cicero dooth much blame him for abandoning Italie; calling it a Themistoclean policie, to perswade his partie to forsake their Countrey, and to leave the best of their pleasures, and the weakest of each sexe, to such miserie and desolation, as moued pittie in those that considered but the condition of the dogges, and brute

Cice. Epift. ad Atticum. ded by himfelfe, and the rest in the Senate, answered considently, that hee was prouided of all necessaries sit for warre: And after he had thus publiquely complained, sled out of the Prouince. By which meanes, Valerius found Sardinia, and Curio Sicily, voide of gouernment, and there brought their Armies.

Tubero, arriving in Affrica, found Atius Varus commainding the Province: who (as wee have formerly shewed) having lost his cohorts at Auximum, fled forth-with into Affrica; and of his owne authorite; possessed himselfe of the Province, which he found without a Governour. He got together by new inrolements, two compleat legions, which here arised by the showledge and experience of the people of that Country, by reason hee had governed that Province as Prator some few yeeres before. Tubero, arriving with his sleet at Vitica; was by Varus kept out of the towne and the Haven; n-ither would be suffer him to set some assore, which was sicke, but compelled him to wey Anker and depart.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

Tueri quæsita

lifficilius eft,

quàm acquirer

quoniam in acquirendo igna-

uia poffidentis

gua propria vir-

tus: tueri auten

quesita, sine tro

pria virtute ne

mo potest. D. Tofilæ Zonoras His Chapter maketh the first period of this warre, as it is taken from the beginning of these Ciuill broiles, ynto Pompeys for saking Italie, which was begin and ended in the space of 60 daies: and also openeth the gate to second resolutions, which are prosecuted, as the se-

quell of the Hifforie will manifelt: Containing likewise the reasons, why Castar made not present pursue after Pompey, as the hinges of the succeeding war, and the true causes of the consequents of the same. In the cossideration where of, albeit Castar vnderstood the advantage of him that prosecuteth a receding enemie, and the hopes which might be thereby conceined of a speedie end of that warre; yet having no ready meanes to accomplish his desire, thought it better to prevent such inconveniences as might happely haue fallen out vpon the same; and so to keepe his partie in a progresse of their active thoughts, by clearing and affuring that Westerne part of the Empire, which Pompey had left vnto him by his departure; rather then to leave an enemie on his back, or to admit a cooling and-languishment of their resolutions, through expectation of shipping, to follow that course which otherwise had been e without exception.

In the cariage whereof, we may observe, that as upon the first breaking out of these troubles, they scambled for the townes of Italie, & sought to strengthen their parties, by such ashadno voice in the grand Chapter of the Senate, but onely inioyed the benefit of Municipall rights; so now beeing parted asunder, and the contagion of this intestine cuill spread abroad, and grown to more ripeness, they made like haste to saften upon the remoter Provinces, wherein Cassarbad the better portion, For, in his share, were contained Italia, Gallia, Britannia, Hispania, Sicilia; which beeing the prime Countreys of Europe, were consequently the slower of that Empire, for that Europe hath euer been taken for the principall and chiefest part of the world.

Europa prima
et prafiătissima
muudi pars.
Appian.
Europa altrix
victoris omnium
gentium populi
longeque terrarü pulcherrima.
Plin, lib. 3.c.1.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Econdly, wee may obserue, in Cato, the effects of a Stoicall or formall spirit, which are more valuable in the ensignes of peace, then in the difficulties of warre. For, how soeuer hee made shew of bestirring himselse, in rigging and trimming up the Gallies of his Pro-

uince, commaunding more to be built, raifing new troopes of horfe & foote, and profecuting his commaunds with purpofe of an exact account: yet in the end, vnderftanding of Curio his comming, spent his surie in complayning of his friends, and laying the cause of those garboiles vpon him, whom by election and consent he had formerly set vp, to make head against such, as otherwisemay be supposed would have contained themselves in a better measure of moderation.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar goeth to Rome; and, calling a Senate, complaineth of the iniuries done unto him.



Hese things beeing ended, that the souldiers might for the residue of the time bee a little eased and resressed, Casar brought them backe into the next Municipall townes; hee himselfewent direct lie to the Cittie: and having called a Senate, he laith open the iniuries and wrongs offered unto himselfewent and himselfewent

by his Adversaries; sheweth them, that he neuer sought honour in the State by extraordinary meanes, onely hee looked to have enjoyed the full time of his Consulfhip, and there-with to have been contented: which was no more then any Cittizen might stand for. The Tribunes of the people had required, that consideration might be had of him in his absence, not withstanding the opposition of his enemies, and Cato his bitter resistance; spending the time after his old manner, with long and tedious speeches: which if Pompey (beeing Confull) had disliked, why did he suffer that to passe which was enacted ? But if then he did allow and like of it, what reason had he to hinder, him from inioging a benefit which the people of Rome had bestowed upon him the rom that, hee fell to speake of his patience: which appeared, in that of his owne accord, hee mooued that either party might quit their forces, which might have bin very presudiciall to his honour and dignitie: Declared what had beene the malice and bitterness of his Aduer saries; who refused to doe that themselves, which they required of another man: choosing rather to imbroile and confound the whole State then to forgoe the commaund of an Armie : Spake at large as well of the wrong done vnto him, by taking the two legions from him, as also for their hard and insolent dealing, in putting the Tribunes of the people by their place and authoritie.

He

He forgot not likewise to relate the conditions which he propounded; the conference which he desired, and would not be graunted. In regard whereof, hee praied and required, that they would take the charge of the Common-weale, and giue a helping hand to him for the gouernment thereof. But, if they should upon any doubt or mistrust, refuse to ioyne with him, hee would not much importune them, but would take it into his owne handes; and in the meane time, let Commissioners beesent to Pompey to treat of peace. Neither did hee respect what Pompey a little before had faide in the Senate (That to whom soeuer Embassadours were fent, to such seemed to be ascribed Authoritie and Preheminence; as, on the contrary part, such as sent the, manifested an apprehension of feare); for, these were arguments of pusillanimitie. For his part, as he had gone beyond him in deedes of Armes and noble acts; so would hee in like manner, endeuour to excell him in iustice and equitie.

The Senators were well pleased that Embassadors should be sent: but there was no man found that would go ; every man refusing in particular, for feare of Pompey: who voon his departure from Rome, had laide in the Senate. That hee would hold him that staied at Rome, in the same condition with them that were in Cafars Campe. So that three daies were spent in debate and excuses; L: Metellus, Tribune of the people, beeing drawne by Casars aduersaries, to protract the time, and to hinder any matter which Cafar should propound onto them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irst, wee may observe, how inkesome it is to humane nature, for

him that hath tafted the sweetnesse of authoritie, to forgoe the raines of commaund, and againe to involve his name in the lift of common dutie; descending from the throne of soueraintie, to the condition of obedience, & to lofe his eminencie in respectles equalitie: especially, if the honour be Militarie, and of Martiall nature. For, that fasteneth on vs with a stronger hold, then any other power; beeing lesse capable of moderation, and waited on with the eyes and expectation of prefent and future ages. Whereby, men growe desperatly lealous of the opinion of the world, and cannot indure to quit themselves of that care, although they have attained to the ful time of their deliuerance: but to be supplanted in the midst of so glorious a race, or to be pulled out of the feate of Magistracie, by an abortiue miscariage, is able to inrage an ambitious spirit, so faire beyond the bounds of modestie, that it will not spare any endeuor, to confound the greatest Empire, with irrecouerable calamities.

Fælicitatis et moderationis d uiduum, Contu bernium.

SECOND OBSERVATION.

Econdly, wee may obserue the disposition of those Senators, that by their staying at Rome, became neutrall in that Faction; and there-vpon, refused either to take Cæsars commaundes, or to present themselues to Pompey, as Mediators of peace. Plutarch hath two reasons why the Senators would vindertake no fuch matter of Commission as was required by Cæsar. The first is this which is heere expressed; enery man searing the displeasure of Pompey, who at his Denunciante departure from Rome, had protested to hold them for enemies that went not along with him : where-as Cæfar cenfured their forbearance with better adrum qui reipub vantage to himselfe; and tooke their neutralitie as an argument of becomming his followers. The other reason which Plutarch auoucheth, is the opinion which the Senators had of Cæsars double dealing; as not carying his hart in his mouth, but pretending that which he neuer meant. For, they could not be perswaded that his end was a cessation of Armes, or such a peace with Pompey as should have kept on foot their auncient libertie; but fought rather pretexts Cicero. 10. Eof good meaning, to colour his dessigne of making Rome his seruant. Howfocuer; wee may not omit what is reported to haue happened betweene him and Metellus, more then heehimselse speaketh of. For, going about to take Appian. Money out of the Treasurie, hee was there stoutly resisted by this Metellus, of Florus, whom hee complaineth; alleadging the Lawes and Acts of the State, forbidding any man to touch that Money, but in such times of extreamitie as yvere therein expressed.

To which, Caefar answered; That those Lawes were onely made for time of time of the lawes were onely made for the law were onely made for the lawes were onely made for the law were onely made for the lawes were one of peace: but now, Armes and warre required an other course of proceeding. Neuerthelesse, Metellus would not suffer him to breake open the doores, vntill Cæsar aduised him to be gone if he loued his life; for, it was easier for him to dispatch him then to speake it: and so entered and carried away the Treasure. VVhere-vpon, groweth that of Florus; Censum et patrimonium populi Romani, antè rapuit quam Imperium.

And Appian, deriding the scrupulositie of the auncient Romaines, that is ira, millus would not touch that Treasure but in extreamitie of warre against the Celtes or Galles, faith; that Cæfar might lawfullietake it; for that hee had vanquished and subdued the Galles; whereby the Romaines had no further cause to feare them.

uffa patebunt empla latus, nullasque feres cro, sparsas,rap-

43

defuissent;ipse

ro, futuros pro-

ist. ad Atticii.

Dignii te Cafa onor faciet. Idem eodem.

F 2.

CHAP.

CHAP XIII.

Cæsar leaueth the Cittie, goeth into Gallia, and treateth with the Mar-

sellians.

Aesar, perceiving their resolution, after hee had spent there (ome few daies (that he might not lofe any more time, and leave those things undone which he purposely intended) hee left the Cittie, and went into the further Gallia . Vpon his arriuall there, hee understood that Pompey had sent into Spaine Vibullius Rufus, whom Cafar had a little before ta-

ken at Corfinium and dismissed him: and that Domitian likewise was gone to take Marfelleis, with eight Gallies, which he fet out from Sicilia and Sardinia. and manned them with slaves, men infranchised, and his owne husbandmen: Sending, as messengers before, certaine young noblemen of Marselleis, with who Pompey upon his departure from the Citty had earnestly dealt, that Casars new fauours, might not put out of their remembrance the old benefits which hee had done unto them. Those of Marselleis having received this message, sout their gates against Casar; called into the Cittie the Albicans, barbarous & mountainous people (who of auncient time had held amitie with them, and dwelt week the hilles abone Marselleis) brought Corne from all the adiacent Regions & Castles into the towne; set up offices & forges to make Armes; repaired both their walles, their nauie, and their gates.

Cafar called out onto him some fifteene of the chiefest men of Marselleis, and treated with them, that the beginning of the warre might not growe from that towne; who should rather follow the example of all Italie, then apply themselves to the will of any one man: not omitting fuch other perfwasions as hee thought pertinent to a found resolution. These men reported at Marselleis what Casar had deliuered, and by the common consent of the towne, returned this aunswer; That they under stood, that the people of Rome was divided into two parts, neither was it in them to judge, or could they discerne which of the two was in the right. The Leaders of these two factions, were Pompey and Casar, both speciall Patrons and Benefactors to their Cittie; of whom, one had augmented the publique reuenewes of the State, and indowed it with the landes and territories of the Volgi, Arecomici, and the Heluÿ : The other, having conquered and fubdued *Gallias, gaue it onto them; whereby their tributarie In-comes were much augmented; and therefore, as they were equallie bound to both for their fauours, so would they carie to both an equall respect, not ayding either of them against the other, or receiving them within their gates.

Whilest these thinges were in handeling, Domitius arrived at Marselleis with his shipping; and beeing received in, was made Governour of the Cittie,

and had the whole direction of the warre comitted vnto him. By his appointment, the fleet was fent out into all Coasts; and such shippes of burthen as they found, they brought in : the nailes, timber, and tackling whereof, they tooke to mend and rigge our other ships. What Corne socuer was found in the Cittie, was brought in publique keeping; referuing the furplus of victuall and prouision, for a siedge, as occasion should require.

Cæfar, prouoked with these injuries, brought three legions to Marselleis, determined to make towres and mantelets ready for an affault, and to builde twelue new Galleis at Arles: which were armed, rigged, finished, & brought to Marselleis, within thirtie dayes after the timber was cut downe. Of these he made D. Brutus Admirall, and left C. Tribonius to follow the fiedge.

OBSERVATION.

Rom the Marfellians we may learne, that it is farre easier to say well then to doe well; for, how soener they were able to discerne the truth, and to gine an anniwere to Cæsar, well-beseeming the same and opinion of their literature and knowledge (beeing an Academie little inferiour to the best, and in latter times more frequented by the Ro- Massilia bonamaines, for the studie of Oratorie and Philosophy, then Athens, or any other Tum artiu sease, fuch chiefe feate of the Muses); yet in their actions they disavowed all: taking | Strabo. lib.4. voon them most vnseasonably to arbitrate those differences, and to show their opinion of the quarell, by taking part with one faction. Wherein their errour the more appeared, in that the partie grieued was not liable to their award, but rather had occasion to gaine thereby a double honor to himselfe; first, by for- me populs serrocing them, and then by pardoning their rashness. And yet some VV rivers doe repairement, thinke, they did no more then they were tied vinto by former treaties, and bijs ausse effectives. leagues with the Empire (which they tooke to confift in Pompeys partie) ware eventus. whereof they were locall & zealous confederates; as appeareth by their loue, Non Graiale-nitate field, firwhen Rome was taken by the Galles: for, having newes therof, and understan nataque iura, el ding of the composition which was to bee made to raise the siedge from the causas non fata Capitoll, they provided all the gold & filuer they could get, & fent it to Rome fequi. Lucand. for that feruice. In regard whereof, they were indowed with manie Priviledges and Immunities, both in the Cittie, and elswhere in the Empire. Howsoeuer, their hap being to respect more an exact observaunce of what had passed, then the farall fucceeding course of things, drew upon them a sharpe and birter warre; whereof they could not bee freed, but by fubmitting themselues to his mercy whom they had rejected. And thus weefee verified that of the Poet;

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achiui.

VVhich implies hallo how dangerous it is for men of authoritie and imploiment, to be subject to wilfull ambition. For, as their feruice is of great importance to gouernment, when it is attended with well qualified affections; fo are their motions as featefull, which are carried with the violence of exorbitant paffions:

Horace,

By this Gallias is vnderstood fome place acere to Marelleis.

pations: especially, confidering the meanes they have, either to misimploy the power of the State, or to give way to such inconveniences, as may necesfarily peruert all things but the ends they aime at : belides the aptness of a high spirit, not to doubt the truth of that saying which is attributed to Cæsar, Siviolandum est ius, regnandi gratia violandum est.

CHAP, XIIII. Cæsar hasteth into Spaine.



Hilest these thinges were prepared and put in order. he fent C: Fabius, one of his Legates, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbone, before him into Spaine; commaunding him with all speed and diligence to take the passage of the Pyrenean hills which were kept at that time with the forces of L: Afrani-

us: and gaue order for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow after. Fabius, according to his directions, made haste, put the Garizon from the passage, and by great iourneys marched towards Afranius Armie.

Vpon the arrivall of Vibullius Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was fent by Pompey into Spaine, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro; Pompeys Legates (of whom the one governed the neexest Province of Spaine with three legions, the other, held the Country from the * forrest of Castile, to the river * Aua, with two legi-Saltus castulo ons; and the third commaunded the Vest ones and Lusitania, with the like number of legions) did (o dispose and divide their charges, that Petreius was appoin-Iure pari rector, astris Afranius ted to bring his legions out of Lusitania, through the territories of the Vectiones, illis, ac Petreiu erat. Lucan.1.3. and ioyne himselfe with Afranius: and that Varro, with his power, should keepe the further Province of Spaine. Which beeing forefolued & determined, Petreius having commaunded the Lusitanians to leuie horsemen, and other Auxiliarie forces; and Afranius likewise having made the like levie, in the territories * A valiát peoof the * Celtiberi, * Cantabri, and the rest of the barbarous Nations bordering ple, descended vpon the Ocean: Petreius came speedily through the Vectones to Afranius; and from Lacedeinduced by the opportunitie of the place, by mutuall confent, resolved to keep the warre on foote neere about Ilerda. Damnatii viue-

There were with Afranius (as formerly hathbeen (hewed) three legions, besides Targettiers of the neerer Province, & Buckler-bearers of the further Prouince, some 80 cohorts, and of both Provinces about 5000 horse. Cafar had sent his legions into Spaine, accompanied onely with fixe thousand Auxiliary forces, and three thousand horse, which had been with him in the former warres. And the Galles at his request furnished him with the like number; besides the noblest and valiantest among st them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow himin that warre. To these were added the better fort of the Aquitani, and high-landers, borderers upon the Prouince in Gallia. Hee was advertised that

Monius, Cetra, scutum breue. Quis rotundam facere cetră nequeat?

Afranius.

Petreius.

*Guadiana.

Nos Celtis geni

ti, et ex Iberis.

Sil. Ital. faith

re paci.

Scutati.

Cetrati.

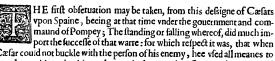
Varro.

Enocati.

Pompey was on his iourney coming through Mauritania into Spaine; and that he would speedily be there with his legions: and thereupon, hee borrowed money of the Centurions and Tribunes of the Souldiers, and gaue it to his Armie; wherby he gained two points: for, first he ingaged the Captaines by that lone to indeuour his good successe ; and secondly, bought the good affections of the souldiers by largefs and distribution. Fabius omitted no opportunity, to get the fauour of the Citties neere about him: which he labored as well by Letters as Messengers & had already made two bridges over the river * Sicoris, distant one from another Sicoris non visiabout four emiles, and ouer these bridges sent out his men to forrage; for he had mus Amnis, Spent all that was to be found on this side the river. The same thing, and upon the Saxeus ingenti same occasion, did the Leaders of Pompeys Armie; and oftentimes their Caualry met & incountred together. And as it hapned, that 2 legions going out to forrage according to their daily custome, and had passed the river, the carrage & the Caualry following after, upon a sudden (by the overpestering of horses, and swelling of the water) the bridge brake; and the rest of the Canalry was secluded & cut off from the legions. Which Petreius and Afranius perceiving, by the hurdles and planks that came downe the river; Afranius, presently by the bridge which was adioyning to the towne & his Camp, put ouer 4 legions, and all his Caualrie, Plancus sine Gwent to meet with Fabius his 2 legions. V pon whose approche, L: Plancus that nitie pedum, commanded the legions, being constrained by necessity, tooke the upper ground, splaysooted. dividing his men into two Battalions, & making their fronts to stand 2 contrary waies, to the end they might not be circuvented by the horsemen. And although the number were very farre unequall, yet hee valiantly with stood very violent charges of the enemy. The Caualrie beeing thus ingaged, the Enlignes of two legions were descried afar off, which Fabius had sent by way of the further bridge, to second the seother two; suspecting that which was come to passe, that the Comaunders of the aduerse Army, would take the occasion and benefit of this accident, to cut off our partie. Vpon whose approche, the battell ceased; and the le-

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

gions on either fide were brought backe into their Campes.



Cæfar could not buckle with the person of his enemy, hee vsed all meanes to bear downe his authoritie, as the next in degree to his effence and beeing, and most concerning his honour and reputation. For, if he rooke from him those Provinces, which the State had commended to his charge, and left him no interest in the obedience of such, whom he might in a fort challenge for his owne people; what affurance could the other parts of the Empire have in his protection? or what coulde hee elfwhere expect of that which thefe refused him?

Commentary of the Civill Warres behalfe of the reft.

49 I ucan.li.1.

Lib. Ethic. 4.

The excellencie of a Generall, is that perfection of judgement commended by Aristotle, inabling him to discerne, quid primum, or what is most materiall in that varietie of vindertaking, which falleth out in following a warre. And if that cannot with any conseniencie be attained, then to know the next point of importance, and so consequentlie to distinguish the degrees of difference, as they stand ranked in the order of judicious proceeding.

For the effectuall profecuting of which dessigne, let vs take a short view of their forces on each fide, according as we find them mustered in this chapter; that by the inequalitie of their troopes, we may judge of the want or sufficiencie of their directions. Afranius, as it is faid in the storie, had three legions, and Petreius two legions, together with 80 cohorts of Auxiliarie forces, supplied

vnto them by the two Provinces of Spaine; which cohorts equalled the num-

Petreius and Afranius had thereabouts. Cælir 35000

ber of eight legions : and io in all, made thirteene legions. And according to the viuali rate at that time of 5000 in a legion, amounted to 65000 men, together with 5000 horse; which came to seauentie thousand men, or thereabouts. To confront so great an enemy, Calar had fine legions, 12000 Auxiliarie troopes from the Galles, and peraduenture 1000 Euocati: which according to the former rate of a legion, did rife to 35000, or 40000 men at the most, Whereby the one exceeding the other, well neere in a double proportion of strength, and yet failing in corespondencie of successe, calleth the verity of that prouerbe in question, Ne Hercules contra duos. Besides, the inequalitie of the place, where the triall was to bee made, being wholly denoted to the greater partie; which is a matter of no small consequence. For, hee that maketh warre in a Countrey, absolute in fauouring the enemie and confronting his purpoles, had need of more forces then the aduerfe partie, or better fortune in his proceedings. And therefore Fabius, to preuent fuch mischiefes as might grow by that advantage, lought all meanes to draw some of the townes to his faction; and to make himselfe friends for his better support and securitie, according to that which was faid of old; That warre cannot be made without some peace.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

forme as much as warlike Lælius had promifed in his owne person, on the

Rables faith, that the Credi tor wifheth all good to his Debtors.

Econdly, wee may observe the meanes he vsed, to secure himfelfe of the loyaltie of his Armie, and whollie to ingage the foldier in his fortune. For, the money hee borrowed of the Tribunes and Centurions, was a speciall Tie of their affections to his feruice; forafmuch as no man witheth ill to him, by vvhole welfare and prosperitie he hopeth to thriue; for, so (wounding himselfe through another mans bodie) the hurt would fall vpon his owne head: but rather desireth such an accomplishment of his hopes, as may make himselfe partaker thereof. And on the other side, the largess he made vnto the fouldiers, did so oblige their indeuour to his purposes, that they were thereby readie to per-

Lalius.

lus, Proconsull, et Cn: Pompeius, Questor, cum Consulari potestate missi sunt: And at this time, Pompey gouerned it by two Deputies or Legates. Touching

Pectore si fratris gladium, iuguloque Parentis Condere me iubeas, plenaque in viscera partu Coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra:

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, let vs consider the effects of diligence and provident forefight, which doe oftentimes redeeme an Armie from a dishonourable overthow; as may be learned from two circumstances in Fabius directions. First, in that he trusted not to one passage ouer the riuer Sicoris, but made two feuerall bridges, as well for the coveniencie as the Pni antro non

better securitie of his people. Secondly, vponthe occasion which the enemie

might take by the breaking of the bridge, to diffresse the legions on the other fide of the water, hee prefently fent out fuccours to prevent fuch a casualtie: which albeit might seeme to have proceeded out of curious suspicion, or idle feare, yet fell out to be no more then was requifite and expedient. Which may teach a Generall to be carefull euen of possibilities; and to preuent contingencies, with the certaintie of industrious directions: accounting alwaics that poteth qualifu which may happen, to be as certaine as any thing we most expect.

Quicquid fieri mus. Senec. Epift. 24.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

the one called Betica, and the other Lusitania: and so the whole Region of

Spaine came to be divided into three Provinces. It was first entered by the

Romaines, by occasion of the notable siedge of of Sagunt: for, P. Scipio, ha-

uing fubdued the Carthaginians, reduced Spaine into a Prouince, and left it

gouerned by Proconfuls, vnto the time of Cornelius Lentulus, & Lucius Ster-

tinius. Afterwards, it was gouerned by Proprætors, and fometimes by Præ-

tors, according as the Empire came to be inlarged; and had therby many go-

uernments, for the preferment of fuch as had supplied the better places of dig-

nitie in the State. Neuerthelesse, in the times of trouble, the Gouernours had

alwaies Consularie power; as, in the warre against Sertorius, Quintus Metel-

Oncerning Spaine, wee are to note, that the Romaines at first di-uided it into two Provinces, which they called the Neerer, & the Further; or according to Strabo, the Vtter and the Inner; and Exterior, et were separated asunder by the river Iberus. And thence also they

Spaine. Interior. lib. 3

were called Cis Iberum, et vltra Iberum. The Necrer Province, beeing the leffer, continued without alteration during the Romaines gouernment, and was somtimes called Tarraconensis Provincia, of Tarraco, the principall towne of the same. But the Further, in processe of time was divided into two partes;

Anno 8 C. 555

Liuie.

randis ausculta-

the forme and figure of the Countrey, Strabo likeneth it to an Oxe hide: the necke whereof ioyneth to the Pyrenean hilles, which rife in towres from one Sea to another, as limits and bounds between France and Spaine; taking their name (as somethinke) from Pyrene, the Maid that Hercules deflowred, whom Sil. Ital. mentioneth.

Pyrene celfa nimbofi verticis arce Diuisos Celtis, late prospect at Iberos; Atque aterna tenet magnis diuortia terris Hospitis Alcida crimen: qui sorte laborum Gerionis peteret cum longa tricorporis arma Possessus, Baccho, saua Bebrycis in aula Lugendam forma, sine virginitate reliquit

Defletumque tenent Montes per secula nomen.

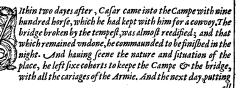
But according to the opinion more generally received, of the Greeke word rues for that Shepheards and Heardimen let them once on fire, as wimeffeth Diodorus Siculus. And Aristorle; In Hiberia (inquit) combustis aliquando pastoribus Syluis, calenteque ignibus terra, manifestum argentum defluxisse: cumque postmodum terramotus susperuenisset, eruptis hiatibus, magnam copiam argenti collectam; at que inde Massiliensibus proventus non vulgares obtigiffe. The Countrey of Spaine is commended for many things, as may anpeare by divers Elogies: amongst which, that of Claudianus the Poet is written, as though the Author had been a pensioner to the Kingdome.

Quid dignum memorare tuis Hispania terris Vox humana valet? primo lauat aquore (olem India: tu fessos, exacta luce, iugales Proluis, inque tuo respirant syderafluctu. Diues equis, frugum facilis, pretiofa metallis, Principibus facunda pijs.

CHAP. XV.

Cæsar, comming to his Armie, aduaunceth forward, and incampeth neere unto the Enemie.

Cafar.



all his forces tuto a triple battell, he marched towards Ilerda: and there it anding awhile in Armes, offered battell, in an equall and indifferent place. Afranius brought out his forces, and made a stand in the midst of the hill, under his Campe. Casar, perceiving that Afranius at that time was not disposed to fight, determined to incampe himselfe some 400 pases from the foot of the hill. And Prono tum Caleast the souldiers should be interrupted in their workes, by the sudden assaults notion subira and interfions of the enemy, be forbade the to fortifie it with a rampire or wall, circumdedit as whichmust necessarily be discouered and seene afarre of; but caused a ditch to be made of fifteene foote in breadth, in the front of the Campe next unto the Enemie. The first and second battell (according as was directed) continued in Armes; and the third battell performed the worke behind them on seene, before it was understood by Afranius that Casar would incampe in that place. Which beeing finished, he drew his legions within the ditch, and so shood in Armes all

The next day, he kept all his Armie within the ditch. And for asmuch as the matter to make the Rampier was to be fetched farre off, hee kept the like course for the finishing of the rest; allotting each side of the Campe, to be fortified by a severall legion, with a ditch to be sunk about, of the same scantling: and in the

Afranius and Petreius, to the end they might amuse the souldier, and hinder the worke, brought downe their forces to the foote of the hill, and prouoked them to fight. Howbeit, Cafar intermitted not the worke, trusting to 111 legions in Armes, and the munition of the ditch. The Enemy not making any long stay, or advauncing further then the foote of the hill, ledde backe their troopes into the Campe. The third day, Cafar fortified his Campe with a Rampire; and comaunded the rest of the cohorts and the cariages which were left in the other Campes, to be brought onto him.

meane time, made the other legions to stand ready in Armes against the enemie.

OBSERVATION.

T may be observed for Cæsars custome throughout the whole course of his warres, to approache as neere the enemie as connenierately he could sthat so he might the better observe his passages, and be ready to take the fauour of any opportunitie, which either the nature of the place, or the motions of the aduerlary would afford him. Which was the rather his aduantage, in regard of his dexteritie, and imperlative knowledge in the vie of Armes, together with the experience of his old legions: whereby he was able, not onely to improve his owne dessignes to the vimost of an honourable successe, but to returne the disgrace of any attempt made vppon his Armie, voon the heads of them that were authors of the same. For, otherwife, his accossing so necrean enemie, might have turned to his owne loffe; as beeing full of hazard, & fubiect to more cafualties then hee that standeth further off. And therefore the rule is; that he that desire the offt neere his adverfarie, must be exceeding circumspect, and sure of some aduantage, either

Lib. 1. cap.5.

from the place, or the ouer-awing power of his forces, or elle out of his owne vertue, or by fome other meanes, to ouer-fway the inconveniences which attend fluch ingagements. As may appeare by that which Frontinus observed hence, touching the straight, wher-into Cassar was fallen; being either to giue battell, which the enemie resused or to make good that place, from whence he could not retreit but with danger. Whereupon, a little before night hee stolethe making of a ditch on the backe of his Armie; and retiring himselse within the same, stood in Armes all night, for his better safetie.

The vie of fuch ditches are of much importance, and have oftentimes redeemed an Armie from great extreamities: and were fo frequentypon all occasions with the Romaines, that he that shall deny them to be good ditchers, shall doe them wrong. And not onely they, but other Nations, could tell how to make vie of the Spade.

Pericles of Athens, beeing forced by them of Peloponesus, into a place that had but two our-lets of escape, sunke a dischofa great latitude, thwart one of the passages (as though she meant to keepe out the enemie) and set his foldiers to breake out the other way. The Peloponesians, thinking she could no way escape by the passage where the trench was cut, applied themselues whollier to the other place, where the fouldiers made shew of breaking out: whereby (through the shelp of bridges which she had formerly prouided) hee escaped ouer the ditch without resistance. Sometimes they added other shelpes to these trenches, especially when they sought handsome meanes to get themselues away: whereof Sertorius may be an instance. VVho, having the enemie prefing him in the reare, and beeing to passe a River, drew a ditch and a rampier at his backe, in the saltion of a halse moone: which rampire, he heaped with wood and combustible matter; and so setting it on fite, kept off the enemie, and passed with ease over the water.

In like manner, Herculeius, one of Sertorius Legates, hauing rafhly entered with a small power into a long and narrow passage, between two hilles; & sinding himselfe pursued by great forces of the enemy, sunke a crosse trench betweene the two Mountaines: and piling the rampire with wood, ser it on fire, & so out off the enemie.

CHAP, XVI.

Cæsars attempt to possesse himselfe of a small hill: what disadvantage be ran into, by missing of his purpose; what meanes he ysed to recover himselfe.



Etweene the towne of ilerda, and the next hill where Petreius and Ifranius were incamped, there was a Plaine, of about three hundred pases; in the midst whereof stoode a little Mole, rising higher then the rest: which if Casar could get and fortise, be hoped to cut off the enemy from the towne the bridge, and from such victuals and provisions as were

brought to the towne: vuherevpan, he tooke three legions out of the Campe; and having put them into order of battell, hee commained the Antelignani of one legion, to runne before and possels the place. Which beeing perceived, the cohorts that kept watch before Afranius Campe, were presently sent aneerer way to take that Mount. The matter came to blowes: but for as much as Afranius partic came first to the place, our men were beaten backe; and by reason of new sapplies sent against them, were constrained to turne their backes, and retire to the legions.

The manner of fight which those souldiers vsed, was first to runne suriouslie open an enemy, to serze any place boldly and with great courage; not much respecting their orders or rankes, but fighting in a scattered and dispersed sashing. If they chaunc't to be throughly charged, they thought it no shame to give way and retire; accustomed there worto, by frequenting the Lusitanians, and other barbarous people, vsing that kind of fight: as it commonly sallethouse, that where the souldiers have long lived, they get much of the vsage and condition of these sould be supposed to that kind of fight: for, seeing enery man leave their ranke, and runne up and downe, they seared least they should be circumvented, and settle upon in slanke, and on their bare so open side; where as themselves were to keepe their order, and not to leave their places, but your extraordinarie occasion.

Vpon the routing of the Antesignani, the legion that stoode in the cornet, left the place, and retreated to the next Hill; almost all the Armie beeing affrighted, which had happened beyond every mans opinion; contrarie to former vse.

Cafar, encouraging his men, brought out the ninth legion to second them; by that meanes compelling the enemy (insolent of good successe, and shrewdly pursuing our men) to turne their backes, and to retire to the towne of Ilerda, and there to make a stand under the walles. But the souldiers of the ninth legion, caried on with endeuour, and going about to repaire their losse, they rashly followed the enemy into a place of disaduantage, and came under the Hill whereon the towne flood: and as they would have made their retreit, they were charged afresh from the opper ground. The front of the place had an oneasiebroken ascent, and was on each side steepe; extended onely so much in breadth, as would serve three cohorts to imbattell in: neither could the Caualrie come to helpe them. The Hill declined easily from the towne about foure hundred pases in length: and that way our men had some conveniencie of retreit, from the disadvantage to which their defire had vnaduisedly led them. The fight continued in this place: which was very vnequall, both in regard of the straightness thereof, as also for that they stood under the foote of the Hill, whereby no weapon fell in vaine amongst them. Notwithstanding, by prowesse and valour they patientlie endured all the woundes they received. The enemies forces were supplied and renewed, by such cohorts as were often sent out of the Campe through the towne, that fresh men might take the place of such as were overried out. And the like was Cafar faine to doe, sending freshe Cohorts to that place to relieve the vvearied.

Afte

About seauentie of our men were staine in the first onset. And among st these was flaine Q. Fulginius, Captaine of the first Hastate Centurie of the foureteenth legion; who, for his exceeding valour, was preferred to that place from the lower orders. And of Afranius partie were saine T. Cacilius, Centurion of a Primipile order, and foure Centurions more, besides two hundred souldiers. But such was the opinion of that daies business, that either side believed they left with the better.

Afranius party was so perswaded, for that they long stood to handy blowes, and resisted the violence of our souldiers, although in all mens judgement they were the weaker: as also, for that they first tooke and held the place which gave occasion of that fight; & in the first encounter compelled our men to turne their backs. Our men, in like manner, thought they had the better, in regard they had maintained fight for five houres together, in a place of disaduantage, & with an vnequallmultitude: that they ascended up the hill with their swords drawne. and compelled their adversarie to turne their back, & to retreit into the towne, mauger the disaduantage of the place.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

N this direction which Cæfar gaue, to take the little Hill betweene lerda and Afranius Campe, weemay observe the danger depending upon the mischieuing of an action. For, the failing of a purpose, in feeking to obtaine that which would prooue of great advantage, doth oftentimes drawe men into as great inconveniences. And as the end in every deffigne pretendeth gaine, so the meanesthereof doe give way to hazard: from whence it confequently followeth; that fuch as are imployed in execution, had neede to vie all indeuour, not to falsifie the groundes of good directions, by negligent or inconsiderate cariage; but rather, to make good any want or defect, by ferious and warie profecution of the fame.

And the rather, for that it specially concerneth their good, that have the charge and handeling of commaundes; for, they first are like to feele the fmart of anie errour committed therein; or otherwife, to have the honour of anie fortunate successe, for-almuch as Vertue hath all her praise from Action.

Concer-

and that our men were much over-charged with an unequall multitude; having some of them for feare having taken the towne, our men found an easie retreit. Our Caualrie did from a lowe ground get up unto the toppe of the hill ; and riding up and downe betweene the two Armies, made our souldiers to retreit with better ease: and so the fight succeeded diversly.

Et victor (36ducto Marte pe pendit. Lucan. ib. 4.

Commentary of the Ciuil Warres.

Concerning the vie of running, we are to vnderstand, that the Romaines (amongst other their exercises of Armes) had speciall practise of this, as quailable in foure respects, according as Vegetius hath noted; First, to the end they Lib. 1. cap.9. might charge the enemie with greater force and violence. Secondly, that they running, might possessible themselves with speed, of places of advantage. Thirdly, that they might readily discouer, as should be found expedient vpon all occasions. And Miles in media lastly, to profecute a flying enemie, to better purpose and effect. And this, as pace decurrit, Seneca faith, they practifed in peace; that beeing accustomed to needlesse labour, they might be able to discharge necessarie duties. And Livie, amongst relassiant, re the militarie exercises vsed by Scipio, to fit his men for those glorious exploits sufficerencessa which hee afterwards atchieued, faith; That the first day, the legions ran foure | 100 popular state | 100 miles in Armes. And Suctonius affirmeth, That Nero, having appointed a race for the Prætorian cohorts, caried a Target lifted vp before them with his owne hand. And that Galba did more admirably; for, beeing futed of purpose to make himfelfe eminent, directed a field race with a Target, himfelfe running as fast as the Emperours Charriot, for twentie miles together.

Thevicof

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE secondthing to be noted in these specialties, is the bold enterprise of Cæsars men, in charging the enemie with their swordes drawne, against the Hill; and, making them to give backe, had an easie and safe retreit from the danger wherein they were ingaged.

Whereby wee may observe, that difficulties of extreamitie, are never better egrotantes, leuicleered, then by aduenturous and desperate vidertakings: According to the vioribus autem condition of diseases, and distemperatures of the body; which beeing light & morbis, pericueasie, are cured with milde and easie potions: but beeing grieuous and doubtfull, doe require tharpe and strong remedies. VVhich doth also in like manner hibere coguntur. appeare throughout the whole course of Nature, and particularly in waights: | Cice.li.1.de offifor, as ponderous and heavie bodies are not mooued, but with a counterpoife of greater force; no more can extreamities of hazard bee avoided, but by like perilous enforcements.

And hence groweth the difference betweene true valour and foole-hardy rashnesse; beeing but one and the same thing, if they were not distinguished by the subject wherein they are shewed. For, to runne headlong into strange adventures, vpon no inft occasion, were to shew more leutic then discretion: And againe, to vie the like boldnesse in cases of extreamitie, deserueth the opinion of vertuous endeuour. As is well observed by Homer, in the person of Hector, perswading the Troians that fledde away, to stand and make head against the Grecians; This is the time, faith he, considering the danger wherein wee are, to vie that prowesse and courage which we boalt of.

And according lie, Diomedes centured Glaucus in the fame place, for offering himselfe to the furie of the Grecians; Either thou art some God, faith he,

. Iliad. 6.

Omnis laus vir utis in actione confifiit. Arifi Eth.

Commentary of the Ciuil Warres,

57

or elfe but a loft and forlorne man. VV hich may ferue to learne vs the true vie of courage; that ordinarily is neuer more shewed then in misimployment.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

The parts of Legion.

Haue already, in the observations of the second Commentary of the warres of Gallia, discoursed particularly of the partes of a legion: Where it appeareth, that in Cæfars time, a legion confifted of fine thousand men, or there-abouts; and according to the sufficiencie and experiencie of the fouldiers, was divided into three parts. The first and meanest of such as followed an Ensigne, were called Hastati. The second, Principes. And the third and chiefe fort, Triarij: and according to this divifron, had their place and precedencie in the Armie.

Againe, each of these three kindes, was divided into tenne companies, which they called Maniples; and enery Maniple was subdivided into two Centuries or Orders : and in enery Order there was a Centurion or Captaine. These orders were diftinguished, by the numbers of the first, second, third, and so con fequently vnto the tenth orders, which were the last & lowest of each of these three kindes. So that this Q. Fulginius, here mentioned, was Centurion of the first and prime order of the Hastati: And T. Cæcilius, Centurion of the first order of the Triary, which by excellencie was called Primipilus, or the

Leader of the first companie of a legion.

Now, concerning their imbattelling, we are to note, that according to this former division of Hastati, Principes, and Triary, vpon occasion of fight, they made a triple battell, one standing in front to another; which we call the vantguard battell, and reareward. VVhereof the Hastati were called Antesignani: not for that they had no Enfignes of their owne; for, enery Maniple had an Enfigne: but because they stood imbattelled before the Eagle, & other the chiefe Enlignes of the legion. To which purpose is that of Livie, Pugna orta est, non illa ordinata per Hastatos, Principesque et Triarios, nec vt pro signis Antesignanus, post signa alia pugnaret Acies. And againe, Cadunt Antesignani:et ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima Acies. Whereby it appeareth, that most of the chiefest Ensignes were with the Principes, which

were called Subsignani, as the Triary Postsignani. Amongst other benefites of thele so particular divisions of an Armie, that

is not the least which is noted by Thucidides, Vt in samperatoris breni spacio ad singulos milites deferri possent.

CHAP.

CHAP, XVII.

Cæsar, brought into great extreamity by ouerflowing of two Rivers.



HE enemy fortified the Mount for which the cotended with great and strong workes; and there put a Garizon. In the space of those two daies that these thinges were in dooing. there fell out vpon a suddaine a great inconvenience: for, such a tempest happened, that the like waters were never Leene in those places. And further besides, the snow came

Cafar.

downe (o aboundantly from the Hilles, that it over-flowed the bankes of the Riuer 3 and in one day brake downe both the bridges which Fabius had made: and thereby brought Casar into great extreamity. For as it is formerly related the Campe lay betweene two Rivers, Sicoris and Cinga, being distant about 30 miles one from another. Neither of these Rivers were passable: so that all the Army were of necessity cooped up in that straightness; neither could the Citties, which had formerly ranged themselves with Casars partie, furnish any supplies of victuall and provision: nor such of the Armie as had gone far for forrage, beeing hindered by the rivers, could returne to the Campe; nor yet the great convoies and renforcements, comming to him out of Italy and Gallia, could gette to

The time was very hard; for, there was neither old corne left of their winter provisions nor that on the ground was as yet ripe. The Citties and townes neere about were all emptied; for Afranius before Cafars coming, had caused all the Corne to be brought into Ilerda: and that which remained was since Casars comming all (pent. And for Cattell (which might have relieved this necessity) by reason of the warre they were removed by the bordering townes, and caried further off. Such as were gone out to forrage, and to seeke Corne, were by the light Armed Portingalls, and the Buckler-bearers of the heather Spaine, much troubled and molested: for, these men could easily passe the river, for a smuch as none of them vsed to goe to warre, without bladders for that purpose. On the contrary part, Afranius abounded with all necessary provisions; great quantity of Corne was formerly provided and stored up, much was brought in from all the Provinces round about, having allo great plenty of forrage in his Camp: for, the bridge at Ilerda afforded meanes of all these things without danger; and the Countrey beyond the river was whole and untouched, which Cafar could not come unto by any meanes. The waters continued for many dayes togeather. Cafar vsed all meanes to reedifie the Bridges: but neither the swelling of the River woulde permitte him, nor yet the cohorts of the Enemie, placed on the bankes of the other side, suffer him to goe forwardes with it: which they might easilie hinder, both in regard of the nature of the river; the

Antesignani.

Lib. 22.

Lib.g.

Lib. s.

Sunt quedam

quibus non ad-

ver sus homines

certamen est s

cum ipsis reb

quas luperare

perdifficile est

Zenorh. lib. 1

de Inft. Cyri.

Diligentia in

mnibus rebus

plurimum vai

greatness of the water; as also, for that they might easily cast their weapons fro along the banke, onto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the same time (the River running so violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to shunne the weapons.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Irft, we may observe, that the strength of a multitude is not privilege ledged from such cashadias as besided. ledged from fuch casualties as betide the weakenesses of particular perions; but doth oftenumes vndergoe extreamities, which can neither by prouidence be preuented, nor remoued by industrie: & persons; but doth oftentimes undergoe extreamities, which can are such as proceede not from the indeuour of an enemy, but out of the circumstances of time and place; together with such accidents as are interlaced with the same. In respect whereof it was, that Cambifes told Cyrus; That in the course of warre he should meet with some occasions, wherein he was not to labour and contend with men, but with chaunces and things, which were not to be ouercome with leffe difficultie then an enemy; and are the more dangerous, according as they give way to scarcitie and lack of victuall. For, as it is faid in the same place; Scis breui, finem habiturum Imperium, si commeatu exercitus careat.

The remedies whereof, are first, Patience; which is as requisite in a fouldier, as either courage or any other abilitie: and in fuch cases keepeth an Army from discontentment and disorder, vntill meanes of better fortune. And secondly, Good indeauour, which availeth much in fuch chaunces; the effect whereof, will appeare by that which Cæsar wrought, to redeeme his Armie from these inconveniences.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Bladders vsed by the Spani--in (wim, غrds) ming ouer Ri

Oncerning that which is heere noted of the Spaniards, that made nothing of passing a River with the helpe of bladders, which the Romaines were readier to wonder at then to imitate; it is obserued, that as people exquifitly fashioned to a civill life, by a firme &

fettled policie of gouernment, are firme and reall in the whole course of their proceedings, and accordingly doe shew their punctualitie, as well in their solemnities and private cariages, as in their magnificent and flately buildings: to on the other fide, barbarous and rude Nations, that live under generall and flight lawes, are as flight and rude in their actions; as amongst other thinges, may appeare by that the Spaniards thought it no scorn, to vie the help of bladders in passing ouer a River, as a deuise comming next to hand: which the people of a wife and potent State, would not have done, but by a fure and fubftantiallbridge.

The vie of which bladders, as it hath been auncient amongst people of that nature, fo it is cotinued in the fame manner, by the Sauages, inhabiting Gron-

land, and the North parts of America; as appeareth by the discourses made of late by the Moscouy Marchants, about the Northwest passage: fro whence fuch as are imploied in those voiages, have brought great and large bladders

bagges, made of Seale skinnes, ingeniously denifed to be filled and blowed with wind, and tied behind at their girdle, and at their coller, to helpe themselues in swimming. And after the same easie fashion, the Indians of Peru, as Iosephus Acosta writeth (in stead of wood and stone) made their bridges over great Rivers of plaited Reedes, which they faftened to the bankes on each fide with stakes: or otherwise of bundles of straw and weedes, by which, men and beafts (if there be any credit in his storic) passe ouer with ease. Howbeit, as when the ancient Greeks would note a man of extreame infut ficiencie; They would fay he could neither reade nor fwim: So Cæfar feemed of the fame opinion, by commending the skill of fwimming, as a thing o: much confequence in the vie of Armes. Whereof he made good experience in Egypt; where he cast himselfe into a small boate, for his better safetie: and finding it ouer-charged, and ready to finke, he leapt into the fea, and fwom to his Fleet, which was 200 pases off, holding certaine papers in his left hand, abone the water; and trayling his coate of Armes in his teeth, that it might not be left to the enemie.

CHAP. XVIII.

Afranius marcheth with three legions, to cut off a party. The scarcitie of victuall in Cæsars Armie.



T was told Afranius, of great troopes and convoies that were comming to Cafar, but were hindered by the waters, and a boade there by the Rivers side: for, thither were come Archers out of Ruthenia and Horsemen out of Gallia, with manie carres & cariages, according to the custome of the Galles. There were besides, of all sorts, about sixe thousand men

with their feruaunts and attendants; but without order, or any knowne commaund for, every man was at his owne libertie, travelling the Countrey with out feare, according to the former freedome & safetie of the waies. There were likewise many young men of good ranke, Senators sonnes, and Knights of Rome besides Embassadors from sundry States, & diners of Casars Legales. All these were kept backe by the River.

Afranius went out in the night time with three legions, and all his horse, to cut off this partie; and sending his Caualrie before. Sette vpon them vnawares Howbeit, the Caualrie of the Galles, put them selves speedily in order, and buckled with them. And as long as it stood opon indifferent tearmes, they being but a few, did withstand a great number of the enemie : but as soone as they disco-

Cafar.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

uered the Enjignes of the legions comming towards them, some few of them be-

ing slaine, the rest betooke themselues to the next hilles. This small time of encounter, was of great consequence for the safetie of our

men: for, by this meanes, they had opportunitie to take the upper ground. There were lost that day 200 Archers, a few horsemen, and no great number of the fouldiers boyes, together with the baggage. Victualls, by reason of all these things wexed very deere, as well in regard of the prefent want, as also for feare of future penurie, as commonly it happeneth in fuch cases zinsomuch as a bushell of Corne was worth fiftie pence. Whereby the fouldiers grew weake for want of fustenaunce; and the inconveniences therof, daily more and more increased. For, So great was the alteration which happened in a few daies, that our men overe much afflisted with the extreame want of all necessary provisions: wheras they on the other side, having all things in aboundance, were held for victors. Casar lent unto thole States which were of his party, and in stead of Corne, gaue them order to furnish him with Cattell; dismissed souldiers boyes, and sent them to townes further off; relieuing the present scarcitie by all the meanes be could.

Afranius and Petreius, together with their friends, inlarged the sethinges in their Letters to Rome: rumour and report added much heerevnto; as that the warre was euen almost at an end. These Messengers and Letters beeing come to Rome, there was great concourse from all parts to Afranius house, much congratulation and reioycing for these thinges: and there-upon, many went out of Italy to Pompey, some to be the first messengers of the newes; others, that they might not seeme to expect the event of the war, and so proove the last that came

to that partie.

When the matter was brought to these difficulties and extreamities, and all the waies were kept by Afranius souldiers and horsemen; Casar gaue order to the fouldiers, to make such boates and Barkes as hee had in former yeeres taught pim, casoque in- them the vse of in the warre of Britaine: the keeles whereof were built of light stuffe, and small timber, and the opper partes made with wicker, and covered with hides. Which beeing finished, he laded them opon Carres, and carried them in the night some twentie two miles from the Campe. And in those Barks, transporting his fouldiers over the river, opon a suddaine possest himselfe of a little hill, which lay continent unto the water side : which hill he speedily fortified, before the enemie had notice thereof. Afterwards, he brought ouer alegion to that place, and made a bridge fro side to side in two daies space: and so the convoies, which had gone forth for provisions & forrage, returned backe in safetie; wherby he began to fettle a course for provision of Corne.

The same day, he passed ouer the river a great part of his Canalrie, who falling vnlooked for vpon the forragers (feattered heere and there without feare or suspicion) cut off a great number of men and cattell. Where-voon, the Enemy sending certaine Spanish troopes, bearing little round bucklers, to second and relieue the forragers, they divided themselves of purpose into two parts; the one to keepe and defend the booty which they had gotte, and the other, to resist and beate backe the forces sent to charge them. One of our cohorts, which had easilie runne out before the Armie, was intercepted, O cut off: the rest returned by the bridge into the Camp in safety with a great booty.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Hefe Rutheni inhabited that part of prouince where Rhodes now flandeth: amongst whom Cæsar had ordinarily a legion or two in Guarizon, for the better keeping of the Countrey in obedience, being a stout and warlike people, and vsing archerie, as appeared in a stout and warlike people, and vsing archerie, as appeared to the country of the

Rutheni. Soluuntur flaui Rutheni. Luc.

this place. Which, howfoeuer the course of time hath brought into vtter contempt, yet let vs not scorne to take notice, that anciently it hath been yied by fuch as performed the greatest feates of Armes: for, Hercules had but two forts of weapons to atchieue labours of so much variety; a Club for such monsters as would contest with his valour, and Boaw and Arrowes for others that kept further off. And in the oldwarre of Troy (if Homer may bee believed) |Stymphalide. Pindarus, Duke of Lycia, having a stable of gallant Coursers, left them all at | Iliad. lib. 5. home, least hee should not find meanes at Troy, to give them their ordinarie keeping; and came on foore with his boaw and arrowes, with fuch reputation of his deedes of Armes, that Aeneas fought him out in a conflict, to relift the rage and extreame pressures of Diomedes. And on the contrary part, Teucer relieued the diffressed Grecians from a hot and desperate pursute, by slaying with his boaw eight valiant Trojans before he stirred his foore.

Iliad. lib. 7.

Concerning the vie of which weapon, howfoeuer it may feeme ridiculous (to fuch as vinderstand nothing but the course of the present age) to recall the long boaw to the seruice of a battell; yet they may remember, that the Graygoofe wing gaue our forefathers fuch advantage, that they wrought wonders amongst all Nations for deedes of Armes: which wee should imitate with as

much hope of successe, if we could handle our boawes in any measure as they did. Of this I have already formerlie treated.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

T is a faying as true as it is old, that An ill hap commeth not alone, but is alwaies attended with fuch confequents as will inforce other incommendation conveniences; as may be observed by this extreamitie heere mentioned. For, the mischiefe was not bounded with the affliction which Cafar suffered for want of needfull provision, notwithstanding the weight was such as could not bee borne by ordinarie patience: but the enemy inlarged it to his further advantage, vaunting of it as a helplesse remedy, and making out dispatches to fend victorie to Rome. VVhich gaue him yet further prejudice in the opinion of the world; and made those his enemies, that formerlie shewed no dillike of his proceedings. And thus every ill chaunce hath a taile of many other misfortunes; which if either prouidence or indeuour may preuent, it shall much import a Commaunder to avoide them.

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I am comes sem

er magnorum

rima malorun

Sæna fames a-

derat : nulloqu obsessus ab host

miles eget, toto

censu non prodigus emit exi

guam Cererem.

Lucan, lib. 4.

Primum cana

Calix madefacto vimine paruan

Texitur in pup

rectoris patiens

umidum super-

natat amnem.

Lucan.lib. 4.

Necessitas sortiter ferre docct, consuetudo sacilè. Seneca. de tranqui. cap. 10

116.5.

S Neceffitie maketh men constant in their sufferings, so Custome in give the assistant meanes of deliuerance; according as may appeare by this direction of Casar, which was wholly drawne from former experience. For, first the Boates heere prescribed, vere

former experience. For, infittine Boates here preceiped, were such as hevsed in the warre of Britannie; and as far as may bee gathered out of the former Commentaries, were those he commanded to be built for his second iourney: which he would now imitate, in regard of the flatness of their bottomes, and not otherwise. For, it is not to be supposed, that those Barkes were couered with skinnes; whese peraducture hee vsed some such as these vpon occasion in that warre, not expressed in the storie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Herodotus in his Clio, describeth the like: The boats (faith he) which come from Babylon, downe the Riuer Euphranes, are made by the Heardsmen of Armenia, of light Timber, in a round fashion, without beake or poope, & are couered with skinne, the hairie side inwarde; and in these they take their passage. Such as fish for Salmon in the Riuer of Seuerne, we the like boates in all respects, which they call Corracles of Corium: beeing all couered with hosseskinnes tanned. Secondly, the means hevsed to passe our without impeachement from the Enemie, by carying those boates in the night time up the Riuer to a place of securitie, was such, the like whereof he had formerly practised in Gallia, to passe the roler, beeing then guarded on the other side by the Enemie. Whereby we see, how much we and continuance doth inable men, beyond others of sinaller experience; according to that, Dies Diem doeet.

Corracles.

CHAP. XIX.

The Massilians encounter with Brutus at Sea, and are beaten.

Cafar.



Hile these things were done at Ilerda, the Massilians (by the direction of L. Domitius) rigged and set out 17 Gallies, whereof eleuen were courred besides make the Nauie seems the greater for the association and the Nauie seems the greater for the association of the them. In the letter put a great number of dreams.

chers, and many Albickes, of whom wee have formerly made mention; encouraging them both by rewards and promifes. Domitius required certaine shippes for himselfe, and them he filled with Shepheards and Countrymen, which he had brought thither with him. The Nauie beeing thus surnished, see forward with great considence towards our shipping, whereof D. Brutus was Admirall, and lave

lay at Anker at an Ilandright oner against Marsellies. Brutus was far inferior to the enemy in shipping; but Casar having pickt the chiefest and valiantest men out of all the legions, as well of the Antesignani as Centurions, put them aboard the Fleet, they themselves requiring to bee imploied in that service. These men had prepared hookes, and grapples of Iron, and had likewise furnished the selves with many Piles and Darts, and other sorts of weapons: and understanding of the Enemies comming, put to sea, and encountered with the Massilians. They sought on either side very valiantly and siercely; neither were the Albickes much inferiour to our men in prowesse, beeing rough mountainous people, exercised in Armes: and having a little before fallen off for the Massilians, did now remember the late contrast and league they had made with them. The Shepheards, in like manner (a rude and untamed kind of people, stirred up with hope of liberty) did strive to shew their valour in the presence of their Maister.

The Massilians, trusting to the nimbleness of their shipping, and in the skill and dexteritie of their Pilots, did frustrate (in a deluding manner) the shocke of our shippes, when they came violently to stemme them. And, for a smuch as they had sea-roome enough, they drew out their Navie at length, to compasse and inclose our men about: And sometimes, they would single out one of our ships, and set upon them with divers of theirs together, and wipe off a side of their oars in their passage along by them.

When they came to deale at hand (leaving aside the art and skill of the Pilots) they tooke themselves to the stoutness and valour of the Highlanders. Our men were saime to vie worse careemen, and more unskilfull Pilots; who becing lately taken out of shippes of burden, did not well knowe the true names of the tacking and were much troubled with the heaviness and suggishmess of the shipping; which beeing made in haste of unseasoned timber, was not so nimble or ready for vse. But, as the matter came to handie blowes, every single shippe did willingly under-take two at once; and having graphed with either of them, sought on each side, entering valiantly the enemies shippes, killing a great number of the Hilanders and Shepheards. Part of the ships they sunke, some they tooke with the men, & the rest they beate backe into the Hauen. That day the Massilians lost nine shippes, with those that were taken. This newes was brought to Casar at

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Haue formerlie observed the manner of their sea-fight, consisting of three parts; The first was, their nimble & skilfull managing of their shippes, either forceably to assault, or to lavire and beare off, as might fall for their best aduantage; wherein the Massilians, by reason of the skilfulnesse of their Pilots, had great considence. The second, was their sight before they came to grappling, as well with great engines, such as were their Balista and Cataputta, casting stones and logs of wood one against another, as also with slings, arrowes and darts; resembling our great artilizer.

Sea-fight.

were instructed.

and small shot; for which purpose, their shippes were built with fore-castles & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their casting weapons. The third,

was their grappling and forceable entry; wherein, for a fouch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionaric fouldier caried the

cause. Whence we may obserue, that their legions were the nurseries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the sea as the land : beeing fitted by the dis-

cipline of their Militarie exercises, to yndertake any service subject to humane

industrie; whereof they gaue an account woorthie the Schoole wherein they

Neither is it seene at any time, but that such kingdomes as make care to

trainevo their men in Academies of vertuous Actualitie, doe alwaies keepe

their honour at a high price; affording, at all times, men of absolute and com-

plear carrage, both for dessignement and performance.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

CHAP. XX.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, the Enemie resolueth to transferre the warre into Celtiberia.

Ponthemaking of this Bridge, Fortune suddenly changed. The enemy, fearing the courage and valour of our Caualrie, did not so freely range abroad as they had wont to do : Sometimes seeking for rage within a small distance of the Camp, to the end they might find a safe and easie retreit if occasionrequired: Sometimes fetching a great compasse about to avoid

the guardes & pations of our horsemen. And if they had received but the least check, or had but descried the Caualrie afarre off, they would have cast downe their burdens, and fledde away.

At last they omitted for raging for many daies together and (which was never ve by any Nation) sent out to seeke it in the night. In the meane time, those of Osca and Caliguris, beeing in league together, sent Embassadours to Casar, with Caliguris. offer of their service, in such sort as he should please to comaund it. Within a few daies, the Tarraconenses, Lacetani, and Ausetani, together with the illurganonenses, which border opon the River Ebrus, followed after. Of all these hee defired supplies of Corne, and provision: which they promised to furnish; and accordingly got horses from all quarters, and brought graine into the Campe. In like manner, the Regiment of the Illurganonenses, understanding the resolution of their State, left the Enemy, and came onto him with their Colours: and suddainely a great alteration of things appeared.

The bridge beeing perfected, great Citties and States beeing come in vonto him, course setled for provision of Corne, and the rumour blowen over of the Succours and legions which Pompey was said to come with all, by the way of Mauritania; many other townes further off, revolted from Afranius, and clave to Ce Sars partie.

The Enemie, beeing much affrighted and abashed at these things, Casar (to avoide the great circuit by which hee continually sent his horsemen about by the bridge) having got a convenient place, resolved to make many trenches of thirtie foote in breadth, by which he might draine some part of the river Sicoris, and make it passable by a foord. These trenches becing almost made, Afranius and Petreius did thereopon conceine a great feare, least they should be cut off altogether from victuall and forrage; for a smuch as Casar was very strong in horse, and therefore they determined to leave that place, and transferre the warre into Celtiberia: being the rather there-unto induced, for that of those 2 contrarie Factions, which in the former warre had stood for L. Sertorius, such Citties as were subdued by Pompey, did yet stand in awe of his Name and Authoritie:

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Haue a little before shewed out of Liuie, that the Antesignani were ordinarilie taken for the Hashati; which, beeing the easiest fort of souldiers, according to the generall division of a legion, doth seeme to contradict thepassage in this Chapter, Sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus, fortissimos viros Antesignanos, Centuriones Casar ei classi attribuerat. For the better cleering whereof, we are to note, that as the Hastati, or first battell of a legion, were generallie taken for the Antesignani (as standing before the Eagle, and other the chiefest Ensignes, which were alwaics amongst the Principes or second battell); so every Maniple, having an Ensigne in the middest of the troope, the fouldiers that stood in front before the Ensigne, were likewise called Antesignani, and were the best fouldiers in the Companie: for the Centurion, standing alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valiantest and worthiest men sthe rest, filling up the reare, conforted with the Lieutenant, who there-vpon was called Tergi-ductor.

Whence wee may admire the temperature and disposition of a Romaine Armie; beeing first generally divided into three battels, whereof the meanest were in the vaunt guard, to make triall of their firength, and to fpend the heat of their young blood in the first affront of an enemie: The Veterani, or olde fouldiers, beeing left in the reareward, to repaire any loffe, which either force or casualtie should cast upon their Leaders. And againe, to counterpoile thefelues, in fuch a manner as the weakest might not alwaies goe to the wall, their private Companies were so ordered, that the best men were alwaies in front. Whereby they made fuch an exquisite temper, as kept enery part of the Armie in their full strength.

CHAP.

Cafar.

and that such, as from the beginning had continued firme unto him, did intirely love him, for the great benefites they had received from him; among st whom Cafars name was not knowne. Therethey expected great succours both of horse and foote, and made no doubt but to keepe the warre on foote untill winter.

Oitogefa.

This advicebeeing agreed vpon, they gave order to take up all the boates that were on the river Iberus, and to bring them to Octogefa; a towne fited open Iberus, twentie miles from the Campe. There they commaunded a bridge of boates to be made; and transporting two legions over Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a rampier of twelve foote in height: which beeing knowen by the Discouerers, Cafar by the extreame labour of the fouldiers, continued day and night in turning the course of the water; & at length, brought the matter to that passe, that the horsemen (with some difficulty) durst adventure over : but the foot troopes. having nothing above the water but their heads, were so hindered as well by the depth of the River, as the swiftness of the streame, that they could not well get over. Notwithstanding, at the same instant of time, newes was brought of the making of the bridge over the River Iberus, and a foord was found in the river

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ilerda.

Infl. concerning the places heere mentioned, the Reader may take notice, that Ilerda (now knowen by the name of Lerida) frandeth vpon the River Sicoris, in the Province of Catalonia; and beeing ypon the Riner Sicoris, in the Province of Catalonia; and beeing fired ypon a hill, is inclosed round with a wall of hewen stone, in a pleafant and fertile Countrey, both for Corne, wine, oyle, and fruite: as it is graphicallic described by Lucan;

Lib. 1111.

Colle tumet modico, leuique excreuit in altum Pingue (olum tumulo, super hunc fundata vetusta Surgit Ilerda manu ; placidis pralabitur ondis Hesperios inter Sicoris non vitimus amnes : Saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu, Hibernas passurus aquas.

It was formerly a Vniuerfitie, and at all times famous for falt meates & pickled fish. Where-vnto Horace alludeth, when hee tolde his booke, That although it fo fell out that no man would regard it, neuertheleffe, it might ferue at Ilerda to wrap Salt-fish in.

Aut fugies Vticam, aut onclus mitteris Ilerdam.

Ofer Vičtrix.

Osca, now called Huesca, a towne likewise of Catalonia, in former time furnamed Victrix; where Sertorius kept the fonnes of the Grandes of Spaine, as pledges of their loyaltie; under pretext of learning the Greeke and Latine tongue, which he had there caused to be taught, in forme of an Academie.

Commentary of the Civill Warres,

Calazuris.

In this towne his hap was to be flaine by Perpenna, as Paterculus recordeth the storie; Tum M. Perpenna pratorius, è proscriptis, generis clarioris quam animi, Sertorium inter canam Aetosca interemit; Romanisque certa victoriam, partibus suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem, pessimo auctorauit facinore: Which Aetosca, is by all men taken for this Osca.

The inhabitants boatt of nothing more at this day, then that S. Laurence was a Cittizen of their towne.

Calaguris, now Calahorra, is seated upon a hill on the bankes of Iberus; the people whereof are famous for their constancie, and faithfulnesse to their Comaunders, and specially to Sertorius: as appeareth by that of Valerius Maximus; Quò perseuerantius interempti Sertory cineribus obsidionem Cn. Pompei Lib. 7. cap. 6. frustrantes, fidem prastarent, quia nullumiam aliud in vrbe eorum supererat animal, vxores suas, natosque, ad vsum nefaria dapis verterunt; quoque diutius armata inuentus, viscera sua visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadauerum reliquias falire non dubitauit.

Neuerthelesse, Afranius tooke the inthe end, by continuall siege; amongst whom that antiquitie of Bebricius is very remarkable, which is yet extant neere to Logronno.

DIIS. MANIBUS. Q. SERTORII. ME. BEBRICIVS. CALAGVRITANVS. DEVOVI. ARBITRATVS. RELIGIONEM. ESSE. EO. SVBLATO. QVI. OMNIA.

CVM. DIIS. IMMORTALIBVS. COMMVNIA. HABEBAT. ME. INCOLVMEM. RETINERE. ANIMAM. VALE. VIATOR. QVL HÆC. LEGIS. ET. MEO. DISCE. EXEMPLO. FIDEM. SERVARE IPSA. FIDES.

ETIAM. MORTVIS. PLACET. CORPORE. HVMANO. EXVTIS.

In memorie of whose fidelitie, Augustus Cæsar tooke a band of these peo-Suetonius in ple for a guard to his person. In this towne was Quintilian the Rhetorician borne; and beeing brought from thence to Rome, in Nero his time, was the first that taught a publique Schoole for falarie: as witnesseth Saint Hierome; Quintilianus ex Hispania Calaguritanus primus Roma publicam Scholam tenuit, et salario cohonestatus publico claruit.

Celtiberia was the Countrey lying along the River Iberus, inhabited by people comming out of Gallia Celtica: where-vpon Lucan faith;

profu-

Colors Calague Ad Eusebij Chronicon.

Celtiberia.

Lib. 4.

Lib. 2. cap. 19 Lib.2. ca.6.

Gallorum Celta, miscentes nomen Iberis. Florus calleth them Hifpania Robur. And Valerius Maximus affirmeth, That they were alwaies glad of warre, as beeing to end their life in happines and honour; and lamented their ill fortune to die in their beddes, as a miserable and shamefull end.

Sil. Ital. Lib. z. His pugna cecidisse decus, corpúsque cremari Tale nefas : cælocredunt, superisque referri, Impastus carpat si membra iacentia vultur.

I ib. 6. cap.9.

Their Armes and weapons were of fingular raritie: for, befides the water of Bilbo, which gaue them an invincible temper; they had also a peculiar fathion of working them, as witneffeth Diodorus Siculus: hiding their plates of Iron in the earth, untill the worst and weakest part were eaten out with rust, and of that which remained, they made very hard fwords.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



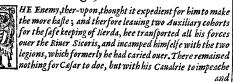
HE suddaine alterations of warre, are like the changings of mens mindes vpon small accidents; which are so forceable to shake our resolutions, as made a great Philosopher, to describe a man by the propertie of mutabile Animal. And is notablic seene in this; That

Atranius, in the compasse of a few daies, triumphed of Cæsars ouerthrow, and fled away for feare of his power. Whence we may note the aduantage comming to a partie, when they shake off any eminent distresse: for, as the extreamit, e thereof threatneth ruine and destruction, so the alteration bringeth with it an opinion of victorie. And furely, such is the condition of all forts of Miserie. that when the storme is ouer, and the bitterness of the affliction alaid, good tunes come redoubled upon the Patients; as though the vicifsitude of things, did inforce contrary effects. And therefore, a Commaunder, knowing the advantage of fuch an opportunitie, must indeuour to improve the same, as may best serve to a speedie end.

CHAP. XXI.

The Enemy setteth forward, and is staied by [æsar.





and trouble the enemy in their march. And for a smuch as it was a great compasse about, to goe by the bridge (whereby it would come to passe, that the Enemy would get to Iber a farre neerer way) hee passed ouer his horsemen by the foord. About the third watch, as Petreius and Afranius had raifed their Camp; vpon a suddaive, the Caualrie shewed them selues in the reare; and swarming about them in great multitudes, began to stay and hinder their passage. As soone as it beganne to bee day light; from the upper ground where Cafarlay incamped, it was perceived, how the reareward of the enemy was hard laid to by our Caualrie, and how sometimes they turned head againe, and were neverthelesse broken and rowted: sometimes their Ensignes stood suddenly still, and all their foote troopes charged our horse, and fore't them to give way; and then turning backe, went on their way againe. The fouldiers walking up and down the Camp, were grieued that the enemy should so escape their handes, whereby the matter would consequently be spun out into a long warre: and went onto the Centurions and Tribunes of the fouldiers, praying them to befeech Cafar not to spare them for any danger or labour; for, they were ready and willing to passe the Riuer where the horse went ouer. Casar, mooued through their desire and importunity, albeit he feared to expose his Army to a river of that greatness, yet he thought it expedient to put it to triall: and therefore commaunded, that the weakest souldiers of all the Centuries should bee taken out, whose courage or Brength shewed a disabilitie to under-take that service: and these he left in the Campe, with one legion to defend the same, bringing out the other legions without carriage or burden; and having fet a great number of horfes & cattell both aboue and belowe in the river, hee transported his Army over . Some few of the fouldiers, being carried away with the streame, were succoured and taken up by

the horsemen; insomuch as not one man perished. The Army caried thus over in safetie, hee ranged them in order, and marched forward with a three-fold battell. Such was the endeuour of the fouldiour, that albeit they had fet circuit of fixe miles to the foord, and had frent much time in passing the river ; yet by the ninth houre, they did overtake the enemie clock in the af-

that rose about the third watch of the night. Alloone as Afranius and Petreius bad discouered the legions afarre off (being terrified with the noueltie of that pursuit) they betooke themselues to the opper ground, and there imbattelled their troopes. In the meane time, Cafar refreshed his Armie in the fielde, and would not suffer them (beeing wearie) to giue battell: and as they tried againe to goe on in their march, he followed after and stated them; whereby the enemy was forced to incampe sooner then vvas purposed : for there were hilles a little before them; and for five miles together, the passages were very difficult and narrow.

By which meanes (beeing aduaunced betweene the hilles) they hoped to bee free from Casars Canalrie; and by keeping the passages, to hinder the Armie fro following after; to the end they themselves, might without perill or seare, put their forces over the river Iberus: which by all meanes was to bee effected. Neuerthelesse, beeing wearied with transiling and fighting all day, they put off the businesse to the next morning.

Η 3.

Casar

Commentary of the Civil Warres.

Attellunt campo

geminæ iuga

Vasa concla-

Cafar also incamped himselfe on the next hill; and about midnight, some of their partie being gone out from the Campe, some-what far off, to fetch water. were taken by the horsemen. By them, Casar was advertised, that the Enemie with silence began to remove, and to lead their troopes out of their Campe. Wherupon, he commaunded the signe of rising to be given, and the cry (distodging and trussing up their baggage) to be taken up, according to the discipline and wee of Souldiers.

The Enemy, hearing the cry, fearing least they should bee impeached in the night, and forced to fight with their burdens on their backs, or to be shutte up in those straight passages by Casars horsemen, staied their iourney, and kept their forces within their Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.



His passage over Sicoris, was in the some manner as hee caried his Armie over the River Loser, in the seaventh Commentarie of the warre of Gallia; Vado per Equites invento provide the seaventh of the seaven tuno, vt Brachia modò atque Humeri, ad sustinenda arma liberi ab

aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis frangerent, incolumem exercitum transduxit.

The horse that stood aboue, brake the force of the water, & those that were belowe, tooke vp fuch as were ouercome with the ftreame; and withall, gaue courage to the fouldier to venture with better affurance, feeing the paffage impaled in, on each fide, to keepe them fro milcarying. His attempt youn Sicoris, to abate the swelling pride of that River, by dividing it into many streames, was in imitation of the first Cyrus; who taking displeasure at the Riuer Cyndes, next vnto Euphrates the greatest River of Assyria, drew it into three hundred and three score chanels.

Croefus, not finding the River Halis passable by a footd, and having no meanes to make a bridge, sunke a great trench behinde the Campe, from the vpper part of the River, and so drew all the water behind his Armie.

Vegetius hath a particular discourse of passing an Armie ouer a River, whither it be by bridge or boate, or by wading, or fwimming, or any other way: to which I referre the Reader.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Afranius seeketh to take the Straites betweene certaine Mountaines; but was preuented by Cæsar.



HE next day folowing, Petreius went out secretly with a few horse, to discouer the Countrey; and for the same purpose, Some went likewise out of Casars Campe. L. Decidius Saxo, was fent with a small troope to view the site of the Place, relimbing ardua and either party returned with the same report: that for celsos continuat

fine miles, the way was open and champain, and afterwards, very rough and mountainous; and who soever first tooke those straights, might fractilature easily impeache the enemy from going further. The matter was disputed in the he point sauci-Councell of warre, by Petreius and Afranius; the time of their fetting forward, bus, emitti terwas debated: Most of them thought it fit to take their iourney in the night; for ranum in devia Martem, inque by that means, they might com to those straights before it were perceived. Others feras gentes Cawere of opinion, that it was not possible to steale out in the night; as appeared by far vider? the cry of rising, taken up the night before in Casars Campe, upon their remoouing: and Casars horsemen did so range abroad in the night, that all places and pallages were kept & flut up. Neither were they to give occasion of night fights. but to avoid the same by all the meanes they could; for asmuch as in civill diffension, the ordinary souldier would rather suffer himselfe to bee over-maistered by feare, then continue firme in the allegeance which he had sworne unto: wheras, in the day time, every man hath shame and dishonor before his eyes; together with the presence of the Centurions and Tribunes : with which respects, a souldier is restrained, and kept within the bounds of duty. And therefore, the attempt was by all meanes to be undertaken in the day time, although it fell out to some losse; yet nevertbelesse, the body of the Armiemight passe in safetie, and possesses that place which they sought for.

This opinion prevailing in their consultation, they determined by breake of day the next morning to fette forward. Cafar, having diligently viewed the Countrey; as loone as day began to appeare, drew all his forces out of his Campe, and marched forward in a great circuit, keeping no direct way. For , the waies Ite fine vilo or which lead to Iberus and Octogefa, were taken up with the Enemies Campe; in- dine, ait, rapinfomuch as they were to passe over great and difficult valleis. And in many pla-que fuga cover ces broken Rocks and stones did so hinder them, that they were necessarilie to facien pugne give their weapons from hand to hand, the fouldiers lifting up one another, and rultufg, inferte To they passed most part of the way. How soener, no man thought much of the la- lib. 4. bour for that they hoped to give an end to all their travell, if they could keep the enemy from passing over the River Iberus, and cut off his victualls.

superiora Padi vadasexercitum traducens, elephantos in ordi nem opposuit ad impetum flumi nis sustinendum Liuie. Acne quid Si coris, repetitis audeat vndis. Sparzitur in fulcos, et scisso gur-gite riuis dat pæ as maioris a~ que. Lucan.l.4 Herodo. Clio. In the fame maner Euphra

tes was divided first by Semi-ramis, and af-

terward by A

lexander. H

Lib. 2. cap. 7

rod. Iuft.

Hanniball, per

At the first, Afranius souldiers ranne toyfully out of their Campe to see the Armie casting out words of derifion or reproche that for want of victuall they fledde and returned to Ilerda; for, the way they held, was quite contrary to that they intended: whereby they seemed to goe backe againe: and the Commaunders themselues, did much approoue their owne counsell, that they had kept their troopes within the Campe. For, that which confirmed the in their opinion, was, that they perceived they were come out without their cariages: whereby they hoped, necessity would not suffer them to continue long there. But when they saw the troopes by little and little to wind to the right hand; and that they perceived, how those that were in front, had falle backward beyond their Camp, there was no man (o dull, but thought it expedient prefently to march out, and make head against them. Wherevoon, they cried to Arme; and all their forces, excepting some few cohorts which were left to keepe the Campe, went out, and marched directly towards Iberus.

The whole business consisted in speed and celeritie, which of the two should first take the straights, and possesses the hilles. Cesars Army was hindered by the difficultie of the way: and Afranius partie was retarded by Cafars Caualry. The matter was come to that opshot, that if Afranius party did first get the hils, they might happely quit themselves of danger; but the baggage of the whole Armie, and the cohorts left in the Campe could not be faued : for beeing intercepted & secluded by Casars Armie, there was no meanes to relieve them.

It fell out, that Cafar first attained the place; and beeing come out from among those great Rocks into a plaine champaine, put his Army in order of battell against the enemy.

Afranius, seeing the enemy in front, and his reareward hardly charged by Casars Canalry, got the advantage of a smal hill, & there made their stand: and from thence fent 4 cohorts bearing round bucklers, onto a Mountaine, which in allmens fight was higher then the rest; commaunding them to runne as fast as they could, and possesse that hill, intending to follow after with all his forces: and altering his course, to gette along the ridges and toppes of the Mountaines to Octogesa.

As the cohorts were aduaunced forward by an oblique circuit, Casars Caualrie perceiuing their intendement, sette vpon them with such violence, that they were not able any time to beare their charge, but were all cut in peeces in the

fight of both Armies.

Nocturna præ lia esse vitanda, guòd perterrius miles in ciui li dissensione, timori magisquă religioni consulere consucuerit; at luce multum per se pudorem, mnium oculis

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Etreius and Afranius, in their Councell of warre, resolued by all meanes to shun night encounters, as a thing full of hazard and vncertaintie, and apt for looseness and disobedience: for, the night, beeing neither a discouerer of errours, nor yet a distinguisher either Commentary of the Civil Warres.

of actions or persons; but wrapping up both the vertuous & the fainte in her Mantle of obscurring, doth not admit of directions, to follow an opportunitie, or Negue in villato help a mistaking: but rather giving way to Impunitie and licentious comu- figa flaguinm. fion, leaueth no hope of what is wished: VV hereas the light is a witness of e- Tacit. Hist. li.2 uery mans demeanour, and hath both honour & rebuke to make dutie respec-

For which causes, Curio (as it followeth in the next Commentarie) in his harange before that votimely expedition against king luba, rejected their advice that would have had him let forward in the night; At etiam vt media nocte proficiscamur addunt: quò maiorem credo licentiam habeant qui peccare conantur : Namque huiu[modires aut pudore aut metu tenetur quibus rebus nox maximè adversaria est.

And, that the danger may appeare as well by effect as by discourse, let the Reader take notice of that battell by night, between Antonius Primus, on the behalfe of Vespasian, and the Vitellian legions neere vnto Cremona. Whereof Tacitus hath this description; Prelium tota notte varium, anceps, atrox; his, 2. Historie. rur (us illis, exitiabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem pronifu innabant. Ge. And thus are all night workes condemned, wherein either order or honour are of anie moment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Haue already noted, in the former Commentaries, the vse of exact and particular discouerie of the Countrey, where a partie is ingaged: then which, nothing doth more aduantage a Commander to expedite the happie issue of a warre. For, by that meanes, he is not

onely able to judge of any motion which the enemy shall offer, and to give fure directions to frustrate and make voide the same; but also to dispose himfelfe, according as shall seeme expedient for his fasetie. VVherein, if a place of fuch consequence as is heere mentioned shall by dessigne be aymed at, this hiflorie sheweth, how much it importesh either partie to obtaine it: and therefore Cæsar hadreason to make his passage through Valleis and Rocks, rather then to lofe victorie, for want of labouring a little in an vneasie way.

This Lucius Decidius Saxo, or Didius Saxo, imploied in this discouerie, was afterward aduaunced by Cæsar, to bee Tribune of the people; whereat Tullie was so much offended. How can I omit (saith he) this Decidius Saxo, a man brought from the furthest end of the world whom we see Tribune of the people, before we ener faw him a Cittizen.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæsar refused to fight vpon an aduantage offered; contrary to the opinion and desire of

Here was an opportunitie then offered of doing some thing

to purpose; neither was Casar ignorant thereof. Such an

ouerthrowe given before their faces, did consequentlie so

Cafar.

Signes of feare

in the Enemy.

discourage them, that it was thought they would not indure a charge: especially, beeing compassed about with the Caualrie, in an indifferent and open place, where the matter mas to be decided by battell. Which mas on all sides instantly defired at Cafars hands: for, the Legates, Centurions, and Tribunes of the fouldiers, came loyatly vato him, defiring him to make no doubt of giving battell; for, all the fouldiers were very ready, and forward there-onto: whereas the contrary partie had shewed many arguments of feare and discouragement. First, in that they did not succour their fellowes. Secondly, in asmuch as they had not bouged from the Hill, which they had tooke for a retreit. Neither had they withstood the charge and incursion of the Caualrie, but had thronged pell mell together, and confusedly mingled their Ensignes one with another; no man either keeping his place, or his colours. And if they had feared the inequality and disaduantage of the Place, they might have taken some other of more indifferencie; for, certainly they could not long stay where they were, but must depart from thence for want of water.

Cafar was in hope to end the matter, without either blowe or wound of his men: for a fmuch as he had cut off the enemy from victuall. And why then (hould he lose aman, although it were to gaine a victory? Why should he suffer his valiant and well-deferuing fouldiers, to be so much as hurt or wounded? Or why should he put the matter to the hazard of Fortune? especially, when it no lesse concerned the honour and reputation of a Commaunder, to vanquish an enemie by direction and advice, then to subdue them by force of Armes: being mooned, withall, with a tender commiseration of such Cittizens of Rome, as were confequently to be hazarded or flaine in the fight; where-as hee defired to worke out

his owne Ends with their (afety.

This opinion of Cafars, was difallowed by most men: and the fouldiers would not sticke to speake plainely among st themselves: for a smuch as such an occasion of victorie was over lipt, that when Cafar would have the they would not fight. Hee notwithstanding, continued firme in his opinion; and fell a little off from the enemy, to lessen and abate their feare and amazement. Petreius and Afranius, upon the opportunity given them, with-drew themselves into their Camp. Cafar, having possess the Hilles with guarisons of souldiers, and shut up all the passages leading to Iberus, incamped himselfe as neere as he could to the enemie.

The Commaunders of the adverse partie, beeing much afflicted that they had absolutely lost all meanes of provision of victuall, and of gaining the River Iberus, consulted together of other courses. There were two waies left open; the one to returne to Ilerda, and the other to Tarracon. And while they were confidering of these things, it was told them, that such as went out for water, were very much pressed by our Caualrie. Where-vpon, they placed many courts of guard, as well of horse, as Auxiliary footement, interlacing the legionary Cohorts amongst them; and began also to raise a rampier from the Campe to the watering place, that the fouldiers might safely, without feare, fetch water within the boundes of their fortification. Which worke, Petreius and Afranius divided betweene themselves; and for the perfecting of the same, had occasion to goe farre off from the Campe: by meanes of whose absence, the souldiers taking libertie of free speech one with another, went out; and as any man had an acquaintance or neighbour in each others Campe, they (ought him out. And first, they all gave | Et quamuis nul thankes to all our parsy, that they had (pared them when they were terrified and lo maculatus amazed the day before: in regard whereof, they acknowledged to hold their lines by their famour: And afterwards, inquired how they might fafely yeeld festimet. Lucan. themselves to their Generall complaining that they had not done it in the beginning, and so have loyned their forces with their ancient friends and kinsmen.

And having proceeded thus farre in their communication, they require affurance for the lives of Afranius and Petreius; least they should seeme to conceive mischiefe against their Generalls, or betray them in seeking their owne safetie. i hich things beeing agreed upon, they promifed to come with their Ensignes to Cafars Campe: and ther-upon, fent to Cafar some of the Centurions of the first

Orders, as Lebuties to treat of peace.

In the meanetime, they invited their friendes on either side into the Camps; insomuch, as both their lodgings scemed but one Campe. Many of the Tribunes of the fouldiers, and Centurions, came to Cafar, recommending themselves to his favour: and the like did the Grandes and chiefe Princes of Spaine; who they had commaunded out, to take party in this warre, and to remaine with them as tiofages and Pledges. These inquired after their old acquaintances & auncient hostes, by whom each man might have accesse to Casar with some comendation. In like manner, Afranius his sonne dealt with Cafar, by the mediation of Sulpitius a Legate, touching his owne and his fathers life. All thinges founded of ioy, and mutuall congratulation, of them that had escaped such eminent dan- can lib. 4. gers : and of vs, that seemed to have effected such great matters without bloodshed. Insomuch as Casar (in all mens judgement) reaped great fruit of his accustomed clemencie and mildness: and his counsell was generally approoued of all

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

Neque enim tibi maior in Ar uis Emathiis fortuna fuit.&

Non minus est Imperatoris, co-Elio Superares quam gladio Cafar. Coment 6.bell. Gall. Terentius in Eunucho.

Natura iniurii facit et humani tatis legem vio lat qui vltra victoriam iracendie indulget. Nicetas.

De elementia. Lib. 1 cap.26 Ingens victoria decus, citra dom:sticii sanzuinem bellanti. Tacit. in Agri-

Lucan.

His Chapter containeth a paffage of that note and eminencie, as the like is not read in anie florie. For, if we fearch the recordes of all Nations, from the very birth of Bellona, vnto times of latter memorie, it will no where elfe appeare, that a Generall spared any aduan-

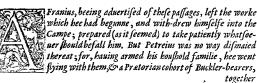
tage to purchase a victorious name, by the bloodshed and ruine of his enemie: and that contrary to the will and defire of his Armie, that had undergon fuch difficulties and hazards, to give an end to that warre. Contrary to his knowledge and late experience of the mutability and change of time and fortune. Contrary to the furest rule of warre; Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirit? And contrary to the vie of Armes, which are alwaies bent against an enemie to fubdue him.

This is the fruit of that other part of Military knowledge, which men doe rather admire then attaine vnto, no leffe concerning the honour of a Commaunder; Confilio, superare quam gladio, and was a maine steppe to raise him to the Empire. For, how focuer the fouldier (to preuent further labour) flood hard for blood, not respecting that of the Cornick, Omnia prius experiri verbis, quam armis sapientem decet: yet if Cæsar had beene so injurious to Nature, as to have left them to their owne defires, and fuffered their furie to have violated the law of humanitie, more then was requifice for victorie; they would afterwards have loathed themselves, and cursed their swords for such ynseasonable execution: and may be doubted, would have revenged it you his head, before the time came to flrike the fata! flroke of the euersion of that State, E. fleeming it also a part of divine power, to faue men by troopes, according to shat of Seneca; Hac diuma potentia est, gregatim, ac publice servare. And therefore, her chose rather to displease the souldier for the present, then to lose that honour which attendeth the sparing of home-bred blood. Whereof forraine enemies are not altogether fo capable.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Petreius breaketh off the Treatie, and new fweareth the Souldiers to the Partie

Cafar.



together with some few stipendarie horse of the harbarous people, whom he was wont to keepe about him, as a guard to his person: and came suddainely and onlooked for, to the Rampire; brake off the Souldiers treaty; thrust our men off fro the Campe ; killing such as he could apprehend. The rest got together, & affrigh- surbat sangulted at the suddaineness of the danger, wrapt their coates about their left armes, and with their swords drawne, defended them selves from the Buckler-bearers and Horsemen: and trusting to the necrenesse and propinquity of their Campe, they tooke courage and got safely thither, beeing protested by the Cohorts that had the guard at the Campe gates.

This beeing done, Petreius went weeping about to the Maniples, calling the souldiers, and beseeching the not to leave and for sake him, nor yet Pompey their Generall, that was absent : nor to deliver them over to the crueltie of their adversaries. Presently there-upon, agreat concourse of souldiers was about the Pratory, requiring that every man might take an oath; not to abandon or betray the Army or their Generalls, nor yet to enter into private confultation thereof incomination without confent of the rest. He himselfe first tooke an oath to this essect, & cau-Sed Afranius to take the same. The Tribunes of the Souldiers and Centurions, Source of Sound Source of the Souldiers and Centurions,

followed in order: and after them, the fouldiers were brought out according to cadant. Lucan. lib. 4. their Centuries, and were sworne the same oath.

They caused it also to be proclaimed, that who so ever had any of Casars souldiers, should cause them to be brought out; and beeing brought foorth, they slew them publiquely before the Pratorian Paullion: But most men concealed such as were with them, and in the night time, sent them out over the Rampier. Whereby it came to passe, that the terrour where-with the Generalls had assrighted the, the cruelty shey had shewed in punishment, together with the vaine religion of the new oath, had taken away all hope of yeelding for the present: and quite

changing the fouldiers mindes, had reduced the matter to the former course of Casar, for his part, caused diligent inquiry to bee made, of such souldiers as

came into his Campe during the time of the treaty, and fent them away in safety. But of the Tribunes of the Souldiers and Centurions, many of their voluntarie beliefux cause accordremained with him: whom afterwards he held in great honour; and aduaunced the Centurions, and such Romaine Knights as were of the better ranke, to the place and dignity of Tribunes.

The Afranians were forely laid vato in their forraging, and watered likewife with great difficultie. Many of the legionarie fouldiers had store of Corne, beeing commaunded to take provision with them from Ilerda for twenty two daies: But the Buckler-bearers, and Auxiliary forces, had none at all, having also but small meanes to prouide and furnish themselues; for which cause, a great number fledde daily to Cafar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Hat euery man is the maker of his owne fortune, is euidently feene in the seuerall cariages of these two Generalls. For, Afranius gaue way to the souldiers treatie, and resoluted to suffer whatsoeuer that transaction should cast vpon him. But Petreius, opposing himselse

to their defires, raifed new troubles, had further defignes, and another fortune. Wherein, for almuch as the euent of things rifeth according as they are first directed, either by weake or strong resolutions; it better suteth the temper of a fouldier (howfoeuer the successe fall out with our desires) rather to be stiffe in what he wishesth; then to make his owne calines, the ready meanes of his aduerfaries happinefs.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Retue at all times hath had this priviledge in the difference & degrees of State and Condition, to make a Noble mans word, equal to a Common mans oath: but the integritie of former ages, had a more generall prerogatiue, anouching euery mans promife for the strictnesse of an oath. Hence it was, that the Romaines, vpon their inrollement for a war, gaue but their promise to the Tribune of the souldiers, to keepe such ordinances as their Militia required: vntill at length, that the corruption of time (fallifying the simplicitie & truth of words) did inforce them to give an

oath, as the fureft bond of faith and obedience: as it is noted by Liuie at large; The fouldiers (faith hee) which was neuer before that time practifed, were fworne by the Tribunes, to appeare vpon fummons from the Confuls, and not to depart without leaue. For, vntill then, there was nothing required of them but a solemne promise (which the horsemen made by their Decuries, and the foote troops by their Centuries) not to leave their Colours by flight, or through feare, nor to forfake their rank, vnlesse it were either to affault an enemie, to take vp an offenfine weapon, or to fane a Cittizen; & being at first but the offer of a free mind, was now by the Tribunes required by obligation of an oath.

The forme of this oath was diverfly varied, as appeareth by Aul. Gel. and more specially in the times of the Emperours : for, Caligula made this additionto the fouldiers oath; That they should hold neither their lines nor their children, dearer vnto them then the Emperour Caius and his fifters. Concerning the respect had of this Militarie oath, that which Tully reporteth of Cato is of excellent note. * Popilius, having charge of the Province of Macedonia, had (amongst other Romaine youthes) Catos fon, a young fouldier in his Armie; and being occasioned to dismiss a legion, discharged likewise young Cato, being one of that legion : but he, defirous to beare Armes in that war, continued still in the Armie; wherevpon, Cato writ from Rome to Popilius, requiring him, that if he fuffered his sonne to remaine in that warre, hee would by any meanes fweare him againe: for, beeing discharged of his first oath, hee could not lawfullie fight against the Enemy.

Lib. 16.cap, 4.

inno Vrb. coc

5 3 8. Nullŭ vinculŭ

ad aftringenda

fide, iureiuran do arctius effe

potest. Lib. 22

Lib. 1. offic. M. Pompil

HE matter beeing in this extreamity; of two meanes which were left unto them, it was thought the readier and more expedient, to returne to Ilerda. For having left there behind the a little Corne, they hoped to take some good course for the sequell. Tarraco was further off, & thereby subject to more casualties concerning their passage. In regard whereof they

Euerfince Constantine the great, the fouldiers were swome by a Christian oath, as Vegetius noteth, to obey all things the Emperour should commaund them; not to leave their warfare without licence, nor to thun death for the fernice of the Publique weale. And arthis day, amongst other Nations, an oath

is given to the fouldier vpon his involement, to this effect; Well and lawfully to ferue the King, towards all men, and against all, without exception of perfons. And if they knowe any thing concerning his feruice, to reueale the fame incontinentlie; not to leave their Colours, without leave either of the Generall, or his Lieutenant.

The auncient Romaines did charge their folemne and publique oathes, with many ceremonies: as appeareth by that form which was vied in ratifying Treaties & Transactions; Their Heraldskilled a hog, and cried out withall; that the like would happen to him that first falsified his faith.

Polybius reporteth, that he that read the oath wherby the Romains & Carthaginians swate their accord, had the haire of his head tied up in an extraordinary manner: The parties invocating their lupiter, so grant all prosperitie to him, that without fraud or deceit did enter into that agreement. But if (faid hee

that tooke the oath) I (hall either doe, or purpose otherwise; all the rest beeing fafe and found, let me alone (in the midft of the lawes and inflice of my Countrey, in my owne habitation and cwelling, and within my proper Temples and Sepulchers) perish most vnfortunarly, even as this stong flieth out of my hand: and (as he spake those words) cast away a stone.

I doe not find the vie of a Military oath in our Nation. Howbeit, the comon forme of our oath, is as ceremonious and fignificatine as any other whatfoeuer: which may be observed by the three parts it containeth, as I have seene them alligorized in some Antiquities. For, first, the booke beeing alwaies a part of holie writ, implieth a renunciation of all the promifes therein contained. Secondly, the touching it with our handes, inferreth the like defiance of our works, neuer to be fuccesfull or helping vnto vs. Thirdly, the kifsing of the booke, importeth a vaine misspending of our vowes and praiers, if wee fallifie any thing thereby averred.

CHAP. XXV.

The endeuour which Afranius vsed to returne to flerda; but failed in his designe.



Euer

Cafar.

resolued

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

resolued of their former course, and so distodged themselves. Cafar, having fent his Caualrie before, to incumber and retard the reare-

guard, followed after (him(elfe) with the legions. The hindmost troopes of their Armie, were constrained (without any intermission of time) to fight with our hor femen. And their manner of fight was thus Certaine expedite Cohorts, free of cariages, marched in the reare of their Army, and in open and champaine places, many of these Cohorts made a stand, to confront our Caualrie. If they were to ascend up a Hill, the nature of the place did easily repell the danger wher with they were threatned for a smuch as such as went before, might easily from the higher ground, protect them that followed after : but, when they came to a valley or descent, that those that were in the former rankes, could not helpe them in the reare; the hor femen from the upper ground, did cast their weapons with great ease and facility upon the Enemy. And then cotinually they were in great hazard and danger: and fill as they approched neere unto such places, they called to the legions, and willed them to make a stand with their Ensignes, and so by great force and violence, expelled our Caualrie.

Who beeing retired backe, they would suddainly take a running, and get all downeinto the valley. And presently againe, beeing to ascende into higher ground, they would there make a stand : for, they were so farre from having help of their owne Caualry (whereof they had great number) that they were gladde to take them beeweene their troopes, (being much affrighted with former incounters) and so to shelter and protect them: of whom, if any chaunced (upon occasion) to stray aside out of the rout the Army held, they were presently attached

by Cafars hor femen: --The fight continuing in this manner, they proceeded slowely on their way and advaunced forward but by little and little; and oftentimes, flood still to succour and relieue their party, as then it fell out. For, having gone but foure miles on their way (beeing very hardly laide to, and much preffed by our Caualrie) they tooke to an exceeding high hill; and there putting them selues into one front of a battell, fortified their Campe, keeping their carriages laden upon their horses. As soone as they perceived that Casars Campe was sette, and that the tents were vp, and their horses put to grasse; they rose suddainly about mid-day, vpon hope of some respite, by reason of our horse put out to feeding, and went on their

Which Cafar perceiuing, rose and followed after, leaving a fewe Cohorts to keepe the carrages: and about the tenth houre, commaunding the forragers and horsemen to be called backe, and to follow after; Instantly the Caualrie returned, and betooke them selves to their accustomed charge.

The fight was very sharpe in the reare, in somuch as they were ready to turne their backes. Many souldiers, and some of the Centurions were staine. Casars troopes preaced hard upon them, and threatned the overthrowe of their whole Armie ; infomuch, as they had neither meanes to choose a fit place to incampe in, nor to proceede forward in their march. Whereby they were necessarilie inforced to make a stande, and to pitch their Campe farre from any water, in an onequalland disaduantageous place: but Casar forbare to meddte with them,

for the same reasons that have been formerly declared : and for that day, would not suffer the souldiers to set up their Tents, that they might bee the readier to folow after, at what time soener by night or by day they shold offer to break away. The Enemy, having observed the defect of our Campe, imploied all that night

in aduancing their workes, and in casting their Camp with an opposite front to our Armie. The like they did all the next day; but so it fell out; that by how much their Campe was brought further on, and the fortification grew neerer to finishing, by so much further off they were from water: and so remedied one euil with a worse mischiefe. The first night, none of them went out of their Camp to fetch water: and the next day, they led out all their troopes together to water, but sent no man out to forrage. Whereby Casar, finding them oppressed with manie inconveniences, chose rather to force them to a composition, then to fight with them.

THE OBSERVATION

N this troublesome and confused retreit, which these Commaun-

ders undertooke, to regaine the aduantages that formerly they had quitted at Herda, we may observe the difficulties attending a weaker partie, when they would free themselves from the pressures of a strong confronting enemie. For, the frailetie of humane fortune, is alwaics for yoaked with incomberances, and hath so many lets from the native weaknesfes of it owne indeuour; that if the opposition of forraine malice, shall therewithall vnhappilie concurre, to stoppe the current of our defires, there is little hope of better successe, then that which the ordinarie condition of extreamitie doth afford: which is, to hazard the perill of a wound, in feeking to avoide the smart of a rodde; and to fall into Scylla, vpon a desire wee have to shunne Incidit in Scyl-Charybdis, according as it befell this partie. Wherein let vs further note the lam, cupiens re aduantage which a Commaunder hath, either to take or leaue, when he is able | tare Charybdim. to ouer-maister the Enemie in Canalrie: for, the horsmen, seruing an Armie Roiall, by making discourries, by forraging, by giving rescue your a sudden, by dooing execution, and retarding an Enemy in his march, if (ouer-awed by the Caualty of the Enemy) they cannot performethele feruices as is requifite; the contrary partie is the stronger by so many aduantages.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæfar went about to inclose the Enemy, and he to hinder (afar.



Howbeit, Casar laboured to inclose them about with a ditch and a rampier, to the end he might with better ease hinder their suddaine (allies and eruptions, to which he thought the Enemy would necessarily betake themselves.

Cæfar.

Hora očlava, Jigno dato.

Tela tene iam miles, ait; ferrit que ruenti subtrahe, non villo consiste mihi sanquine bellü vincitus haud gratis ingulo qui
pronocat hosem ibo a.

The Enemy beeing straightned for want of forrage, and to the end also they might be the readier to escape away, caused all their horses of carriage to be killed: and in these workes and consultations were two daies spent. The third day, a great part of Casars workes being already perfected, the enemy (to hinder the business intended, concerning the fortifications) about two of the clocke in the afternoone, made the Alarum, brought out the legions, and imbattelled themselues under their Campe. Casar calleth back the legions from their worke; and commaunding all his herse to troope together, putteth his Army in battell. For, having made such a shew of unwillingness to buckle with the enemy, against the will of the fouldier and opinion of all men, he found him felfe subject thereupon to much inconvenience : howbeit, he was refolved (for the reasons already specified) not to strike a battell; and the rather at this time, for that the space betweene his Campe and the enemies, was so little, that if he had put the to flight, it could not have much availed him, for the gaining of a perfect and absolute victorie. For their Campes were not about 2000 foote a funder; whereof the Armies tooke up two parts, and the third was left for incursion and assault. So that if bee had given battell in that neereness of the Campe, they would have found a speedy retreit opon their overthrow. For which cause, hee resolved to stand open his defence, and not to give the onset and charge them first.

Afranius had put his Army in a double battell: the first, confissing of fiue legions; and the Auxiliary cohorts, which vsually served in the winges, were now

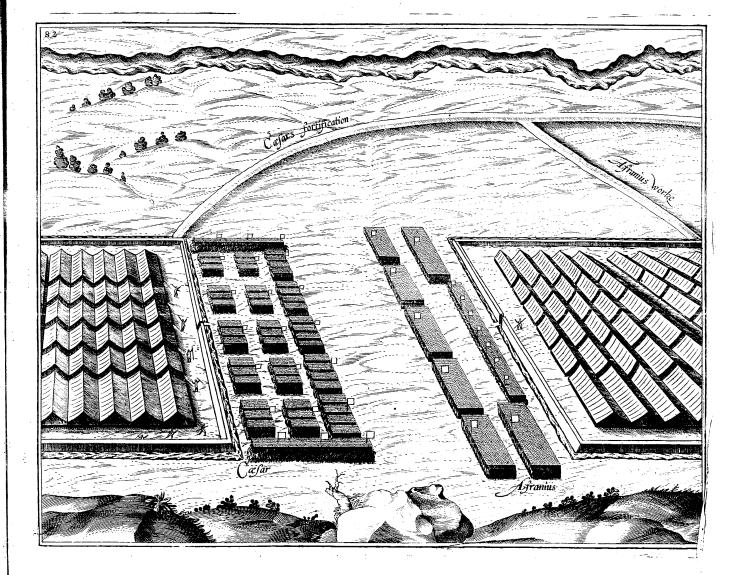
placed for succours, and made the second battell.

Casars Armie was ordered in a triple battell; the first was of foure cohorts, a pecce of the fue legions: the second, of three; and the third againe of three of each legion, following in order. The Archers and Slingers were in the midst, the Caualrie on the sides. Beeing thus both imbattelled, they seemed to obtaine their seuerallends; Casar, not to fight unlesse he were forced to it: and the Enemy, to hinder Casars fortification. But the matter beeing drawen out in length, they shood imbattelled untill sunne setting: and then returned both into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ontra opinionem enim militum, famamque omnium videri pralio diffugiife; magnü detrimentü afferebat, saith the historie. Whence we may obserue two points; First, that a Commaunder in striking a field, must partly be directed by his Atmie: for, he may neither sight against the liking of the souldier, nor with-hold them fro sighting when they are willing to imbrace it, if other circumstances doe indifferentile concurre there-withall. For, when men are comaunded to doe what they would doe, the matter is throughlie vndertaken; and the issue is commonlie answerable to the readiness of their desires: but, being restrained in their affections, and put besides their aptness of their voluntarie disposition, there groweth

It is hard catching Hares with vuwilling houndes.



fuch a contrarietie betweene the Generalls order, and the fouldiers obedience, as will hardly sympathise to beget good fortune.

And if a Leader of that fame and opinion, and so well knowne to his Army as Cæsar was, grew into distaste with his souldiers, vpon so good causes which | Cateris mortahe had to shunne a battell; what hazard that Commaunder runneth into, who fildome or neuer gaue argument of his resolution in this kind, may be conceionfilia quid fiued by this passage. The second thing which I note, is, that a Generall must learne especiallie to disguise his intendements, by making shew of that which werfa fors eft. he meaneth not. For, albeit the more judicious fort of men are not fo well fatisfied with pretences as with deedes: yet for almuch as the condition of Prinrrigenda. Taces, contrary to the manner of prinate persons, requireth such a direction of bulinels, as may rather fute with fame and opinion, then with particular ends; it behooueth them to vie fuch gloffes, as may take away all petulant and finither interpretations, howfocuer their courfes may aime at other purpofes, And certainely, the generalitie of people, are better paid with apparances then with he early male truth; according as Machauell hath observed. But concerning Cæsar, that revoltessimuswhich Ephicrates faid of himself, having imbattelled his Army to fight; That cofe the paiono he feared nothing more, then that his enemie knew not his valour: may more the per quelle properlie be said heere. For, there was nothing abused the Enemy more, or de fono. Lib. 1 made them take up so many Brauados, or vse so much delay before they came land, 25, to composition, but that they knew not Cæsar. For, as the Eagle is able to Omnis aier A-

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

led, to make way through all refiffance.

hortes.obtinebant.

mountaloft, in all seasons and temperatures of the ayre; so was his sword see-

N the next place, the manner of their imbattelling commeth to be Their manner observed: which generally in all Editions runneth thus; Acies er at of imbattelling of ifraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidifys locum alaria cohortis obtinebat: Cas faris triplex sed primam aciem quaterna cohortes ex V. legione tenebant. Has subsidiaria, terna, et rursus alia totidem sua cuiusque legionis subsequebantur : sagittary funditoresq; media cotinebantur acie equitatus latera cingebat: And needeth the helpe of some excellent Criticke, to make it have answerable sense to the other parts of this historie. For first, how shall we understand those wordes, Acies Afraniana duplex, legio V. et 111. in fublidiis? Shall we take the meaning to be, that the first legion stood in front, and the other flood for fuccours behind? Or shall we take it with Faernus; Acies Afraniana duplex : ex legione prima, et tertia, in subsidys locum alaria cohortes obtinebant? But neither by the one, or by the other, is there found more then two legions: whereas there is expresse mention of fine, besides the cohorts of the Countrey. And therefore, as not knowing other more probable, I haue translated it according to Lipsius correction, and made the text thus; Acies erat Afraniana duplex legionum quinque : et in subsidys locum alaria co-

The

The first battell consisted of fine legions; and the second, of the Spanish and Auxiliarie forces. The like helpe must be sent to Cæsar; for, otherwise, the text doth affoord him but few cohorts: standing thus, Primam aciem quaterna cohortes, ex quinta legione, tenebant. Has terna, et rur sus alia Ge. For, vndoubtedly, Casar had fine legions equall to Afranius; but, being farre inferior vnto him in Auxiliarie troopes, was driven to a more artificiall division, to helpe his weakeness in that point. And therefore, as the same Critick hath mended it, we are to read, Quaterna cohortes ex quinque legionibus: vvhich

bringeth forth this fense; In the first battell were fine times foure cohorts; in the second, fluetimes three cohorts, and as many in the third battell. And by the addition of fua cuius que legionis, it appeareth, that every legion was so diuided into three parts, that it had four cohorts in the first battell, three in the fecond, and three in the laft.

Concerning the space which their Armies imbattelled tookevp, it appeareth, that the whole distance betweene their Campes, contained two thoufand foote; whereof either Armie tooke vp one third, beeing 666 foote, III pales, a little more then a furlong: but that altered more or leffe, as place and occasion required.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Treatie of Peace.

Cafar.



HE next day, Casar went about to finish and end the fortification which he had begun; and the Enemy, to try whether they might find a foord in the River Sicoris, and so get over. Which beeing perceived, Casar caried over the light armed Germanes, and part of the Caualrie, and disposed them in guard along the River banke. At length, beeing besieged &

thut up on all sides, and having kept their horses without meate foure daies together, besides their extreame want of water, wood and corne, they required parlee: and that (if it might be) in some place out of the presence of the souldier. Which Cafar denied, unleffe it were in publique. Wherevpon, Afranius his sonne was given in hostage to Casar; and so they presented themselves in a place of Cafars appointing.

And in the hearing of both the Armies, Afranius spake to this effect; That he was not to be offended, neither with them nor with the fouldier, for beeing faithfull and obedient to the Generall Cn. Pompeius; but now, having made sufficient proofe of their dutie, they had also throughly suffered for the same, hauing indured the extreamitie of want in all necessarie provisions: Insomuch as now they were shut vp as women, kept from water, kept from going out, opprest with a greater waight of griefe inbodie, and of dishonor in their reputation, then they were able to beare: and therefore did confesse themselves to be vanquished and overcome: praying and befeeching, that if there were any mercy left, they might not undergoe the extreamity of Fortune. And this hee delinered as humbly and demissively as was possible.

At nunc fola mihi est orande ausa salutis, asarte credere

To which, Casar answered; That these tearmes of complaint and compassion, signif donanda could be vied to no man more unproperly then himselfe for where-as every man elfe did his duty; he onely, upon fit conditions of time and place, refused to fight with them, to the end all circumstances might concurre to a peace: Albeit his Army had suffered much wrong in the death and slaughter of their fellowes; yet he had kept and preserved such of their party as were in his power, and came of their owne accord to move a peace. Wherein they thought, they went about to procure the lafety of all their fellowes: so that the whole course of his proceeaing with them consisted of clemency. Howbeit, the Commaunders themselves. abhorred the name of Peace. O had not kept the lawes either of treatie or truce: For, they had caused many simple men to be massacred and staine, that were deceived by a shem of treaty. And therefore it had befallen them, as it happeneth for the most part to peruerse and arrogant persons to seeke and earnestly to deure that which a little before they had foolifbly contemned.

Neither would he take the advantage of this their submission, or of any other opportunitie of time, either to augment his power, or to strengthen his partie: but he onely required, that those Armies might be discharged, which for many yeeres together had been maintained against him. For, neither were those sixe Legions for any other cause sent into Spaine nor the seauenthinrolled there nor so many and so great Nauies prepared, nor such experienced and skilfull Commaunders selected and appointed (for none of these needed to keepe Spaine in quiet) nothing heereof was prepared for the vie and behoofe of the Province. which (by reason of their long continuance of peace) needed not any such asistance. All these thinges overe long agoe provided in a readinesse against him: Nevv formes of government were made and ordained against him; That one and the same man, should be refiant at the gates of Rome, have the vuhole superintendencie and direction of the Cittie business: and yet notwithstanding, hold two warlike Prouinces for so many yeeres together, being absent from both of them.

Against him, and for his ruine, were changed the ancient Rights and Cu slomes of Magistracie, in sending men at the end of their Pretorship or Consul-(hip, to the government of Provinces, as was alwaies accustomed; but in lieu of them, were chosen some that were allowed & authorised by a few. Against him the prerogative of age did nothing prevaile: but, who soever they were that in former warres had made good proofe of their valour, were now called out to comaund Armies. To him onely was denied, that which was granted to all other Generalls; that when they had happily brought thinges to an end, they might dismisse their Armie, and returne home with honour, or at the least, voithout dishonour.

All which things, hee notwithstanding both had and would suffer patientlie; neither did he now goe about to take their Army from them, and retaine them in pay for himselfe, which hee might easily doe: but that they should not have

meanes to make head against him. And therefore, as it was said before, they Should goe out of the Provinces, and discharge their Army; if they did so, hee would hurt no man: But that was the onely and last meanes of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

Multa, que no stra causa nun guă faceremus acimus caula micorum. Cice ro Lalius.

Qui vincuntur

victam habent

linguam. Plu.

Here is not any one vertue, that can chalenge a greater measure of honour, or hath more prerogative either amongst friends or ene-mies, then sidelitie. For which cause it is, that men are more strict in matters committed to their trust, for the behoofe of others, then

they can well be, if the fame things concerned themselves. And yet nevertheleffe, there is a Quaterius in all indeuours, and feemeth to be limited with fuch apparencie, as true affection may make of a good meaning: & was the ground which Afranius tooke to moue Calar for a pardon; Non effe aut ipfis aut militibus succensendum, quod fidemerga Imperatorem Cn. Pompeium conservare voluerint; sed satis iam fecisse officio, satisque supplici tulisse. Ge. which hee delinered in aftile futing his fortune. For as Cominæus hath observed; Men in feare, give reverent and humble words and the tongue is ever conditioned to be the chiefest witness of our fortune.

On the other fide, Cæsar produced nothing for his part, but such wrongs as might feeme valuable to make good those courses which he prosecuted: as first, injuries done by them, and that in the highest degree of blame against his fouldiers, that went but to feeke for peace. Injuries done by their Generall, in fuch a fashion, as spared not to evert the fundamentall rights of the State, to bring him to ruine and confusion. Whereby hee was moued to indeuour that, which Nature tieth enery man vnto, Propellere injuriam: and having brought it to these tearmes wherein it now stood, he would give affurance to the world, by the reuenge he there tooke, that hee entered into that warre for this onelie end, that he might live in peace : and fo required no more but that the Armie should be dismissed.

Bellii ita suscip atur vt nihil lind, nift pax, quesita videatur. Cice. lib. de offici.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The execution of the Articles agreed vpon.



oca HE conditions propounded, were most acceptable & pleafing to the souldiers; as might appeare by them: for beeing in the condition of vanquilbed persons, and there upon exin the condition of various persons, and thereopen ex-petting a hard measure of Fortune; to be rewarded with libertie, & exemption of Armes, was more then they could expect: insomuch, as where there grew a controverse of A the time and place of their dismission, they all generally

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

standing upon the rampier, signified both by their speeches and by their handes, that their desire was it might be done instantly; for, it could not bee provided by any assurance, that it would continue firme, if it were deferred untill another time. After some dispute on each side the matter was in the end brought to this issue; that such as had houses of possessions in Spaine, should be discharged prefently, and therest at the River Varus. It was conditioned, that no man should Varus fluving. be iniuried, that no man should be forced against his wil, to be sworne under Ca-

Cars commaund. Cafar promised to furnish the with Corne, untill they came to the river Varus: adding withal, that what soeuer any one had lost in the time of the warre, which shold be found with any of his souldiers, shold be restored to such as lost it or if it were not to be had he paid the value therof in mony. If any cotrouer se afterward grew among St the fouldiers, Petreius & Afranius of their owne accord brought the matter from time to time before Cafar. As, when the Souldiers grew almost into a mutiny for want of pay, the Comaunders affirming the pay day was not yet come, it was required that Cafar might understand the saule, and both parties were contented with his arbitrement.

At the d part of the Army beeing dismissed in those two daies, hee commaunded two legions to march before their Army, and the rest to follow after, and continually to incampe themselves not farre from them: and appointed Q. Fusius Calenus, a Legate, to take the charge of that business. This course beeing taken, they marched out of Spaine to the River Varus, and there dismissed the rest of their Armie.

OBSERVATIONS.

HE Riuer Varus diuideth Gallia Narbonenfis, from Italie; and was thought an indifferent place to discharge the Armie, wherby there might be an end made of that warre. Wherein if any man defire to fee a parallell drawne, betweene Cælar and the other Leaders for matter of warre, it shall suffice to take the issue for a square of their directions; Rerum ab euch beeing drawneto this head within fortie daies after Caefar came within fight of dapates. the Enemy, as Curio noteth in his speech to the souldiers.

Cato, seeing the prosperous successe of Casar against Pompey, said there was a great vicertaintie in the government of their Gods: Alluding peraduenture to that of Plato in his Politickes, where hee faith; that there are ages, wherein the Gods doe gouerne the world in their owne persons: and there are other times, wherein they altogether neglect the fame; theworld taking a course quite contratie to that which the Gods directed. But Lucan spake from a furer ground, where hee faith;

Victrix causa Dis placuit; sed victa Catoni. And thus endeth the first Commentarie.

THE

THE SECOND COMMENTA-

rie of the Ciuill Warres. (\cdot,\cdot)

THE ARGUMENT.



His Commentarie hath three speciall parts; The first, containing the fiege of Marfelleis: the strange vvorks, and extreame indeauours to take and to keepe the Towne. The second expressers the vaine labour which Varro, Pompeies Lieutenant, vndertooke, after that Afranius and Pe-

treius were defeated, to keepe the Prouince of Andolozia out of Cæsars power and commaund. And the third part consisteth of the expedition Curio made into Affrica; and endeth with his ouerthrowe.

CHAP. I.

The preparations for the fiege, aswell within as without the Towne.



Mount of fourescore foote high.

Hilst these things were dooing in Spaine, C. Trebonius the Legate, beeing left to besiege Marselleis, had begunnein two places to raife Mounts, to make Man-

Cafar.

tilets and Towres against the Towne: One, next unto the Port where the Shippes lay, and the other, in the voay leading from Gallia and Spaine into the towne, tuit open the creeke of the fea, neere onto the mouth of the Rhone. For, three parts of Marselleis are in a manner washed with the sea: and the fourth is that which giveth passage by land; whereof that part which belongeth to the Castle (by reason of the nature of the place, fortified with a deepe ditch) would require a long and difficult siege. For the perfecting of those workes, Trebonius had comaunded out of all the Province, great store of horses for carriage, and a multitude of men; requiring them to bring rods to make Hurdles, and other materi-

alls for the worke : n hich beeing prepared and brought together, hee raifed a

Porticus

Agger Testuw.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

But such was the provision, which of ancient time they had stored up in the towne, of all equipage and necessaries for the warre, with such provision of munition and engines, that no Hurdles made of roddes or Ofiers, were able to beare out the force thereof. For, out of their great Balista, they shot beames of twelue footelong, pointed with Iron, with such force, as they would pearce through foure courses of Hurdles, and sticke in the earth. Whereby they were forced to roofe their Gallery, with timber of a foote square, and to bring matter that way by hand. To make the * Mount, a Testudo of sixtie foote in length was alvoaies carried before, for the levelling of the ground, made of mighty frong timber, couered and armed with all things which might defend it from stones, or what else should be cast oponit. But the greatness of the worke, the height of the wall, together with the multitude of Engins, did retard and kinder the proceeding

thereof. Moreover, the Albici did make often fallies out of the towne, setting fire to the mounts and to the turress; which were kept by our fouldiers with great facilitie and eafe, forcing fuch as salied out so returne with great losse.

OBSERVATIONS.

Auing described in the former Commentaries these Engines & workes heere mentioned, the Reader may please (for his better fatisfaction) to review those places; as also further to note, that the word Artilery, was brought downe to these ages from the vie of ancient Engins, which confifted of those two primitines,

Arcum and Telum. And, according as diversitie of Art & wit found meanes to fit these to vie and occasions, so had they scuerall and distinct names; wherof I find chiefely thefe, Balift a, Catapult a, Tolenones, Scorpiones, Onagri: Of each of which, there are divers and severall forts; as first, of the Balista, some were called Centenaria: others, Talentaria, according to the weight of the bullet or weapon they (hot. Of the rate and proportion whereof, Vitruuius, and his learned interpreter Daniel Barbarus, haue made accurate description. Againe, some were made to shoote stones: as appeareth by that of Tacitus, Magnitudine eximia, quartadecima legionis Balista ingentibus saxis hostilemaciem proruebat; and others, to shoote dartes and piles of timber, headed with Iron; as is manifested by this place. Moreover, the maner of bending of these Engines made a difference, somebeing drawnevp with a wrinch or scrue, and fome with a wheele, fome having long armes, and others having (hort : but the ftrings were generally either all of finowes or of womens haire, as ftrongest & furest of any other kind. Of these, Vegetius preferreth the Balista, and the Onagri, as vnrefistable when they were skilfully handled. The word onagri, as Amianus Marcellinus noteth, was of a later stampe, and imposed vpon those Engines which former time called Scorpiones; and was taken from the nature of wilde Asses, that are said to cast stones backward with their seete at the Hunters, with fuch violence, that oftentimes they dashed our their braines.

Artilery detiued from A cus and Telun

Lib. 3. Hifto. Balifta Petraria

Lib. 4. cap. 29

In the time of Barbarilme, all these Engines were generally called Mangonella: as appeareth by Viginierus, in his Annotations vpo Onosander. Which is likewife thewed, by that which Maister Camden hath inserted in the description of Bedfordshire, concerning the siege of Bedford Castle, in the time of Henry the third, out of an Authour that was present; Ex parte orientali fuit v- And of Manna Petraria, et duo Mangonella, qua quotidie turrim infestabant: et ex parte (tere or breacccidentis duo Mangonella, que turrim veterem contriuerunt, et vnum Mango-nellum ex parte Australi, & e. But out powder having blowne all these out of word Mangle-word Manglevie, it were to no purpofe to infift longer upon them.

Cafar.

Messina.

CHAP. II.

The Marsellians prepare themselues for a Sea-sight.



N the meane time, L. Nasidius beeing sent by Cn. Pompeius with a Nauie of sixteene shippes (among st which, some feve had their beake-head of Iron) to the succour and supply of L. Domitius and the Mar (ellians, he paffed the straights of Sicilie before Curio had intelligence thereof: and putting into

Messana, by reason of the suddaine terrour of the principall men, and the Senate that tooke themselves to slight, he surprised one Ship in the road and caried her away, and so held on his course to Marsellies. And, having lent a small Barke before, he certified Domitius and the rest, of his comming; exhorting them by all meanes, that toyning their forces with his supplies, they would

once againe give fight to Brutus Nauie.

neither Oare-men, Mariners, Sailers, nor Pilots, fit for that purpofe. To thefe

The Mar (ellians, fince their former overthrowe, had taken the like number of Chippes out of their Arcenall, and new rigged and trimmed them, and with great industrie furnished and manned them for that service: for they wanted

they added certaine Fisher-boates, and fenced them with fights and coverings. that the Oare-men might be safe from casting weapons; and these he filled with Archers and Engines. The Nauie beeing thus furnished and prepared, the Marsellians (incited and stirred up with the prayers and teares of old men, voomen and maides, to give help and defence to their Cittie in time of extreame danger; and to fight with no leffe courage and confidence then formerly they had accustomed) went all aboard with great courage, as it commeth to paffe through the common fault of Nature ; whereby we put more confidence in things on seene and unknowne, or otherwise are more troubled thereat: according as it then happened. For the comming of Nasidius had filled the Citty full of assured hope and courage: and ther vpon having a good wind they left the Port. O came of found Nasidius at Taurenta (a Castle belonging to the Marsellians) & there fitted theselues for a fight; incouraging each other againe, to a valiant cariage of that seruice, and consulting how it might be best performed.

Tolous.

The

Arles.

The right squadron was given to the Marsellians, and the left to Nasiaus. And to the place repaired Brutus, having increased the number of his Shippes: for these fixe which he tooke from the Marsellians, he had added unto the other which Cafar had caused to be made at Arleata, and had mended them since the last fight, and sitted them with all necessaries for men of warre. And therevpon, exhorting his fouldiers to contemne the Enemy, as a vanquished partie, having already foiled and overthrowne them when they were in their strength. they fet forward against them with great a surance.

Out of the Campe of C. Trebonius, & from all those higher places they might easily perceive and see in the Cittie, how all the youth which remained in the towne, and all the aged, with their wives and children, did from the publique places of guard, and from the towne walles, stretch out their handes towards heauen: or otherwise runne to their Churches and Temples; and there prostrating themselues before their Images, did desire victorie of their Gods. Neither was there any of them all that did not thinke, the event of all their fortunes to conf. st in that daies service: for, the chiefest of all their ablemen, and the best of all forts and degrees, were by name colled out, and intreated to goe aboard to the end if any difaster or mischaunce should happen, they might see nothing further to be indeauoured for their safetie; and if they overcame, they might rest in hope to faue their Cittie, either by their owne valour or by forraine helpe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Ommunifit vitionatura, ve invifis, latitantibus, atqueincognitis rebus, magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur, vt tum accidit. In cases of hazard, things brought vnto vs by report, doe more abuseour judgement, either in conceiuing too great hopes, or yeelding too much to diffrust, then any matter present can moone or inforce: for, these perturbations attending vpon our will, are inlarged more according to the qualitie of our defires, then as they are directed by discourse

of reason; and so draw men either easily to believe what their wishes doe require, or otherwise to reiect all as vtterly lost.

The vicertaintie whereof, and the disappointment ensuing those deceivable apprehensions, hath brought the hope of this life into very slight account, beeing reckoned but as the dreame of him that is awake; and as Pia fraus, or a charitable delution, to support vs through the hard chaunces of this world, and to keepe mans hart from breaking: for, enery mans helpe is hope; which neuer affordeth present reliefe, but affwageth the bitternesse of extreamities, by Dabit Deus his quoque finem.

Quod maximè volunt, id facilè credunt.

Virgil. lib. 2. Aenead.

CHAP.

93

CHAP. III.

The fight, and the Marsellians ouerthrowe.

DO CAGAS HE fight beeing begun, the Marfellians were wanting in no point of valour: but bearing in mind such exhortation as a little before had beene given the by their friends, they

as a ususce of ore count occurs grown and the fight afought so resolutely as though they meant not to fight alimit shawner to miscavie in that

gaine; or as if any one should chaunce to miscarie in that battell, he should make account that he did but anticipate for a small moment of time, the fatall end of his fellow Cittizens, who vpontaking of the towne, were to under goe the same fortune of warre. Our Shippes putting on by little and little, were glad to give may to the

nimbleness and mobility of their shipping, which by the skill of their Pilots were well managed. And if it happened that our men had found meanes to grapple with any of their shippes, they presently came on all sides to their reskew. Neither did the Albici shew themselves backward when the matter came to hands, or were they inferiour to our men in courage or valour. Moreover, out of the

leffer Ships were cast infinite numbers of darts, and other weapons, wher-with our men busied in fight were suddainely wounded.

In this conflict, two of their Triremes, having spied Brutus shippe (which by her flagge might eafily be discerned) came violently against him from two contrary parts: but the danger being foreseene, Brutus did so prevaile through the [wiftnesse of his Ship, that he a little out-stript them; whereby they coming with their full swinge, did so encounter one another, that they were very much shaken with the blowe : for, the Beake-head of one beeing broken off, the water was ready to come in on all sides. Which beeing observed by some of Brutus partie that were neere about, they set upon them (beeing thus distressed) and quicklie sunke them both.

The Shippes that came with Nasidius, were found of no vse; for, there was not offered there unto them, either the fight of their Countrey, or the exhortations and praiers of their kinsfolkes and allies, as motiues to hazard their lines in that quarrell: (o that of them there was none wanting. Of the Ships that came out from Marfellies, fine were funke, and foure taken. One escaped with Nasidius fleet, which made towards the hither Spaine. One of them that remained, was fent befere to Marfellies; who comming as a meffenger before the rest, and approching neere unto the towne, all the multitude ran out to heare the newes: which beeing once knowne, there was such a generall mourning and desolation, as though the towne were instantly to be taken by the Enemy. Notwithstanding, they left not off to make ready such necessaries, as were requisite for defence of the same.

Nihil tam ca-

pa∝ fortuitorŭ quàm Mare.

Tacit. 14. A

King of Al-

giers in the

time of Soli-

OBSERVATIONS.

His was the fecond fight the Marfellians made, to keep the fea open for the ayde and reliefe of the Towne; beeing otherwise straightlie befreged by land, and yet not fo tenderly cared as their flutting vp by fea: the free paffage whereof, brought in all their profit in time

of peace, and their fuccours in times of warre; for which regard it was, that they commended to their gods, the successe of that enterprise, with as much

denotion, asteares, vowes and prayers could expresse. The benefit a Towne befreged receiveth from an open inlet by fea, cannot

be better manifested, then by the siege of Oastend; for, by that occasion specially, it indured the most famous siege that was in Christendome these many yeeres. This L. Nassidius, was rather a constant friend to the cause, then a fortunate Admirall: for afterwards, herefuled not to take the like overthrow for Dio Cassius. Pompey the sonne, at Leucades, as hee did now for the father. And furely it falleth out (whither it be through the uncertainery of fea-faring matters, or that men haue fairer pretences at lea, to avoid occasions of hazard, then are found at land; or that Pauca digna na cuntur in Mari, according to the prouerbe, or for what other cause I knowe not) that there are few of those which fought honor in this kind, who have attained the least part of their defires. And verneuerthelesse, some there are of famous memorie: as * Barbarussa, a terrour of the Leuant feas: Andreas Auria, of Genua, renowned for his great exploits upon the Turke: together with diversiof our owne Nation; as namelie, Sir Francis Drake, who for skill and fortune at fea, is held matchable with anie other whatfocuer: Befides, M. Candith, for viages to the South, and Sir Martin Furbisher, for discoueries to the North.

Howbeit, these latter times have aduantage without comparison of former ages, through the inuention of the Sea compass with the needle: which was not found out little more then three hundred veres agoe, by one Flavus, borne in the kingdome of Naples; without which, no thippe can thape a course in the Ocean; and to which nothing can be added, more then to find a perfect & ready direction for longitudes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The workes which the legionarie Souldiers made against the Towne.

T was observed by the legionarie souldiers, that had the charge of the right part of the work, that it would much aduantage them against the often eruptions and sallies of the Enemy, if they built a towre of Bricke under the towne wall, in stead of a Hold or receptacle: which at first they made love and little, enely for the repelling of suddaine assaults. Thither they of ually retreited: and from thence, if they were over-charged, they made de-

fence, either by beating backe, or profecuting an Enemie. This towre was thirtie foote (quare, and the walles thereof five foote thicke: but afterwards (as ve and experience is the maister of all things) it was found by insight and industrie of men, that this towre might be of great vee, if it were raised to any height, and

was accordingly performed in this fashion.

When it was raised to the height of a storie, they so framed the stoore, that the ends of the loyftes did not little out beyond the sides of the towre; least any thing might be thrust out, on which the fire which the enemy should cast might take hold: and then paued that floore, with as much bricke as the Mantelets and Gabions would suffer to bee laid. Vpon this tarras thus made, they laide crosses beames along the sides, as a foundation to an upper storie, for the toppe and couering of the towre. And upon these beames they raised crosse timbers, thwarting each other for the sides of the towre, and coupled them at the top with side beames.

These crosse timbers were longer, and bare further out, then the square of the towre; that there might be meanes to fasten couerings and defences, against the blowes and dartes of the Enemy, whilst the workemen were finishing the walles and sides of that building. The toppe or upper storie of this towre, they likewise paued with bricke and clay, that no fire might fasten on it; and laid Matteresses on the toppe thereof, to the end the floore might not be broken, with any weapons (hot out of Engines nor the pauement shi wered in peeces with stones cast out of Catapults.

Moreover they made three nettings or mats of Hawfers, equall in length to the sides of the towre, and foure foote in breadth. And vpon those three sides which confronted the Enemie, they fastened them upon poles to hang before the towre: which kind of defence they had in other places tried to be of proofe, onot to be pearced with any weapon or engine. And as one part of the towre came to be covered, finished, and fortified, against any violence of the enemy, they caried

their Mantelets and defences to the rest unfinished. The top of which towre they framed upon the first storie, and then raised it up with wrinches or scrues, as farre as the close netting would serve them for a defence. And so covered with these shelters and safeguards, they built up the sides with bricke; and then againe scruing up the toppe higher, they fitted the place to build the sides higher: and as they came to the height of a story, they laid the toystes of the floore in such fort, as the ends thereof were hid and covered with the wall or sides that were of brick; and so from that story, they proceeded to another, by scruing up the top, and raifing their netting. By which meanes, they built very fafely fixe stories, without any wound or other danger at all; and left windowes and loopeholes in the sides, for the putting out of Engines in such places as they thought convenient. When by means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neere about it, they then made a Musculum or mouse of sixtie foote in length, & of two foote timber (quare, to conuay them (afely from this towre of Bricke, to another of the Enemies, and to the towne wall: wher of this was the forme; They out two side groundfils of equall length, and made the space betweene them to containe foure foote: vpon them they erected little columnes of fine foote high, and ioyned them together, putting braces of an easie sloping in such distances, as the rafters were to be placed to beare up the roofe; and upon those braces they laid rafters of two foote (quare, fastening them both at the ridge, and at the enings, with plates and bolts of Iron. They lathed the roofe with lath of foure fingers broad; and so the building beeing made with a gable ridge hand somly fashioned, the top was laid all oner with clay, to keepe the Monfe from burning; and then couered with tiles, which were fenced with leather, to the end they might not be weathed away with pipes or outters of water, which might bee laid to fall upon them. And least those hides should be spoiled, either with fire or great stones, they laid

Matteresses upon them. This worke being whollie finished neere unto the towre, through the help and meanes of defensive mantelets and gabions; suddenly before the enemy was aware, with a shippe-engine and rolers put under it, they brought it so neere a towre of the enemies, that it ioyned to the vvall thereof. The townesmen, beeing upon a fuddaine appalled thereat, brought the greatest stones they could get, and with leavers, tumbled them downe from the weall upon the moufe: but the strength of the worke did not shrinke at the blomes, and what soener fell vponit, stided downe the sloping of the roofe. Which when they perceived, they altered their purpose, and got pots of Rosin and Pitch, and setting them on fire, threw them downe opon the Mouse; which tumbling downe from the roofe, vvereremooned away with long hookes and poles. In the meane time, the fouldiers that were within the Mouse, pulled out the lower stones that were in the foundation of the towre. This Mouse or Mantilet, vvas defended by our men out of the bricke towre, with weapons and engines : and by meanes thereof, the Enemy voas put from the weall and the turrets, so that they could not well defend the same. Many of the stones beeing sapped out of the foundation of the towre, part thereof suddenly fell of the rest leaned, as though it would not stand long after.



Aulus Gellius.

OBSERVATIONS.

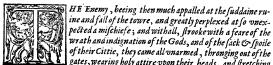
Orafmuch as it requireth the labour of an industrious penne to shadow out the effects of Industrie; I will onely produce the cuidence of these workes, to shew the power it hath in humane actions, ra-ther then by any maimed or shallow discourse, weaken the sorce of to great an Engine. VVherein, first it may be noted, how in these and the like attempting indeauours, one thing drawes on another, according as practife maketh ouerture to maisteries: For, our vinderstanding growing by degrees, hath no intuitine facultie to discerne perfection, but by little and little worketh

our exactness; making every Morrow, yetterdaies scholler, as reason findeth meanes of discourse from causes to effects, or from effects to causes. And so this Towre, made at first but for a retreit of defence a gaue occasion to let them fee the like, or better vie thereof in the offenfine part, if it were raifed to a height connenient for the fame: which they performed with as much

Are as the wit of man could vie in fuch a worke. For, having made the first storie, they then made the roofe, for the shelter and safetie of the souldier: and scruing it vp by little and little, they built the sides, having senced the open space with netting, for avoiding of danger; arming it with bricke and clay against fire, and with Matteresses against stones and waights. And then againe they proceeded to the making of that Mantilet or Musculum, which gaue them passage to the wall; building it with strong or rather strange timber, of two foore square, framed to artificially with braces, and tidging rafters, and those so fitted, as neither fire, water, weapon, nor weight, could preuaile against it. And thus they laboured to gaine their owne ends, and bought Fortune with

CHAP. V.

The Marsellians got a truce of the Romaines, and brake it deceitfully.



immeafurable indeauou.

HE Enemy, beeing then much appalled at the fuddaine ruine and fall of the towre, and greatly perplexed at fo vnexpetted a mischiefe; and withall, strooke with a feare of the

Cafar.

gates, wearing holy attire vpon their heads, and fretching infulis. out their submissive hands to the Legates and the Armie. Vpon which noueltie, all hostility ceassed for the time, o the souldiers with drawing themselves from the assault, were carried with a desire of hearing and under standing what would paffe at that time.

When

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

When they came to the Legates & to the Army, they cast themselues all downe at their feete, praying and befeeching that things might be suspended untill Casars arrivall. They saw plainely that their towne was already taken, their works were perfited, their owne towre demolished; and therefore they desisted from making any further defence: there could be no let to hinder them from present spoile and sacking, if upon Casars arrivall they should refuse to obay his Mandates. They shewed further, that if their towre were absolutely overthrowne, the fouldiers could not be kept from entering the towne in hope of pillage, and would thereby bring it to a finall destruction.

These, and many the like things, were ottered by them very mooningly (as men learned and eloquent) with great lamentation and much weeping: whereby the Legates (mooned with commiseration) with-drew the souldiers from the fortifications, put off the assault, and left a small guard to keepe the works. A kind of truce beeing through pitty and commiseration thus made and concluded. Cafars comming was expected : no weapon was cast, either from the towne wall, or from our side: insomuch, as every man left off his care and diligence, as though all had been ended. For, Casar had by Letters given straight charge to Trebonius, not to suffer the towne to bee taken by assault, least the souldiers (mooned through their rebellion and contempt, together with the long trauell they had sustained) (bould put all aboue foureteene yeeres of age to the (word: which they threatned to doe, and were then hardly kept from breaking into the towne : taking the matter very grieuously, that Trebonius seemed to hinder them from effecting their purpoles. But the enemy, beeing people without faith, did onelie watch for time and opportunity, to put in practice their fraude and deceit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Vestitus, vt se

II Aenead.

The fire ar

T is a faying of an ancient Writer, that As our attire doth couer the bodie, so it doth vincouer the nakedness of the mind. Whetevpon it is, that men have found meanes to sute themselves vpon occasion, according to the disposition of their inward affections, as they are either dilated with joy, or contracted with forrow, lifted vp with weale, or hare bled with affliction. And accordingly, these Marsellians, in token of their humilitie & submission, cameout, wearing an attire here called Infula; which Seruius describeth to be a kind of Coife, madeaster the forme of a Diademe, with two pendants on each fide, called Vitta.

Those which the Romains ysed of this kind, were fashioned like a Pyramid: the point whereof, did fignifie the *Elements, ascending vpwards in such a pointed fashion; and by the two pendants or bands, were denoted the Water and the Earth; beeing made whollie of wooll, as Festus writeth; Infula funt filamenta lanea, quibus Sacerdotes, hostia, et templa velabantur: to shew humbleneffe and simplicitie, wherefwooll is a Hirogliphick. For, no kind of beafts haue more need of ayde and fuccour then Sheepe: and there-vponit was, that all Suppliants were attired with treffes of wooll. Or otherwife, as fome will

haue it, That the habit of the Petitioner, might call to remembrance the flexible disposition, which is well-befeeming those that have power and meanes to giuehelpe and reliefe: According to the vse of Heathen ages; wherin their Images of their Idols, had their feete tied with cordes of wooll: to shew the Macrob, ub. 1 mildness and easiness which upon denote supplications was founde in dinine Powers; whereof wooll was a Symbolum.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



of eloquence, as were familiar vnto them aboue other people, as in Subtilitie and duplicitie of dealing. Which passage of the Marsellians, is obser- pinas, justificed and duplicitie of dealing. ned by Tully, as a matter enforcing the due praises of Eloquence, and the vie fens necessitas it hath vpon all occasions to draw consent, with the sweetness of a well tuned pobling effici tongue, aboue that which may be attained either by Engines or a strong hand. at. Tum coins VVherein, if we should goe about to compare the force of Armes, with the preservedus, quie power of a grave discourse, & set a souldier Parallell to an Orator, there might exigunt, sent hence be taken divers probable reasons, to second that saying, which hath been Valent: et Vathought to fauour more of vaine-glorie, then of true judgement; Cedant ar- L. in civilibus matoge, concedat laurea lingue: Or at least, to make a resemblance of Plu- 1. c. de offic. tarchs two Wraftelers, of whom one beeing alwaies cast, did neuerthelesse perswade the other that he cast him; and so, how soener he became foiled, yet learly comitibus left the place with an opinion of victorie: And is alwaies more eafily effected, militia anteferwhen it is attended with cunning and deceit, according to that of Valerius remur, in mut-Maximus ; Efficacisima vires perfidia, mentiri et fallere. But, as it is observed comites vicarija by Philip de Commines, The example of one fole accident, is sufficient to Enlos casos ra make manie men wife: fo this may ferue to teach fucceeding times, not to plo, haze experi trust to words, whereof there is no hold; but to ratific such compositions with Peres. irreuocable performances.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, we may note, how farre the anger of a Romaine Armie was extended, vpon such prouocations as are heere mentioned, viz. Ad interficiendos pueros, to the slaying of all the males aboue fourteene

yeeres of age; for, from that stage of life, they accounted all in the ranke of men: According to the institution of Tarquinius Priscus; who in his Macro, lib. 1. triumph of the Sabines, made a speciall Oration in the praise of his owne son, Satur. cap. 6. that had affaulted and strooke the Enemy in those warres, beeing then but 14 yeres of age: and ther-vpon, gaue him libertieto weare mans apparrell; which was that Togapretexta (edged or faced with Purple) whereof their histories make fo often mention.

But

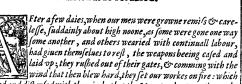
Quintus Cur. lib. 5.

But to define precitely heereof, were to militake the furie of the fouldier: for, howsoever the rule is certaine from the law of Nature, that no finite cause can be infinite in effect, or that a mortal hate should have a boundlesse revenges yet occasion made it variable and as irregular as that of Alexander: who sometimes faued all, & at other times (as at the taking of Tyre) faued none at all, but fuch as had taken the protection of the Temple. The inhumane crueltie of the Turkes, exceedeth all former hostilitie in this kind; for, they never saue anie out of commisferation, but for private vse : and doe rather chuse to deilroy mankind, then fuffer it to line for any other purpose then their owne.

CHAP. VI.

The Marfellians, taking advantage of the Truce, consumed with fire all the Romaine workes: which were afterwards reedified.

Cafar.



was fo caried and dispersed with the wind, that the Mouat, the Mantilets, the Testudo, the Towre and the Engines, were all on fire at once, and were burned downe and consumed before it could be knowne how it came.

Our men, astonished at so suddaine and onthought-of an accident, caught op such weapons as were next at hand; and others, running speedily fro the Camp, fet upon the Enemy, but were hindered from following them as they fledde, by Engines and Arrowes from the towne wall. They, on the other side, beeing retired under the protection of the wall, did at their ease burne downe the Mouse and the brick towre: and so, many moneths labour, was through the perfidiousnesse of the Enemy, and the force of the tempest; consumed & brought to nothing in a moment of time. The Marfellians attempted the like the next day after hauing opportunitie of the like tempest; and with greater confidence sallied out, & threw much fire vpon the other mount and the towre. But as our men the day before (expecting nothing lesse than to be surprised in that sort) had neglected more then ordinary their of wall quards, beeing now made wifer by that wohich had happened, they had made all things ready for defence : by which meanes, hauing staine a great number, they draue the rest backe into the towne, without effecting any thing.

Trebonius beganne againe to reedifie such workes as were ruinated and confumed with fire, and that with greater alacritic of the souldier then before.

For, when they saw their great labours and indeanours sort to no better succeffe, beeing ruined by the treacherie of the Enemy, it was a great gall onto them coparati, who to have their valour thus derided. And, for a fruich as there was nothing left in mineraleft. all the Countrey for the raifing of a Mount, all the trees being already cut downe, popular quandid and brought fare and mount to such a to find the and brought farre and neere to make the first Mount, they beganne a Mount of a pideant rem estrange and unheard of fashion, raised with two side vulles of bricke, beeing waters virtuit five faste thicke ancece and immeditabeling with flavore the ville ancece and immeditabeling with flavore the ville. fixe foote thicke apeece, and loyned together wish floores. The uvalls uvere of Paulin Messe. equall distance to the latitude of the former Mount, which was all of solide matter: and where the space betweene the walles, or the weakenesse of the work did require it, there were piles driven betweene, and beames and plankes laid athwart for the strengthening thereof. The sloores, made betweene those wealles, were laid with Hurdles, and the Hurdles were covered with clay.

The fouldiers beeing thus sheltered, on both sides with a wall, and defended in front by Mantilets and Gabions, did safely, without danger, bring what soener was necessary for that building; wherby the worke was carried on with great speed: and the losse of their former continual labour, was in a short time recouered againe, through the admirable dexterity and valour of the fouldier. To conclude, they left gates in the walles, in such places as were fittest for sal-

Whe the enemy perceived, that what they hoped could not be repaired agains in a long time, was with a few daies labour, reedified & finished wherby there was no place left to practife deceit, or to sallie out with advantage; neither was there any meanes left by which they could prevaile, either by force of Armes, or by fire to consume our ovorkes; and understanding likewise, that by the same manner of fortification, all that part of the towne, which had passage and accesse from the firme land, might be encompassed with a weall and with towres; that their Souldiers should not be able to stand upon their workes; and perceiving withall, that our army had raifed a countermure, against the wall of their towne; and that vveapons might be cast by hand vnto them; that the vse of their Engines (wherein they much trusted) was by the neereness of space quite taken away; and lastlie, that they overe not able to confront our men (vpon equal tearmes) from their wealles, and from their turrets they descended to the same Articles of rendry and submission, as were formerly agreed upon.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ence wee may obserue, that a Generall cannot bee too secure of an Enemie, that standes vpon tearmes to render vp a place. For, the action beeing but voluntarie by constraint; if happeliethe confraining force be remooned, then that doth ceale which is voluntarie; and so it commeth by consequent to a refulall. As appeareth by this passage of the Marsellians; who being brought into hard tearmes, as well by their two ouer-throwes at Sea (whence they

expected no further fuccour) as also by the fiege laid so close by land (where they were so violently assaulted, that their towers of desence made passage for the Romaines to enter vpon them) did neuerthelesse (vpon cessation of those inforcements) alter their purpole, and entertained new hopes: which maketh good that faying, Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Econdly, we may observe, that a will, forward to undergoe la-

bour, doth neuer sticke at any difficultie, nor is at all dismaied

oluntas ad la borem propensa cuncta vincere et superare con fuenit. Polyanu

Lib. 5. Iliad.

Nihil tam arduum,quod animi fortitudine (uperari non possit Appian. de bello Hispanico.

Vegetius.

with the loffe of anie paines: but is rather redoubled in courage and industrie; especially beeing edged on with a desire of rewenge. Which (if Homer may have credit) doth alwaies adde a third part to a mans strength; as appeared by Diomedes, beging hirt in the shoulder with one of Pindarus arrowes: for reuenge whereof, hee exceeded himselse in a sesquiterce proportion of valour, and sew more Troianes by a third part then otherwise he could.

Howfocuer, as there is nothing fo hard, but is subject to the endeauour of the minde: fo there is nothing so easie, as to disposses our selves of that intent care, which is requisite in these imployments. For, these Romaines, that through the greatness of their spirits had made such first and second workes, as the memorie thereof will last with the world, were surprised when they lay in the Interim, as it were vinbent, in as great remifiels and neglect (how-fo-cuer drawne vnto it by deceit) as if they had beene able to doe no fuch matter as is heere reported. And therefore it behooueth a Commaunder, to keepe his Armie alwaies seasoned with labour; forasmuch as Exercitus labore proficit. otio consenescit.

CHAP. VII.

Varro raiseth great troopes, to maintaine Pompeis partie in Spaine; but, to no purpose.

Cafar.



Arcus Varro in the further Province of Spaine, having from 🔰 the beginning under stood how things had passed in Italie, 🔄 distrusting how matters would succeed with Pompey, did of-R tentimes give out very friendly speeches of Casar; that Pompey had by way of prevention gained him to his party, & honoured him with a Lieutenancie, whereby hee was obliged in dutie to him: Howbeit, in his particular disposition, he stood

no less affected to Casar; neither was he ignorant of the duty of a Legat, to whose trust and fidelitie, the government of the Province was left, as in depolito,

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres. upon condition to be rendred up at all times and seasons, as hee that commaundedinchiefe should require it: He likewise knew very well what his owne forces were, and what was the affection and disposition of all the Countrey towards

This was the subject of all his speeches, without any show of inclining either to the one or to the other. But afterwards, when he heard that Casar was ingaged at Marfelleis, that Petreius forces were loyned with Afranius Armie, that great aides were come unto them, that every man was in great hope and expectation of good successe; and that all the hither Province had agreed together, to undertake Pompeis cause, as also what had after happened cocerning the want of victualls at Ilerda (all which things were writ, with advantage, unto him by Afranius) he then upon that alteration changed his mind according to the times, and leuied souldiers in all parts of the Province: and having raised two compleas legions, he added vato them some thirty cohorts of the Countrer Souldiers, to serve for wings to the Army; gathered together great quantity of Corne, as well for the supplie of the Marsellians, as for the provision of Petreius and Afra-

Moreouer, he commaunded them of Gades to build and provide tenne Gallies; and ordered further, that many other should be made at Hispalis. Hee tooke all the money and the ornaments out of Hercules temple, and brought the same into the towne of Gades, and in lieu thereof sent sixe Cohorts out of the Province to keepethetemple, He made Gaius Gallonius (a Romaine Knight and a familiar friend of Domitius, and fent by him thither to recouer some matter of inheritance) Gouernour of the towne. All the Armes (as well private as publique) vverebrought into Gallions house. He himselfe made many bitter invectives against Casar; assuming, that a great number of the souldiers were revolted fro him, and overe come to Afranius: which hee knew to be true, by certaine and approoued Messengers.

The Romaine Cittizens, residing in that Prouince, beeing much perplexed & affrighted thereat, were therevpon constrained to promise him 190 thousand Sesterces in ready money, for the service of the Common-weale, besides twentie thousand waight of silver, together with one hundred and twentie thousand bushels of Wheate. Vponthose Citties and States which favoured Casars partie, he laid greater impositions: for, such as had let fallen speeches, or declared themselves against the Common-weale, he configueted all their goods, and put a Guarizon vpon them; giving judgement himfelfe vpon private persons, & constrain ning all the Prouince, to sweare allegeance to him and to Pompey.

And beeing in the end advertised what had happened in the hither Province, he prepared for warre, with a purpose to dispose thereof in this manner; His resolution was to keepe two legions with him at Gades, with all the shipping and the Corne: for, knowing that the vohole Province did intirely affect Cafars Cause, he thought it best for him (having made good provision of shipping and Corne) to keepe the Iland.

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THE

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THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Blerue first, how dangerous it is, for such as stand newsrall between two parties (bearing no affection but to their owne ends) to declare themselves, vpon such apparances as commonly happen in so the flux and reflux of a warre: for, if their judgement faile as Varros did, they are then forced to redeeme their errour, with more offices of partialitie then can afterwards be excused; and so runne into a further degree of emnitie, then the party for whom they fuffer. And certainely, whether it bee that newtralitierefuleth to take part with the right (which in matter of controuersie must needes stand on one side) or whether it sauoureth of an ill nature, to thew no fympathiling affections, with fuch as otherwise have correfoundence with them; or for what other cause I knowe not: but fare it is, that Newtralls, attending nothing but their owne advantage, are of no better efleeme, then the bird whereof Leo Africus writeth; which when the King of Birds demaunded tribute, would alwaies ranke himselfe amongst the Fish: and when the King of Fishes required his fernice, would alwaies be with the Birds. Or then the Weather-cock, whereof there is no other vie then Indicare reg-

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE Iland of Gades, was knowne to the Romaines by the name of Tarteffon;

Hic Gadis orbs est dicta Tartes us prius.

The towne of Gades was indowed, as Dion witnefferh, by Iulius Cæfar, with the liberties and priviledges of Rome. To which effect Plinie writeth; Oppidum habet Ciuium Romanoru, quod appellatur Augusta vrbs Iulia Gaditana. It was a towne of great fame: as appeareth by that of luba, king of Mauritania, who made ambitious fute, to have the title of Duumviri, or Two-men of the towne; as Festus noteth, in his Description of the Sea-coast.

> At vis in illis tanta, vel tantum decus Aetate prisca, sub fide rerum fuit : Rex vt superbus omniumque prapotens Quos gens habebat fortetum Maurusia, Ostauiano principi accepti (simus Et literarum (emper in studio Iuba, Interfluoque (eparatus Aequore Illustriorem (emet, orbis iftius Duumviratu crederet.

In this Iland itoode Hercules temple; to which, as well Romaines, as other noble Aduenturers of all Nations, made often repaire, to performe their vowes voon atchieuements of deedes of Armes: which folemnitie was not omitted by Hanniball, before his expedition into Italie.

Amongst other Altars in this Temple, there was one dedicated to Penurie Iosephus Acoand Art : fignifying that Art driueth away Penurie, as Hercules put to flight & that hobsubdued Monsters. Those of Asia, and the Mediterrane parts, tooke this Iland to be the furthest end of nauigation : for, the Atlanticke sea admitted no surther passage, for want of a load-stone to direct them in that vastness. And thouf ind leatherefore Pindarus faith, That it is not lawfull for wife men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the straight of Gebraltar, the way in the Ocean beeing 1000 leagues broad. In this towne of Gades, was borne L. Cornelius Balbus, who at his death gaue a legacie to the Romaine people, 25 pence per Pole; together with Junius Brutus Columella, that writ to excellently De re Rustica.

Et mea quam generat Tarte(silitore Gades.

It is now called Cales Males, and was facked by our English, 1 59 6. Hispalis, surnamed Romulensis, from the Romaine Colonie that was plan- Hispalis. ted there, is feated vpon the Riuer Beatis, in a very pleafant and fertile Coun- Senill. trey, and especially for oyles. The towne is now the Staple for the West Indies, and a very Nurferie of Marchants. Arias Montanus, that great Theo-

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Oncerning these CXC thousand Sesterces, the learned cannot sawe take them in the Newter, for vij pound x thinnings apocce; mounteth to 1492000 pound, which is thought too much: if in the tisfie themfelues with any congruent interpretation thereof. For, if

And therefore the Criticks do mend the place, and read H-S centies nonagies, which bringeth out 142500 pound: and is thought agreeable to the meaning of the Authour.

CHAP. VIII.

The Prouince and the legions reuolt from Varro. Casar settleth Spaine, and returneth to Marfellies.



logian, was borne in this Cittie.

Lbeit Casar was called backe into Italie for many great and im. portant causes, yet he was resolved to leave no sparke or appearance of warre remaining behind him in Spaine; for that hee knew Pompeis deserts to bee such, as had gained him many followers and dependants in the hither Province. And therefore hauing fent two legions into the further Spaine, under the

Cafar.

Festus A-

nantem.

nienus. Lio.xli.

Ilipa Italica

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

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conduit of Q. Cassum, Tribune of the people, he himselfe made forward by great iourneys, with sixe hundred horse; sending an Edict before him, to summon the Magsistrates, and chiefe men of the Citties and Townes, to appeare before him by a day at Corduba. Vpon publication of which Edict; there was no Cittie in all that Province, that sent not some of their Senate by the day appointed, to Corduba: Neither was there any Romaine Cittizen of note, that presented not himselfe there at that time.

The Princes and States beeing affembled, of their owne accord they shut the gates against Varro, set watch and ward upon the walls and in the towres, and retained with them two cohorts, called by the name of Colonica (which came thither by chaunce) for the safe keeping of the towne. At the selfe same time, the Inhabitants of Carmona (which is the strongest towne of all the Province) cast out the Cohorts that were by Varro put into their Citadell, and shut them out of their towne. Whereby, Varro was the rather moned to make hafte to Gades with his legions, least hee should bee hindered and cut off, either in the way, or in his vallage over from the Continent: such and so favourable was the generall affection of the vvhole Province towards Casar. And being some-what advanced on his iourney, he received Letters from Gades, that as soone as it was known there of the Edict which Cafar had published, the chiefest of the Gaditans agreed with the Tribunes of the fouldiers which were in Guarizon, to expell Gallion out of the towne, and to keepe the Cittie and the Iland for Cafar. Which beeing refol ued vpon, they fent him word to leave the towne of his owne accord, while nee might doe it without danger; and if he refused, they would then take such further order as they (hould find expedient. Gallonius, mooned with feare, dislodged himselfe and went out of Gades. These things beeing divulged abroad, one of the two legions, knowne by the

name of Vernacula, tooke vp their Ensignes, went out of Varros Campe (he himlesse standing by and looking on) and retired themselves to Hispalis; and there sate downe in the Market-place, and in common porches, voithout hurting anie man. Which the Romaine Cittizens, there assembled, did so well like of, that euery man was very desirous to entertaine them in their houses. Whereat Varro, beeing much assonished, altered his iourney, towards lipa Italica, as hee gave it out; but soone after was advertised by some of his friends, that the gates were sout agains him. Wher upon, being circumvented and fore-closed from all other addresses, he sent to Casar, to advertise him that he was ready to deliver up the legion, to whomsever he should please to appoint. To which purpose, he sent him Sex. Casar, commaunding the legion to be delivered to him.

Varro, having given wp his charge, came to Casar at Corduba, & there gave him a true account of the cariage of his office. The moneys remaining in his hands he delivered wp, and gave an Inventory of the Corne and shipping which were in any place provided. Casar, by a publique Oration made at Corduba, gave thanks generally to all men; as first, to the Romaine Cittizens, for the indeauour they wied to be Maisters of the towne. Secondly, to the Spaniards, for driving out the GuariZons; to them of Gades, that they traversed and prevented the projects of the adversaries, & had restored the sclusers to libertie; to the Tribunes of the soul-

diers, & Centurions, that were come thither to keep the towne, for that by their valour & magnanimity, the resolution of the townsmen was assured and confirmed. Heremitted such leuies of money, as the Romaine Cittizens had promised Varro for the publique service. He restored the goods configueted, of such as had Spoken more freely then was pleasing ; and gane diners rewards , both publique and private: the rest he satisfied with hope of good time for the future. And hauing staied there two daies, he went to Gades: where he gaue order that the monetes and monuments, which were transferred fro Hercules temple to a private house, should be carried backe against othe Temple. Heemade 2. Cassius Gouernour of the Province, & left with him four elegions. He him felfe, in a few daies (pace, with those ships which M. Varro, and those of Gades (by his commaundement) had made, came to Tarraco; for, there the Embassadours of almost all the hither Province, did attend his comming: and having received them with priuate and publique honour, in the same fashion as formerly hee had used, hee left Tarraco, and came by land to Narbone, and from thence to war fellies: where he received first advertisement of the law made at Rome, for creating of a Dictator; and that himselfe was named thereunto, by M. Lepidus, Prator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

T is one of Cæsars peculiars, recorded by Suetonius, that hee neuer left behind him any sparke or suspicion of warre, least it might be
said nee did nor throughly conquer where hee came. For, hee that
doth a business to halle, hath as much more to doe before it bee
done; and the remainder in matter of warre, groweth commonly to a greater
head then that which first gaue occasion of Armes; like fire, which is smothered for a time, to breake out afterwards with greater surie. And therfore, that
he might not be thought to prouoke an Enemy rather then subdue him, hee
neglected all occassors how important soener, which might draw him into
stalic; to the end he might fettle Spaine in a peace, answerable to an absolute
victorie; Which he easily effected, having ouer-maisseted the chiefest of the
party, and turned their troopes out of the Countrey, as men altogether mistaken in the matter. The same whereos or preuaised with the rest, that rather then
they would than dour, they for sooke their Commaunders. And having thus
remoued all occassors force, hee then proceeded to take away all doubtfulnesses, which might accompanie a new reconcilement, by shewing such respects as well beformed ancient defert.

For, first, he made a publique acknowledgement of their generall loue and affection towards him; and then taking notice of particular feruices, in gaged them further, with honours and rewards; righted such as were oppressed by the aduerse partie; remitted all leuies and taxations (to shew the difference betweene his and the Enemies sauour) & filled all men with hope of good times; as knowing that saire words, accompanied with large promises, are powreful instruments to work out whatsoeuer is desired. And so hee tooke a little more

time

Fama loquetur Anus.

And from hence come those Cordouan skinnes, so much in request.

Commentary of the Ciuil Warres.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Oncerning the office of a Dictator, whereunto Cæfar was named by the Prator Lepidus, we are to observe, that the Dictatorshippe was the greatest place of dignitic in their government, as Polibius noteth. The Confuls, faith hee, having each of them but twelve Lictors apeece, that caried bundles of Rods before them, as enfignes of Magistracie, the Dictator had alwaies 24; to shew that the soueraine power divided betweene the two Confuls, was then reduced to one fole commaund. The occasions of establishing a Dictator, were divers; howbeit, it was commonlie to take order in some great matter of consequence, which fell out to be extraordinarie, and required the commaund of one man. And as it is in the faftes or records of the Capitoli; either Reipub: regend: causa, as was this first Dictatorship of Cæsars: or otherwise, M. Fabius, Ambustus Diet: seditionis sedanda causa: And at another time, Cn: Quintius Varus Dictator, claui figendi causa: which was one of the superstitions they ysed in time of pestilence, and so diners the like: of all which, there is this forme expressed by Tully; Si quando duellu gravius, discordiane Civium crescunt vnus ne amplius sex menses, nisi senatus erenerit, idemiuris quod duo Consules teneto, isque ane sinistra dictus

Magister Populi esto.

But, foralmuch as Magister Populi was a harsh and odious name to the people, they called him by a more modest name, Dictator: whereof Varro giueth this reason, Dictator quod à Consule dicebatur, cuius dicto audientes omnes essemble, sent and as none could name a Dictator but the Consult some could be named to that place, but such as were or had been Consult; Consultares legere ita lex iubebat de Dictatorecreando lata. To which may bee added the circumstance of time, which was alwaies in the night; Note deinde silentio vt mosest Papyrium Dictatoren dixit. The Dictator had soueraine power, but limited for a time: which was commonly fixe Moneths; whereby they are specially distinguished from Monatkes: and thereupon, Cicero adiudgeth Sillas Dictatorship to be a meere tyranny, and so doth Plutarch Cæstas; because both vvere prorogued beyond the time prescribed by the law. Cæsta held this Dictators place but cleuen daies, and then lest it off: but afterwards had it for his life, and

fo came to be stiled Dictator perpetuus.

Linie, lib. 2.

1. Philip.

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Zib. z.

De legibus.

CHAP

verbe; that, VV hat is well done, is twice done.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

. Varro heere mentioned, made more profession of knowledge and Artes, then any other of his Nation, beeing thereupon stiled by the name of *Doctus*; & yet in the indgement of learned Philosophers, was fitter to persuade then to teach. Tully, beeing deprived of publique offices, handled Philosophy a little in his

owne language: Pliny and Seneca, lesse then Varro or Tully. But what are these to Aristotle or Plato? Or rather, what hath learning to doe with a Romaine Generall? whose knowledge consisted in their Militarie discipline, and in the powerfull meanes of victorious indeauour. Wherein Varro was as ignorant, as was Don Raymundus, the eleuenth King of Arragon, in managing of Armes; who taking his sword in one hand, and his buckler in the other, held the horse bridle in his teeth. Howbeit, if Quiminus facit, minus peccat were a good excuse, it were sitting to make him blamelesse, that descrude so well of learning aboue all others of that Empire. But for as must active as loss as peare fo farre inseriour to that which is conceiued of his vuderstanding, let that be acknowledged which is true, that Considerate agere plaris essential.

gitare prudenter.

This Ilipa Italica, was the chiefe towne of the Turditani in Andolozia; and is coniectured by the ruines yet remaining, to fland ouer against Senill.

Tarraco is that which is now called Arragon, a Colony of Scipiohis planting, whereof the Prouince taketh appellation; which is extended (as Plinie witneffeth) from Catalonia to Nauarre, and Cassile, along the Alpes. Blaife de Vigenere reporteth, that in the yeere 516, there was a Councell held at Tarraco, by tenne Bishops; wherein it was decteed, that Sunday should alwaies beginne presentlic after Euening prayer (or their Vespers) on the Saturday. From whence it is, that the Spaniards doe notworke at all after that time, and deceate yoon Saturdaies at supper, the head, the feet and the entralls of such siefs like in the Shambles (together with other prettie bits which they call Morsillass) without prohibition or scruple of conscience. In this towne of Tatraco, was borne Paulus Osorius, that noble Orator.

Corduba, otherwise called Colonia Patricia, was held the next of worth & dignitie to Seuill, but for excellent wits, to be preferred about all the townes of Spaine; for, heere first were borne the two Senecas, the father the Rhetorician, and the sonne the Philosopher: together with their kinsman, Annæus Lucanus, the diuine Poet, of whom Martiall writeth;

Duosque Senecas vnicumque Lucanum Facunda loquitur Corduba.

Besides, of later times, Auenzoar, Auicenna, and Auerrois, as excellent a Philosopher, as the other was a Physicion: of whose workes

Fama

Iamblic. cap. 4

Cicero.lib. 1. de officijs.

Tarraco, alite

Tarraco, anter Iulia viĉfrix. Lib. 4. cap. 20.

Corduba.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

CHAP. IX. The Marsellians give vp the Towne.

Cafar.



HE Marfellians beeing much opprest, and almost worne out with all forts of inconveniences, & brought to an extreame exigent of victuall, defeated and overthrowne in two fights at lea, broken & cut in peeces oftentimes in their fallies out, afflicted with a grieuous pestilence through Gods appointment, and alteration of diet (for, they lived of nothing but

Vetere Panico,

of old Panick and mustie Barly, which was long before laid up in publique for this purpo(e) their towre beeing overthrowne, and a great part of their vvall downe; out of hope of any succours fro the Provinces, or of other Armies, which they knew were come into the hands and power of Cafar, they feriously determined (without fraude) to give up the towne. But a few daies before . L. Domitius, understanding their resolution, having got three shippes (wohereof two hee assigned to his familiar friends, the third he tooke himselfe, and taking the opportunitie of a troublesome storme) put to sea : which beeing perceived by the hippes that by Brutus commandement did continually guard the mouth of the Hauen, they waied their Ankers, o made after them. Notwithstanding, that, wherein Domitius was, held on her courfe, and by the helpe of the foule weather got out of fight. The other two, beeing afraid of our shippes, returned back into the Hauen.

The Marsellians, according as was commaunded, brought their Armes and Engines out of the towne, drew forth their (hipping, both out of their Hauen and their Arcenalls, and delinered up their publique treasure: which things beeing accomplished and performed, Casar, willing to saue them, rather for the Nauie and antiquity of the towne, then for any merit of theirs, left two legions there for a Guarizon, and fent the rest into Italie. He himselfe tooke his way towards

OBSERVATIONS.

Ence wee may observe, that when men resuse to be led by rea-

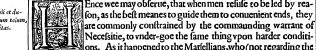
fon, as the best meanes to guide them to convenient ends, they

Vltimii et duriffimum telum necessitas.

Omniti maxim

miferabile,clau di obsidione.

Ezeseppus.



with a fiege; that of all miferies is accounted the worst: and therein so caried themselves, as they left no stone vnremooued to make good their refusall; but

Necessitie, to vnder-goe the same thing vpon harder conditions Jons. As it happened to the Marfellians, who (not regarding the Armie then present, and ready to take a strict account of their answers, which with good excuse doth commaund a newtrall State) chose rather to be shut vp for want of better helps, brought their Fraude to play a part, to their greater disaduantage. And if the Conquerour had not tooke all occasions to shew his clemencie, they might happelie haue paid deare for their contempt. But where either desert or other motiues wanted, there nomen et vetust as was sufficient to make Cæsar constant to his owne ends; which, as neere as the course wherin he was ingaged would affoord him, were alwaies leuelled at the generall applause of his actions; taking that to be no little helpe to worke himselse into tuna, minima the soueraintie of the State: obseruing it the rather in cases of great and happie successe; which are ever more restrained then lesser fortunes. Howsoever, it cannot be denied, but that Clemencie is a propertie of excellent honour: |Servare propriis which Cæsar shewed in sauing the towne.

A excellentis ortuna. Seneca de clement. isb. 1

CHAP. X.

Curio transporteth two legions into Affricke.



🛃 Bout the same time,C.Curio set saile from Sicilie to passe into Affrick : and making no account at all of Atius Varus forces, he caried with himbut two legions of the four which overe delinered him by Cafar, together with fine hundred horfe. And after he had beene at Sea two daies and three nights, he arrived at a place called Aquilaria, distant twenty two

miles from Clupea; where there is a very commodious Roade for shippes in Sommer, sheltered on each side with two large and eminent Promontories. L.Cafar, the sonne, attended his comming at Clupea, with tenne Gallies; which being taken from the Pirats in the late vvarres, and laid aground at Vtica, were repaired and new trimmed by Varus : and beeing afraid of the great number of his shippes, for sooke the sea, and ranne his Gallie on shore; and leaving her there, fled by land on foote to Adrumetum, a towne kept by Confinius Longus, having one legion onely in quarizon.

The rest of Casars Nauie, seeing their Admirall flie away, put into Adrumetum. M. Rufus the Treasurer, pursued him with twelve shippes, which Curio had brought with him out of Sicily, to waft the shippes of burthen; and finding the Gallie left vpon the land, he towed her off, and returned to Curio with his Nauie. Curio fent Marcus before with the (hippes, to Vtica: and he himselfe set forward thither by land with the Armie, and in two daies iourney came to the Ri- Bragada lentus uer Bragada; where he left C. Caninius Rebilus, the Legate, with the legions, agit fice fulcaand went himselfe before with the Caualry, to view a place called Cornelius 16.4. Campe: which was held very fit and convenient to incampe in, beeing a direct ridge of a hill, shooting out into the Sea, steepe and broken on each side, and yet sheluing by a little more gentle descent on that side which was next Vtica; beeing distant from thence (if the neerest way overe taken) a little more then a mile. But in that (bortest cut, there rose a Spring, in that part which was furthest

Sil. Ital.

of from the fea, and fo made a marifhor bogge: which who focuer would aword. must fetch a compass of sixe miles to goe to the towne.

A view beeing taken of this place, Curio beheld afarre off, Varus Campe, ioyning to the towne wall, at the gate called Bellica; maruailously fortified through the firong situation of the place, having the towne on the one side, and a Theater volich food before the towne on the other : and by reason of the great circuit of building which it contained, made a narrow and difficult passage to the Campe. Hee observed, further, great store of cariages, which by reason of this suddaine alarum, were brought out of the Countrey towards the towne : for the intercepting whereof, he fent the Canalry. And at the same instant, Varus like voile had fent out of the towne, DC. Numidian horse, and CCC. foote, which King Iuba (a few daies before) had fent to Vtica, for the strengthening of that partie. This Prince had acquaintance with Pompey, by reason that his father lodged with him, and bare a spleene to Curio, for the law which he preferred when hee was Tribune of the people, for the confifcation of Inbahis kingdome. The Canalric on either side met together, and the Numidians were not able to abide the charge of our men; but some one hundred and twenty beeing staine, the rest betooke themselves backe to the Campe at the towne.

In the meane time, opon the arrivall of our Gallies, Curio commaunded it to be preclaimed, that such Victuallers, and shippes of burthen, as were in the Bay at Vtica (beeing in number about two hundred) and would not presentlie come to the Cornelian Campe, should be held and taken for enemies. At which Preclamation, upon an instant of time, they all waied anchor, and came to the place with ther they were commaunded rouhereby the Army abounded with all necessarie provisions. This beeing done, he returned to the Campe at Bragada; and by the acclamation of the whole Army was saluted by the name of Imperator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Chapter beginneth with the third part of this booke, contaitaining Curio his passage into Affrick: concerning which, taining Curio his passage into Affrick: concerning which, be cobterued, that in the beginning of these broiles, no man was more enemy to Cassar, nor made more bitter innectines to the peo-

ple against him, then he did in his Tribunc-ship; but afterwards fell off, & was gained by the voluptuous inticements of M. Anthonie, together with a huge mass of money which Casar sent him. Whereupon, he plaied the turn-coate, and with might and maine assisted that Partie; prenailing much with the Comunaltie, by his eloquent and perswassue speeches: the linely force whereof, is able to stirrevp affection in stones. For which cause it is, that Velleius Patercul. noteth, That no man brought a more burning or dangerous fire-brand to the kindling of those Civill warres, then did Curio; beeing a man of an excellent discourse, audacious, prodigall of his owne and of other mens, subtile, ingenious, extreame vitious, and alwaies well spoken, to the ruine of the publique weale. Which (weetnesse of words came vnto him by inheritance,

Eleganti oratio ne, capinntur and tores: orna ta enim oratio vellapidem monere poffet.Epi&

> ар.23. Lib. 2.

as Plinie witnesseth; Vna familia Curionum, in qua, tres continua serie oratores Lib. 7. cab. 41. extiterunt. Of whose monstrous prodigalitie, the same Authour hath made a Lib. 36. cap. 15 very large account. And our of these over-weening humors it was, that he be- incautes off. Iocame fo vnwarie as to divide his Armie; neglecting the Enemy, and the vari- fept. liv. 1. cap. ableness of warre; which altereth as the Moone, & keepeth no constant shape date. whereby it may be knowen. Concerning the difmembering of an Armie, lightly, and voon heedlesse rashness, Cyrus gineth grane aduice, in the beginning of the fixt booke of Zenophon. To which (for the present) I refer the Reader.

Clupea was a towne in Affrick, named by Plinie, Oppidum liberum, & fited vpon the Promontorie of Mercury, in the territories of old Carthage: it vvas so called, because it caried the forme of a Target retorted; and for the same cause it was called Aspis:

In Clypei speciem curuatis turribus Aspis.

This Promontorie, which Curio chofe to incampe in, was famous for three things. First, it was reputed the place where Antwus the Giant dwelt, which Hercules flew, by strangling him in his Armes; that hee might not touch the Earth, from whom it is faid, he received fresh strength. Secondly, P. Cornelius Scipio that fubdued Affrick, made that place his chiefe Camp of strength: and so it came to be called Cornelius Campe. And lastly, for this expedition which Cutio made, to lofe two legions, and himselfe withall; as vnwilling to fee the morow, after fuch a loffe: for Vita eft auidus, quifquis non vult, mudo fe- | Seinea Trag. cum pereunte mori.

CHAP. XI.

Curio marcheth to Utica: his Caualry put to flight great troopes comming from king Juba. His Armie was strangely possessed with an idle feare.

HE next day, hee brought his Army to Vtica, and incamped himselfeneere unto the towne: but before the fortification of his Campe was finished, the horsemen that stood Centinell, gaue notice of great forces of horse and foote coming towards Vtica, from king Iuba: and at the same time a great dust was. Geone rise in the aire, and presently the first troopes began, to

come in fight. Curio, aftonished at the novelty of the thing, fent his horse before, to sustaine the first shock, and to stay them : he himselfe, calling the legions with all speed from their worke, imbattelled his Army. The Caualry, inequatering with the Enemy (before the legions could be well unfolded and put in order) did put to flight all the Kings forces, that came marching without feare or order; and slew a great number of the foote troopes : but the horse, making haste, got almost

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Centurions, of the Nation of the Marsi, fledde from Curio, with twenty two of their fouldiers, to Atius Varus.

Thefe Centurions, whether it were to please Varus, or otherwise speaking as they thought (for, what men wish, they easily believe; and what they think, they hope others doe thinke the same) did confidently affirme, that the mindes of the whole Army, were altogether alienated from Curio; and that it was very expedient, that the Armies (bould come in fight, and find meanes to speake together. Varus, beeing perswaded to that opinion, the next day, earely in the morning, drew his legions out of the Campe: the like aid Curio; either of them putting their forces in order, vpon a small Valley which lay betweene both their

There was in Varus Armie, one Sex. Quintilius Varus, who (as it is formerly declared) was at Corfinium; and beeing let goe by Cafar, went into Affrick. It fortuned that Curio had carted over those legions, which Casar had formerly taken at Corfinium: so that a few Centurions beging slaine, the Companies and Maniples remained the same. This occasion beeing so fitly offered, Quintilius (going about Curio his Army) began to befeech the fouldiers, that they voould not forget the first oath they had taken, to Domitian, and to him their Treasurer: nor beare Armes against them, that had runne the same fortune, and indured the same siege; nor fight for those, who (by way of reproche) had called them fugitives. To these hee added some promises, to put them in hope of a good recompence, out of his owne liberality, if they would follow him and Atius.

Hauing delinered this onto them, Curio his Army stood mute, and declared not themselves by any signe, either one way or other: not withstanding, Curio his Campe was afterwards poffeffed with a great feare and suspicion: wohich was quickly augmented, by divers reports raised upon the same. For, every man forged opinions and conceits; and out of his owne feare, added some thing to that which hee had heard of another. Which when it was spred from one authour to many, and one had received it from another, it seemed there were many authors of the same thing. For, Civill warre is alwaies compounded of such men, as hold

it lawfull to doe and follow what and whom they please.

Those legions; which a little before were in the service of the Enemy, did willingly imbrace vohat was offered them; for, old acquaintance, had made them forget what benefites Casar had lately bestowed on them: beeing also of divers Countries and Nations; and not all of the Marfi or Peligni, as those the night before, which were their Cabin-mates and fellow fouldiers: where-upon, they twoke occasion, to publish abroad in worse tearmes, that which others had vainelie given out; and some thinges over ecoined by those, that would seeme most diligent in dooing their duty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Blerue first, from the reuolt of these Centurions, that a fellow or two of ranke and fashion, falling from a Partie, doe gaine easie credite to their aduertisements, by averting any thing which the Enemy defireth. Whence it is, that foratouch as fugitines can little otherwite availe (one man beeing but as no man) they feeke favour and repu-

tation with the Partie they flie vnto, by their adulfe and discouetie; and confequently, the remuneration of espiall, which according to the president made

instruments; not onely in weakening or making frustrate such dessignes as

by Fabius to the Spies of Clufine, is worth a mans labour. Andherein, Revolters (specially those of judgement) are very dangerous

may be contriued against an Adversarie: but also in discovering the secrets of their owne Partie, and disclosing of that which is absolute and well, varill it be made knowen. For, there is no subsisting thing so perfect, but hath alwaies fome part or other open, to give an easie passage to destruction: according to that of the Poet:

Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo.

And therefore, it is no small meanes of preserving each thing in being, to make thew of strength, and conceale weakenesses, as the registers of affored ruine: tum focietatis for which caule it is, that fidelitie is commended, as the foundation of humane | humane : perffocietie; and perfidious treachery, divulging the fecrete imperfections thereof, is the plague and bane of the fame.

Livie. lib. 10.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

S there is nothing more dangerous in an Armie, then feare : fo there is nothing fooner bredde to difturbe a multitude, then this there is nothing fooner bredde to diffurbe a multitude, then this passion; which metamorphoseth atroope of men into a heard of Deere. For, hence it appearetn, that one Months weak thoughts unine a whole Army; & an idle conceit, bred in the weak thoughout Deere. For, hence it appeareth, that one Therfites is able to le- The Spartanes

of some Trefantas, begetteth oftentimes a maine cause of distrust throughout Platarch. all the Party: which, as it spreadeth abroad, is so deliuered from one to another, as the Reporter (not believing what he telleth) addeth alwaies fome-what to Plus in metuen make the hearer belieue, what he could not himselfe. And so vycake mindes do off mali, qua doe multiplie the vaine apprehension of idle humours, in such a fashion, as simetur. Cic. ad there is more hurt infearing, then in the thing which is feared.

Epaminonidas vvas more fortunate then all others in this kind: for, vvhile hee ledde the Thebanes as their Commaunder, they were neuer ta- Plutarch. ken with any suddaine affrightment, nor possest with any Panick terror, to bereaue them of their fenses, or fallifie the truth of their vnderstanding:

M 2.

Nulla fides pie tasque viris qu castra sequiitur venalesque ma nus: ibi fas, vb naximá merces Li. can.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

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Turbant homines, non res : fed quas de rebus habet opinione Epich. Encharid.

Cafar.

Tamboni quà

cause vulçõ in

Imperatores r

ferri folent. Di

Halicar. lib. 8

mali euentys

beeing all (as it leemed) of the lame mind with the Generall; who accounted no death to honourable as that which came by warre. Howbeit, such is the frailetie of humane nature, & fo thrange are the convultions of the mind, that a Commaunder must expect to meet with times: wherein, his men will stand in danger of nothing fo much as their owne infirmitie; beeing troubled rather with strong apprehensions, then for any danger of the thing feared.

CHAP. XII.

Curio disputeth the matter in a Councell of Warre.

OR which causes, a Councell of warrebeeing called, they) beganne to deliberate what courfe was to be taken. There vvere some opinions vuhich thought, that it was very expedient to affault and take Varus Campe, for that there was nothing more dangerous then idleness, for the breeding and increase of such imaginations as the souldiers had conceined. Others (aid, It overe better to try the fortune of a battell, & to free themselues by valorous indeauour, rather then to be for saken and abandoned of their owne party, and left to under-goe most grieuous and extreame torments. There were others which thought it fit, to returne about the third watch of the night to

Cornelius Campe; that by interposing some respite of time, the souldiers might be better fettled, and confirmed in their opinions: and if any mischance further happened, they might (by reason of their store of shipping) with more ease and

Safety, returne backe to Sicily.

Curio, misliking both the one and the other, said; That there wanted as much good resolution in the one opinion, as it abounded in the other; for, these entered into a confideration of a dishonourable and onfeeming flight: and those were of an opinion to fight, in an unequall and disaduantageous place. For, with what hope (faith he) can voce affault a Campe (o fortified, both by Nature and Art? Or what have we gained, if with great loffe and damage, weefhall goe away and give it over? As though things well on happily atchieved, did not get to the Commaunder, great good will from the fouldier; and things ill caried, as much hate. Concerning the remouing of our Campe, what doth it inferre but a shamefull retreit, a despaire in all men and an alienation of the Army? For, it is not fit, to gine occasion to the prudent and well-advised, to imagine that they are distrusted : nor on the other side, to the ill disposed, that they are redoubted or feared: and the rather, because feare in this kind, will give them more liberty to do ill, and abate the indeauour of good men in well-deserving. And if (saith he) these things are well knowne unto us already, that are spoken of the revolt and alienation of the Army (which, for mine owne part, I think either to be altogether false, or at least, lesse then in opinion they are thought to be) is it not better to dissemble and hide them, then that they should be strengthened and consirmed by us?

Ought we not, as we doe hide the wounds of our bodies, to couer the inconveniences of an Armie, least we should minister hope or courage to the Aduer sarie? But some there are that aduise to set forward at midnight, to the end (as I imagine) that such as are desirous to offend, may performe it with more scope and licentiousnesse. For, such disorders are repressed and reformed, either with Chame or feare: to both which the night is an enemy. And therefore, as I am not of that courage, to thinke without hope or meanes, that the Enemies Campe is to be assaulted; so on the other side, I am not so fearefull, as to be wanting in that which is fitting: but am rather of opinion, that we try all things before wee yeeld to that; and doe assure my selfe, that for the most part, wee are all of one mind concerning this point.

OBSERVATIONS.

S in matter of Geometry, Rectumest Index sui, et obliqui : beeing equall to all the parts of rectitude, and vnequall to obliquity: to is it in reason and discourse. For, a direct and well grounded speech, carieth such a natiue equalitie with all it parts, as it doth

not onely approue it selfe to be leueled at that which is most fitting, but sheweth also what is indirect and crooked, concerning the same marter; and is of that consequence in the varietie of projects and opinions, and so hardly hit vpon, in the lame discourse of common reason, that Plato thought Constitut dare, enarry havpon, in the tame discourte of common reason, that I have thought arm que inter it a peece of divine power, to direct a path free from the crookedness of errour, some que interwhich might lead the straight and ready way to happie ends. And the rather, fourm. for a finuch as in matter of debate, there are no words fo waighty, but do feeme Omni orationi balanced with others of equall confideration: as heere it happened, fro those that pointing at the cause of this distemperature, convicted Idlenesse for the Philos. Authour of their variable and unfetled mindes: And, as Zenophon hath obserued, very hard to be induted in one man, much worfe in a whole familie, but no Luc. lib. 4. way sufferable in an Army; which the Romaines called Exercitus ab exercitio. For remedy whereof, they propounded labour without hope of gaine, & fuch feruice as could bring forth nothing but loffe. Others, preferring fecuritie before all other courses (as beleeuing with Liuie, that Captaines should neuer confirm courses trust Fortune further then necessitie constrained them) perswaded a retreit to a place of fafetie, but vpon dishonourable tearmes. Which vneuenness of |22. opinions, Curio madestraight by an excellent Maxime in this kind; thinking it convenient to hold such a course, as might neither give honest men cause of Adsumma revi diftrust, nor wicked men to thinkethey were feared. For, so he should be sure remain quida-(in good tearmes of honor) neither to discourage the better fort, nor give oc- gendis qua quid cation to the ill affected to doe worfe. And thus winding himselfe out of the la- loquendis: facibyrinth of words (as knowing that to bee true of Annius the Prætor, that it tis conflijs accomore importeth occasions to do then to say; being an easie matter to sit words modure rebus to things vnfolded and refolued vpon) he brake vp the Councell.

Curio calleth a generall affembly of the fouldiers; and speaketh unto them, concerning their feare, and retraction.

Cafar.

Nemo ijs ami

cus offe poteft, quibus malum

aliquod expec-

tat. Demofile.



HE Councell beeing rifen, he gaue order for a Conuocation of the Armie; and there called to remembrance what they had done for Cafar, at Corfinium: how by their fauour and had done for Cajar, at Corpnium: wow of the furtherance, he had gained the greatest part of Italie, to bee on his fide. For by you (faith hee) and by your indeauour, all the rest of the Municipall townes, were drawne to follow

C.efar: and therefore, not vvithout infloanfe did hee at that time repoje great assurance in your affections towards him; and the adverse partie conceined as great indignation and spight against you. For, Pompey was not forced away by any battell: but beeing prejudiced by your act hee quitted italy. Casar hath recommended me, whom he held neer onto him(elfe, together with the Prouinces of Sicily and Affrick (voithout which he cannot defend the Citty and Italy) to your trust and fidelitie. There are some which solicite and perswade you to renolt from my commaund: for, what can they wish or desire more, then to make it but one worke, to bring vs both to ruine and overthrowe, and to ingage you in a most detestable weickednes? Or what worse opinion can they conceive of you, then that you should be tray them, that professe themselves wholly yours? and that you might afterwards come into their power, a ho take them selues undone by your meanes?

Have you not under stood what Casar hath done in Spaine? two Armies beaten; two Generalls defeated; two Provinces tiken; and all within forty daies, after he came in view of the Enemy? Those, whose forces overe not able to make resistance when they were whole or entire, how is it possible they (hould hold out, beeing beaten and discomfited? You that followed Casar when the victory stood doubtfull; now Fortune hath adjudged the Cause, and determined of theillue of the Warre, will you follow the vanquished Partie? They gave out, that they were for saken and betraied by you, and doe remember you of the former oath you tooke: but did you for fake L. Domitius, or did he for fake you? Did not he thrust you out, and expose you to all extreamity of fortune? Did hee not secke to saue himselfe by flight, without your knowledge or privitie? Were you not preserved and kept alive by Casars clemencie, when you were abandoned & betraied by him?

How could he tie you with the oath of alleageance, when (having cast away his sheafe of Rods, and laid downe his authority) he himselfe was made a private person, and became captinated to the commaund of another mans power? It vvere a strange and new religion, that you should neglect that oath, wherein you stand now ingaged; and respect the other, which was taken away by the rendry

of your Generall, and the * losse of your libertie. But I beleene you thinke vieil of Calar, and are offended at Mee, that am not to preach of my merits towardes you; which as yet consist in my good will, and are unworthy your expectation : 5 vet fouldiers have alwayes veed to feeke reward upon the shutting up of a war; which what event it will have, make you no doubt. And why fould somit the diligence which I have already vsed, and how the business hath hitherto proceeded? Dothit offend you, that I transported the Armie ouer in safetie, without lesse of any one shippe? That at my comming, I beat and dispersed at the first onset the vohole fleete of the Aduersaries? That twice, in two daies, Iouercame them onely with the Caualrie? That I drew two hundred Ships of burthen out of the Road and Port of the Enemy? and have brought them to that extreamity. that they can be supplied by provision, neither by sea nor by land? All this good fortune, and these Commaunders resected and for saken? which will rather imbrace the ignominie you received at Corfinium, or your flight out of Italy, or the rendering up of Spaine, or the presidesial successe of the warre of Affricke. Truly, for mineowne part, I was defirous and content to be called Cafars fouidier: but you have stiled me with the title of Imperator. Which if it repent you, I doe willingly quit my selfe of your grace, and returne it back onto you : and doe you in like manner restore mee to my name againe; least you should seeme to give me honour volich might turne to my reproche.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

N the handling of this accident, the difference commeth to be ob-ferued, betweene a Councell of warre, and a Concio, or conuoca-tion of the fouldiers. The first was more particular, consisting of Somechoice men, and those the most eminent in the partie; Is qui non vniuer sum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non comitia, sed cocilium edicere debet. Their convocation or preaching was more generall, the whole Armie beeing convented together, to bee fitted by perfualion and discourse, to follow the resolution taken by a Councell; and was properly called Adlocutio, and sometimes Conventus: Cicero perlectam Epistolam Casaris Com. 5. b.ll. in conventumilitum recitat. The parties called to a Councell, were according as the Generall valued the occasion: for, some-times the Legates and Tribunes were onely confulted; and now and then the Centurions of the first Orders, together with the Capraines of horse, were called to their assistance: and oftentimes, all the Centurions. But howfocuer, Curio refolued out of his owne iudgement, as great Commaunders commonly doe; and is specially obserued by Piere Matthien, of the French King: who euer loueth to heare the opinion of his Captaines, but alwaies findes his owne the best.

Tom. 2. lib. 4.

THE

pite appellatur, atus est, aut ex amilia in aliam aloptains : et gui liber alteri mancipio datus

sfi: ct qui in bo-

Pium potestate

venit : et cui a qua ignique in-Infammo Imtuor ha virtutes authoritas, felieg. Manilia.

Lib. 1. cinil.be

Lib. 2.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Mongst other straines of this discourse, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not fland without Sicilie; and the reason was, for the plentie of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by

the Senate, as a place without which their Cittie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, untill it be wet with water, and then dried in the shade, tather then in the funne: by meanes whereof, it yieldeth fo exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any ponent Wheate; especially, for that it will keepelong in their Vantes and Caues under the earth, and fildome

or neuer take heate, beeing of it felfe fo hard and dry.

The gluttonous vie of flesh, bath made men ignorant of the vertue and strength of Corne, which the Romaines better understood; for, their legions

neuer fedde on flesh, as long as they could get Corne. Pecora, quod secundum poterat effe inopia subsidium, faith Cæfar. And in another place; Vt complures dies milites frumento carnerint, Pecore è longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarent. And in the same place, Quo minor erat frumen-

ti copia, Pecus imperabat. And againe, Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant. Pecus verò cuius rei summa erat in Epiro sopia, magno in ho-

nore habebant.

By which places it appeareth, that they never fell to flesh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doubtleffe a firmer nutriment, leffe excrementall, & of better firength, then any other foode what-fo-euer; as containing the prime substance of Meate, and the spirit of Wine: for, Aqua vite, is as well made of Wheat, as of the lees of Wine. Flesh is good to make Wrastlers of a grosse and heavie conflication, as Plutarch noteth; but the Romaine fouldier stood in need of an effectuall and finowy vigour, able to undergoe carriages, fitter for a Mule then a Man; together with such workes, as later ages doe rather heare

then believe, and was attained by feeding onely upon bread.

Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

The Rabbines & Thalmudists doe write, That the Giants of the old world, first fell to the eating of stesh; making no difference between a man & a beast, but grew so execrable, that they made women cast their fruite before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tenderness and delicacie. Which is also said to be practised by the Caniballs, upon the first discouerie of the Indies. Viginere reporteth, that he knew some great Men in Fraunce, so friand, that they caused oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out aliue, to be made meate for monifrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betweene the sobrietie of the auncient Romaine fouldier, and the gluttony of these times; farre exceeding that of A-

gamemnon, which Achilles noted with words of high reproach, calling him

Sobrietas, qua fine ebrietate.

Mali Marian

Homer. Iliad.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

[Hirdly, from this elaboured and well-couched speech, wee may Eloquetia prinnote, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commaunders; besides the vse it hath, to leade a multitude cr. a.de saints.

to fuch ends as is withed: for, fmooth words prevaile where force

booteth not. According to that of Cicero, Cum populum persuaderi posse Lib. x. famil. diffidimus,cogi fasesse non arbitremur.

CHAP. XIIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth Varus Army to flight.



HE fouldiers, mooned with this Oration, did oftentimes interrupt him in his speech; signifying with what griefe they didindure the suspicion of insidelitie. And as hee departed from the Assembly, enery man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of giving battell, or to make triall of their fidelitie and valour. By which meanes, the mindes

and disposition of all men beeing changed, Curio resolved (out of agenerall confent) as soone as any occasion was offered, to give battell.

The next day, having brought out his forces, he made a stand, and imbattelled them in the same place where he stood in Armes the day before. And Varus likewise drew out his troopes, whether it were to solicite the souldier, er not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be affoorded in an indifferent place. There was a valley (as we have formerly declared) betweene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult ascent; and either of them expected who should first come ouer it, to the end they might fight in a place of more advantage: when vpon a suddaine, all Varus Caualry that stood in the left Cornet of the Armie, together with the light armed souldiers that stood mingled among st them, where seene descending into the Valley. To them Curio sent his Caualrie, together with two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horfmen overe not able to indure the first incounter of our men; but having lost their horses, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out with them, being left and for faken, were all saine by our men, in the view and sight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebilius, Cafars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experience in matter of warre, had brought with him out of Sicily) faid; Cario, then fresh the Encmy: why makest thou doubt to ofe the opportunitie of time? Cario, without making any other aunswere, then willing the souldiers to remember mokat ther had affured onto him the day before, commaunded them to follow him . Gran formost himselfe. The Valley was so comber some and difficult, that its grining

the ascent of the hill, the formost could hardly get up, unlesse they were lifted up by the followers. Howbeit, the Enemy was so possessed with feare, for the flight @ laughter of their fellowes, that they did not fo much as think of refifting ; for, they tooke themselues all to be already surprised by the Caualrie: so that before any weapon could be cast, or that our men could approche neere unto them, all

Varus Armie turned their backs, and fled into their Campe.

In this flight, Fabius Pelignus (a certaine fouldier of one of the inferior Companies of Curio his Armie) having overtaken the first troope of them that fledde, fought for Varus, calling after him with a loude voice; as though hee had been one of his owne fouldiers, and would either adulfehim, or fay fome-thing elfe to him. And, as he, being often called, looked backe, and stood still (inquiring who hee was 5 what he would?) he made at Varus (houlder (which was vnarmed) with his (word, and was very neere killing him; howbeit, he avoided the danger, by receiving the blowe upon his target. Fabius was instantly inclosed about, by such fouldiers as were neere at hand, and staine.

In the meane time, the gates of the Campe overe peftered, and thronged, with multitudes and troopes of such as fledde away; and the passage was so stopped, that more died in that place without blowe or wound, then perished either in the battell, or in the flight. Neither wvanted they much of taking the Campe; for. many left not running until they came to the towne. But the nature of the place, and the fortification of the Campe, did hinder their accesse: and Curio his men comming out (prepared onely for a battell) wanted such necessaries as overe of ve for the taking of the Campe. And therfore Curio caried backe his Army with the loffe of no one man but Fabius. Of the Adversaries were staine and wounded about fixe hundred : who vpon Curio his departure, besides many other that fained themselues hurt, left the Campe for feare, and event into the towne. Which Varus perceiving, and knowing also the astonishment of the Armie, leaving a Trumpeter in the Campe, and a fewe Tents for shew, about the third watch, he caried his Armie with silence out of the Campe into the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

Loco sapientia est, aliena stultitiam operiri.

attend the aduantage of an Enemies rashness, and to see if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe. Whereof Curio made good vie: for, he kept his Armie in the vpper ground, vntill the Caualtie of the Aduerfarie were loofely fallen into the Valley; and then fet vpon them, and cut them all in peeces. The fight whereof, maskered the whole Armie, & kept Curio in fafetie, vpon the like disaduantage, in the combersome passage of

T is a part of wifdome, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to

the fame Vale: by meanes whereof, he put to flight the whole forces of the Enemy, and made a great flaughter in the Party. Wherin I may not forget that tricke of a Romaine spirit, whereby the Authour commeth memorable to pofteritie, in calling after Varus by name, to make him the facrifice for both the Hoaftes. Whence we may obserue, that when a battell is joyned pell-mell, no Commentary of the Civil Warres.

man can be affired in his owne valour, nor thate out his fortune by the length of his fword; but is often-times subject to weaknesses of contempt, and vanquished by such as cannot be compared vnto him but in scorne.

I have heard it reported, that at the battell of Eureux, Maturine (that knowen woman in France) tooke prisoner & disarmed a Caualeto of Spaine: Who beeing brought before the King, and by him demaunded whole prifoner he was, or whether he knew the partie that had forced him? Answered, no; but that he knew him to be a gallant man of Armes. Where-at the king fmiled : and the Gentleman, under flanding what fortune he had run, was as much difmaied as a man possible could be, that considered, Quod ferrum equat in Zemph. 160. 7. bello, robustioribus imbecilliores.

CHAP. XV.

Curio leaueth Vtica to meete with king Juba: his (analyse overthroweth the forces led by Sabura; which led him on to his ouerthrowe.



HE next day, Curio prepared to besiege Vtica, inclosing it about with a ditch and a rampier. There were in the towne, amultitude of people vracquainted with warre, through the long peace they had intoyed: and the inhabitants stoode very affectionate to Cafar, for many benefits they had receiued from him. The rest of the multitude consisted of divers

Sorts of men, much terrified and affrighted by the former incounters: woherevpon, enery man (pake plainely of giving up the towne; and dealt with Pub. Atius, that their fortunes and lives might not come in danger, through his perti-

nacie and voilfulness.

While the fe things were adooing, there came me fengers from King luba, fignifying the King was at hand with great forces, and willed them to keepe and defend the towne: which newes, did much incourage and confirme the wavering and affrighted mindes of the Enemy. The same was also reported to Curio: where-onto for a while he gaue no credit; such was his confidence in the successe of things. And now withall came Letters and Messengers into Affrick, of that which Casar had so fortunately atchiened in Spaine : and being absolutely assured with all these things, he was perswaded the king durst attempt nothing against him. But when he found by affured discouery, that his forces were within twenty fine miles of Vtica, leaving his workes already begunne, he with-drew himselfeinto Cornelius Campe; and beganne there to fortifie his Campe, to get Corne and other provisions, and to furnish it with all necessaries materials for a defence: and sent presently a dispatch into Sicily, that the two legions, and the rest of the Canalry might be sent onto him.

tit ad extremu

Cleombrotus, t

gens, Lacede-

corruerunt.

noniorum ope

OBSERVATIONS.

The Campe wherein helay, was fitly accommodated to hold out the warre. as well by reason of the nature of the place, as the artificiall fortifying thereof. the neerenels of the lea, and the plenty of water and falt; whereof there was great quantitie brought thither, from the Salt-pittes neer adioyning. No stuffe could be wanting, through the great store of vood which was about the place, nor yet any Corne, for the plenty that was to be found in the cofining fieldes: and there-vpon, by the aduice and approbation of all men, Curio resolved to attend his other forces, and to draw out the warre in length. These things beeing thus disposed by the consent & liking of all men he heard

Observations upon the second

by some that lately came out of the towne, that Iuba was called back, by occasion of a warre happened upon the confines: and that by reason of the controversies and dissentions of the Leptitani, he was detained at home in his kingdome; but that Sabura his Lieutenant was sent with some competent forces, and was not callicratides cit farre from Vtica. To which reports, giving too light and easie credit, he altered Lacedemoniovã his purpose, and resolved to put the matter to triall of battell: where wat o his Dux fuiffet bell youthfull heate, the greatness of his courage, the successe of former time, & his Peloponefiaco, multaque egre gièfecifjet, ver confidence in the managing of that warre, did violently lead him. Being caried on with these inducements, he sent the first night all the Caualry to the River Bragada, where the Enemy lay incamped under the commaund of Sabura: but the king followed after with all his forces, and lay continually within fixe miles, merè cum Epa or there-abouts. minonda confli

> The horsemen sent before, and making their iourney in the night, set opon the Enemie at unawares : and not thinking of their approche: for, the Numiai. ans lodge, scattered here and there in a barbarous manner, without any government or order. And surprising them thus, oppressed with sleepe, and scattered opon the ground, they flew a great number of them: the rest, in great terror & amasement, escaped by slight. Which service, beeing thus executed, the Caualriercturned to Curio, and brought the captines unto him. Curio was gone out, about the fourth watch of the night with all his forces, having left five cohorts for a guarizon to his Campe: and having marched fixe miles, he met with the Canalric, under stood what was done, and inquired of the captines, who was Generall of the Campe at Bragadum? They answered, Sabura. Omitting for haste of his way to informe himselfe of the rest : but turning himselfe to the next Ensignes. laid: You fee fouldiers that the confession of the captives doe agree, with that which was reported by the fugitiues. For the king is not come; but hath (ent some (mall forces, which cannot make their partie good with a fevo horsemen: and therefore, hasten to take the spoile with honour and renowne; that we may now at length begin to thinke of rewarding your merits.

> > OBSER-

T is observed by Marcellinus, that when missortune commeth vpmaintain pon a man, his spirit groweth so dull and benummed, as his senses in
maintain the sense selection to be dismitted of their charges. Which appeared heere in

miss behavior selections selections to be dismitted of their charges. T is observed by Marcellinus, that when misfortune commeth vp- Filemus ipg Curio: who, having taken a provident and fure course, such as was approoned in enery mans indgement, and beleemed well the wiledome of a Marceli. Commaunder, did neuertheleffe, contrarie to all fense and diferenion, forgoe the fame; and call himselfe vpon the hazard of that which fugitives had vainely reported. Concerning which, as it is noted, that incredulitie is hurtfull onely | Solis incredulis to the vibelicuer; fo this passage proveth, that for a Commander to bee too dalitas. Philo, light of beliefe, is a danger to the whole Partie, and bringeth many to ruine, deve. Mofile.

that had no part in that Creede. Cælar, in the relation heereof, noteth three speciall things in Curio, that caried him head-long to this disaffer, and may

ferue as markes to appoid the like Syrtes.

The first, was Iunenilis ardor, his youthfull courage and heate: which is alwaies attended with strong affections, suting the qualitie and temperature of the bodie, being then in the prime height of strength, & accordingly ledde on with violent motions; where-asage goeth flowely and coldly forward, and is Hebetieres qua alwaies furer in vindertaking, then hot spurre youth. And albeit, no man in deutiones ve cold bloud could better aduize then Curio, or fore-fee with better providence: rempub. admiyethis youthfull boldnesse, ouer-twated his discourse; and drew all to a mis- his dides. chiefe, in despight of his wisedome.

The second, was Superioris temporis prouentus, the happy issue of former proceedings: which of all other conditions, is to be fulpected, and needeth Relus founds Gods assistance more then any other fortune; for that no man sooner errein, maxime deux or is more viscople of order, then such as are in prosperitie. And therfore, Plato refused to make lawes for them of Syrene ; as a matter of great difficulty, to Felicitatis et giue ordinances to men that were in happinesse. And doubtless, such is the moderationis exorbitancie of our nature, that nothing better informeth it then croftes; dundaticonuwhich are as inflructions and warnings, for the presenting of ruining calamities. Wherein Curio was not beholding to Fortune at all; that dandled him --quent blanda in her lap for a while, to cast him out at length, head-long to his ruine. It had libraris, been much better, the had exchanged a frowne with a fauour, rather then to belli fortuna rehaue gueu him much good together, and referue an irrecouerable difgrace him tuchb.4. for the vp-shot.

The third, was Fiduciareibene gerende: which fauoureth more of follic Improdomium fiduciar! fortuthen any of the former; beeing alwaies an argument of an imprudent man, to main feli spondeaffure himselse of good fortune: for, Presumption, beeing euer accompanied resemble de bewith Negligence, is subject to as many casualties, as those that goe vnarmed Income semper vpon extreamitie of danger. And these were the three things that miscaried minia presump-Curio. Out of which we may observe with Xenophon, that Ingens et ardaum tie et stat negliopus est rectè imperare.

Lib. 1. de Infii

Curio pursueth the Enemy, with more haste then good successe.

Cafar.

Hat vobich the Caualrie had exploited, was certainelie a matter of great feruice; especially the small number of them, who beeing compared with the great multitude of the Numidians: Syet notwithstanding, they spake of these things, with greater oftentation then the truth would beare; as men are willing to divulge their owne praises. Besides, they shewed

much spoile which they had taken: Captines and horses were brought out, that what some rime was omitted, seemed to be a les and hinderance to the victory; by which meanes, the desires and indeanours of the Souldiers, were no way short of the hope which Curio had conceined. Who, commanding the Canastry to follow him, marched sorward with as much haste as he could; to the end he might find the Enemy distracted and associated, at the slight and our throwe of their sellowes: but the horsemen, having travelled all night, could by no meanes soliow after. Whereby it happened, that some state in one place, some in another: yet this did not hinder or discourage Curio in his hopes.

Iuba, beeing aduertifed by Sabura of the conflict in the night, sent instantlie two thousand Spanish and Frenchhorse, which he kept about him for the safetie of his Person, and such of the soote-troopes as hemost trusted to succour and relieue him: hee himselfe, with the rest of the sorces, of forty Elephants, followed softly after. Sabura, suspecting by the horsemen comming before, that Curio himselfe was at hand, imbattelled all his sorces; commanding them, that under a pretence of counterfait feare, they should retreit by little and little: himselfe, when occasion served, would give them the signe of battell; with such other directions as should be expedient.

Curio was strengthened in his former hope, with the opinion of the present occasion. For, supposing the Enemy hidsed, hee drew his forces from the upper ground into the Plaine; wherein, after he had marched a good space (the Army hauing trauailed sixteene mile) hee made a stand. Sabura gaue the signe to his men of beginning the battell, ledde on his Army, went about his troopes, to exhort and courage his souldiers: Howbeit, he weld his soot-men onely for a shew a sarre off, and sent the Caualrie to give the charge. Curio was not wanting to his men; but wished them to set all their considence in their valour. The souldiers, how souer harried and wearied, and the horsemen (although but a verie sew, and those spent with travell) yet wanted no courage or desire to sight these beeing but two hundred in number (for, the rest staid by the way; what part of the Army souer they charged, they forced the Enemy to give way; but they could neither sollow them sarre as they stedde, nor put their horses to anie round or long cariere.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

At length, the Caualrie of the Enemy, beganne from both the wings to circumtvent our Army, and to mall them downe behind; and, as our Cohorts is sue out from the battell, towards them, the Numidians (through their nimblenesses) did easily awoid the shocke; and againe, as they turned backe to their rankes, inclosed them about, and cut them off from the battell; so that it neither seemed safe to keepe their order and place, or to advance themselves out, and vader-goe the hazard of adventure.

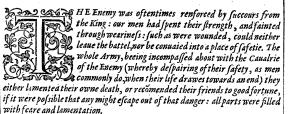
OBSERVATIONS.

HE Principles and Maximes of VVarre, are alwaies to bee held firme, when they are taken with their due circumftances: for, eueric Rule hath a qualified flate, and confifteth more in cautions and exceptions, then in authoritie of precept. It is true, that nothing doth more aduantage a victorie, then the counfell of Lamachus, the third

Duke of the Athenians; which was, to fet vpon an Enemy, when he is affrighted and diffracted: for, fo there is nothing to be expected (on his behalfe) but despaire and consustion. But, either to be mistaken therein, or otherwise to make such haste to observe this rule of warre (as Curio dio) that the best part of the Armie shall lie by theway, and the rest that goe on, shall be so spent with labour, as they are altogether writtee for service, and yet (to make the matter worse) to bring them into a place of disaduantage, to incounter a strong and fresh Enemy, is to make the circumstances over-sway the Rule, and by a Maxime of VVatre, to be directed to an overthrowe: Neglecting altogether that which is observed by Sextus Aurelius Victor; Satis celeriter sit, gaicquid commode geritur.

CHAP. XVII.

Curio defeated and slaine; Some few of the Armie get passage to Sicily: the rest, yeeld themselves to Varus.



N 2.

Curio.

Cesar,

A+

they bad of (afety) that they should all flie unto the next hills, and thither hee

commaunded the Ensignes to becaried. But the Caualrie, fent by Sabura, had

OBSERVATIONS.

ND this was the period which Dinine power made, to the hopefull beginning of Curio's dessigne vpon Affrick; & hap- candi possure pened fo suddenlie, as they were lost ere they were aware: Like a tempest at Seasthat swalloweth vp vessels in the same place,

where a little before they fwam most proudly, and in the like irrecouerable manner. For, warre is not capable of a fecond errour; one fault beeing enough to ruine an Armie, and to disable Curio for euer dooing the like: of whom Lucan hath left this memoriall;

Haud aliam tanta Ciuem tulit indole Roma, Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti, Perdita nunc primum nocuerunt (ecula, postquans

Ambitus, et luxus, et opum metnenda facultas, Transuersomentem dubiam torrente tulerunt. Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,

Gallorum captus spolijs et Casaris Auro.

His bodie lay vnburied, as a witness of Numidian hate (which is alwaies extreame, like the heat of the Countrey) and of Iuba's particular reuenge, for tendering an Edict to the people, to confiquet his kingdome.

To conclude this Commentary; The loffe either Partie fustained vnto this stage of the Warre, was in these particulars: Pompey was driven out of Italie, loft Marfelleis, and both the Provinces of Spaine; Cæfar received this loffe in Affrick, besides that in the Adriatick sea, where Antonius miscaried, whereof he maketh no mention in these Comentaries. And as when Iupiter weighed Homer, Iliad.8. the fortune of the Greekes, and the Trojans, in a paire of Ballance, it fell out the Greekes had more ill lucke then the Troians; to the fortune of these Parties beeing weighed, by the relation made thereof, it falleth plainely out, that Pompey had the worfe.

And thus endeth the fecond Commentarie.

N 3.

THE

also preoccupated that place; whereby our men began to fall into otter despaire. and partly were flaine as they fled by the horsemen, or fell downe without wounding, Cn. Domitius, Generall of the horse, standing with a few horsemen about him perswaded Curio to saue himselfeby flight, and to get the Campe; promising not to leave or for (ake him: but Curio confidently replied, that hee would never come in Cafars fight, having lost the Army committed onto him; and therevpon, fighting valiantly, vvas staine.

A fevo hor semen saued themselves from the furie of the battell; but such of the Rereward, as stated by the way to refresh their horses, perceining a farre off the rout and flight of the whole Army, returned fafe into the Campe. The footmen overe all flaine, to a man. M. Rufus the Treasurer, beeing left by Curio in the Campe, exhorted his men not to be discouraged. They praied and befought him, they might be transported into Sicily. Hee promised the they should; and to that end gaue order to the Maisters of shippes, that the next evening they should bring all the Skiffes to the shore. But such was the associationent and terrour of all men, that some gave out, that subahis forces were already come: Others, that Varus was at hand with the legions; and that they saw the dust of the Army marching towards them: whereas there was no such matter at all. Others . Suspected the Enemies Nauie would speedily make to them; insomuch as euery man shifted for himselfe: such as overe already on ship-board, made haste to be gone. Their departure, gaue occasion to the ships of burthen to follow af-

A few (mall Barks overe obedient to the commaund: but the shore beeing thronged with fouldiers, such was the contention, which of all that multitude should get aboard, that some of the Barkes overe sunke with preace of people, & the rest, for feare of the like casualtie, durst not come neere them. Wherby it happened, that a few fouldiers, and Maisters of families (that through favour or pitty preuailed, or could (wim onto the flippes) were caried backe, fafe, into Sicily. The rest of the forces, sending by night some of the Centurions as Embassadours to Varus, rendered them selves unto him.

The next day after, luba feeing the Cohorts of these souldiers before the towne cried out presently, that they were part of his booty; and thereupon caue order, that a great number of the should be slaine; and, selecting a few out of the rest, sent them into his kingdome : Varus complaining in the meane while, that his faith and promise was violated, and yet durst not resist it. The King rode into the towne attended with many Senators among st who was Ser. Sulpitius & L. Damasippus: and remaining there a few daies, gave such order for things, as he thought fit, and then returned to his kingdome, with all his forces.

OBSER-

Eodem vbi luferunt nauigia

Seneca Epift. 4. Non est in bello bis peccare. Plas-

THE THIRD COMMENTARY

of the Ciuill Warres.

 (\cdots)

THE ARGUMENT.

HE former Bookes, containe the drifts and dessignes which these samous Cheeses attempted, and prosecuted, while they were asunder. And now commeth their buckling at hand to be related; together with the judgement which the VVarre gaue of the Cause in question, on Casars behalfe.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar giueth order at Rome, for matter of Credit and Usury, and other things.

AES AR the Distator, holding the affembly for election of Magistrates; Iulius Casar, and Pub. Seruilius vvere created Confulls: for, in that yeere he was capable by law to be chosen there-vnto. These things beeing ended, forasmuch as hee found that credit was very scant throughout all Italy, and

that money lent vpon trust zvvas not paid; he gaue order that Arbitrators should be appointed, to make an estimation of possessions & goods, according as they overevalued before the ovarre: and that the Creditors should take them at that rate for their moneys. For, this course he thought to be fittest, and most expedient; as well for the taking away of any feare of composition, or new assurances, for the quitting and abolishing of all debts (which do commonly fall out upon warres and civill broiles) as also for the keeping and preserving of the Debtors credit. In like manner, he restored the ancient course of Appeale, made by the Pra-

tors and Tribunes, to the people; as also certaine courses vsed, in suing for Magistracie (which were taken away by a law made in Pompeis time, when hee kept the legions about him in the Cittie) and likewise reformed such indgements in futes and trials of law, as were given in Cases, when the matter in controversie was heard by one Iudge, and the sentence pronounced the same day by another Iudge. Last of all, where-as divers stood condemned, for offering their service unto himin the beginning of the Civill warre, if he should thinke it fit to accept

longed to the people.

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commandement & authority: least hee should either seeme ungratefull, in not

acknowledging their deferts; or arrogant; in affuming to himfelfe that; which be-

Commentary of the Civil Warres.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE second thing I observe, is the difficultie of taking up money vpon credit, in time of trouble or warres: which Calar expresseth in thefe tearmes; Cum fides tota Italia effet angustior. The word Lib. 1. offic. Fides, hath ener been taken for a reall performance of any promife

uam fides.

or agreement; which Tully calleth the foundation of Iustice, and the very prop rempub. cotinet of a Common-weale: taking the Etymon to growe, quia fiat qued dictum. According to that of Nonius Marcellus; Fides nomen ip fum videtur habere cum fit, quod dicitur. And for that Men commonly are conenant keepers, not fo much by the perfection of their nature, as out of strictness of law, it falleth out, that where there are no lawes, there is no performance; and confequentlie, little or no credit either giuen or kept in time of Warre, because Silent leges inter arma.

Casar, to prouide for this inconvenience, appointed Commissioners to in the life of rare enery mans lands and possessions, as they were valued before the warres, intended for the warres, intended and to fatisfie the Creditors with the fame. Which Plutarch explaineth in this manner; That the Creditors should take, yeerely, two parts of the reuenewe of their Debtors, vntill such time as they had paid themselues; and that the Debtors should have the other third, to live withall. Whereof it seemed he had some light, by a prefident in the Consulshippe of Valerius Publicola, which is extant in Livie; Noui Consules fanebrem quoque rem leuare aggress, Colutionem eris alieni, in publicam curam verterant, quinque viris creasis, quos

mensarios, ab dispensatione pecunia appellarunt. This generall acquittance for debts, the Romaines called None Tabula: In this respect, as Celius Rodiginus hath it, Quodeum pecunia credit a oberratis condonantur, noue mox cooriuntur Tabula, quibus nomina continentur noua: and is nothing elfe, then what is ordinarie amongst our Bankerupts, compouding for fo much in the pound with their Creditors, ypon new affurance, and other fecuritie, which they called Nona Tabula; agreeing to that of Tullie: Tabula verò noua quid habent argumenti, nisi vt emas mea pecunia fundum, 2.0ffc. eum tu habeas, ergo non habeam pecuniam.

Concerning matter of Viurie, which was the ground of this mischiefe, Ta- Vetus orbi facitus noteth it, as an old and deadly disease, and the cause of many seditions in leditions in leditions in that Empire; and is neuer better likened, then to the biting of a Serpent, called kordiarumque an Afpicke: which, vpon the infusion of her venom, putteth the Patient into a heavie flumber; and in a fhore time, bringeth all a mans substance to death and destruction. And there-vpon, it is called Fanus à fatu, from the fertile and auple increase of money. For, as Basill noteth, The Labourer loseth the seed, and contenteth himselfe with the fruit or increase: but the Vfurer, will have the fruit, and yet not lose the seede. Whereby there must needes growe great increase. The law of the twelve Tables, was, Ne quis vnciario fanore amplius exerceto.

And is vndcrstood for one in the hundred. The highest rate was Centesima V/ura; when the hundred part of the principall was paid enery month to the

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Aefar, as he was Dictator holding the affembly for the choice of Magistrates; himselfe, with P. Seruilius Iscauricus, were made Consuls, in the yeere of Rome 705; which was just tenne yeeres after his first Consulshippe: whereby he became capable thereof, by the law published by Sylla; wherein it was prouided, That no man should be chosen to an office, within tenne yeeres after he had supplied the same. In this yeare, happened all these things, which are contained in this third Commentarie: as Paterculus noteth in these words;

C. Cæfar, and P. Seruilius beeing Confulls, Pompey was miferably maffacred, after three Confulthips, and three Triumphes; and was flaine, the day before his birth day, beeing aged 58 yeeres. The Choice day, was regularlie the first of Ianuary: and the Assembly was called Comitium Centuriatum.

Touching the difference of these Assemblies, the parties present thereat, the manner of the choice, and other circumstances appertaining, the Reader may receiue information at large, by Rossius. Onely it is to be remembred, that Comitia Centuriata were neuer holden without consent of the Senate. And for as much as the cheefe part of them were with Pompey, Lucan taketh exception at this Creation.

-mærentia tečta Cafar habet, vacuásque domos, legésque filentes: Clausaque institio tristi fora. Curia solos Illa videt Patres, plena quos vrbe fugauit.

The Persons, that were futers for the Consulshippe, were called Candidati; who oftentimes vied extraordinarie meanes to attaine the fame: which moued Pompey to make a law, That no man should sue for publique offices, by bribes, or other corrupt courses, and was called Lex de Ambitu; which indeed was but renewed: for, the same was set on foote, Anno Vrb. 395, by Petilius, Tribune of the people : and renewed againe, by Pub. Cornelius Cethegus, Anno 572: and within a while after, made capitall, as farre as banishment concerned the partie. Coponius was so condemned, having bought a voice, with an * Amphora of Wine. The law, which Pompey now made, wasvery strict, as Dio noteth: for, it was ordained, That vpon producing of witnesses, the Procels shouldend in a day, giving the Accuser two houres, to lay open the matter; and the Defender three, to make aunswere; and the Iudgement instantlie followed. The rigour of which law, Cæfar here reformed.

Lib. 6. de Comitiis.

Lib. s.

Anno Vrb. 70

Iiv.lib. 7. Liv. lib. 9.

*Fouregillon and a halfe. Pli.li.35.c.1 Lib.39.

THE

Lib. 7.

Lib. 7.

Tull. 2. offic.

Pecunia quaende ratio, r ura consentaea omnibus oft a fructibus et a nimalibus. de repub.lib. 1. cap. 10.

Creditor, and was twelve per Cent. The next was Vsura deunx, when the Debtor paid eleuen in the hundred for a yeere. The third Dextans, which was x.per Cent. Dodrans ix. Bes viÿ. Septunx vsura,vÿ. Semìs vi. Q uincunce v. Triens iii. Quadrans ii. Sextans ij. Vnciaria, one in the hundred. Howbeit. Ca-

to condemned all kind of viury : for, being demaunded, Quid maxime in refamiliari expediret? respondit bene pascere : quid secundum? satis bene pascere? quid tertium? bene vestire: quid quartu? arare: et ciumille qui quasierat dixiffet, Quid fanerari? Quid homine inquit occidere? Allowing (asit feemeth) no meanes of getting mony, but those which Aristotle tooke to be most agreeing to Nature: which is from the fruites of the earth, and the increase of our cattell; with fuch other courses as are aunswerable therevnto.

CHAP. II.

A particular view of Pompeis forces.



N the accomplishing of these things, as also celebrating the Latine Holidaies, and holding the Assemblies of the people, having spent eleven daies, he gave over his Distatorship, left the Cittie, and came to Brundusium. For, he had commannded seauen legions, and all his Caualrie to repaire thither: bowbeit, he found no more shipping ready, then would hard-

ly transport fifteene thousand legionary souldiers, and fine hundred horse; the want whereof, seemed to hinder him from bringing the warre to a speedy end. Moreover, those forces wohich were shipped, were but weak; in regard that many of them were lost in the warres of Galia, and lessened likewise by their long iourney out of Spaine : besides that, the wnwholsome Autumne in Apulia, and about Brundusium, had made the whole Army ill disposed; beeing newly come out of the sweet aire of Gallia and Spaine.

Pompey, having had a yeeres space to provide himselfe of men and munition, and neither warre nor enemy to trouble him, had got together a great Nauyout of Asia, from the Cyclad Iles, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bythinia, Syria, Cilicia. Phanicia, and Egypt; and had caused another as great a fleet to bee built in all places fit for that purpose; had raised great summes of money out of Asia, and Syria, and of all the Kings, Dinastes, Tetrarches, and free States of Achaia; and had likewise compelled the Corporations of those Provinces to cotribute the like fum. He had involled nine legions of Romaine Cittizens, fine which he had transported out of Italy, one old legion out of Sicily (which beeing compounded and made of two, he called the Twin) one out of Creet and Macedonia, old fouldiers. who beeing discharged by former Generalls, had resided in those Prouinces two out of Asia, which Lentulus the Confull had caused to be involled: besides he had distributed amongst those legions, under the name of a supply, a great number

of Theffaly, Baotia, Achaia, and Epyrus.

Gemella.

Commentary of the Civill Warres. Amongst these, he had mingled Anthonies souldiers: and besides these, he ex-

petted to be brought by Scipio, out of Syria, two legions. Of Archers out of Creta, Lacedemon, Pontus, and Syria, and the rest of the Citties, he had three thoufand; fixe cohorts of Slungers; two Mercenary, & Seauen thousand horse. Whereof Deiotarus had brought fixe hundred Galls; Ariobargenes fine hundred out of Cappadocia; Cotus out of Thracia had (ent the like number, under the leading of his sonne Sasalis. From Macedonia came two hundred, commaunded by Rascipolis; a Captaine of great same and vertue. From Alexandria came sine hundred, part Galls, & part Germaines; which A. Gabinius had left there with King Ptolomy, to defend the Towne. Pompey, the sonne, had brought with the Nauie, eight hundred of his shepheards and seruaunts. Tarcondarius, Castor, & Donilaus, had sent three hundred out of Gallogracia; of whom, one came himselfe, and the other sent his sonne. Two hundred were sent out of Syria, by Comagenus of Antioch, whom Pompey had presented with great gifts: most of vohichwere Arbalestriers on horsebacke.

To these were added Dardanes, Bessi; partly for pay and entertainement, and partly got by commaund or fauour ; besides Macedonians, Thessalians, & divers other Nations and Citties: insomuch as he filled up the number formerly spoken of. He provided great quantity of Corne out of Thessaly, Asia, Creta, Cyrenia, & the rest of those Regions. He determined to winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, & all the maritimate townes, to keepe Casar from passing the Sea: and to that end, he had laid and disposed his Nauie all along the Sea-coast. Pompey the son was Admirall of the Egyptian shippes; and Lelius Triarius, of those that came out of Asia. Cassius commaunded them of Syria, and C. Marcellus, with Pomponius, the shippes of Rhodes. Scribonius Libo, and M. Octavius, had charge of the Achaian Nauie: Howbeit, M. Bibulus commaunded in chiefe in all sea causes; and to him was left the superintendencie of the Admiraltie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Oncerning these Latina Feria, it is to be noted, that the Romaines Latina Feria. had two forts of Feria, or Holy-daies; the one called Annales, which came alwaies to be kept on a certaine day : and there-ypon were called Anniuer fary. The other, Conceptina; which were ar-

bitrarie, and solemnized vpon such daies, as the Magistrares & Priests thought most expedient, whereof these Latine Feria were chiefe; and werekept on Mount Albane, to Inpiter Latior, for the health and preservation of all the Latine people, in league and confederacie with the people of Rome, and vvere folemnized in remembrance of the truce betweene those two Nations: during which feaft, the Romaines held it vnlawfull to make any warre. The facrifice was a white Bull, kild and offered by the Confulls, and the flesh distributed to the inhabitants of Latinum: according to an ancient Treatie of alliance between them; engrauen for a perpetual memory, in a Columne of braffe. The Lib. 4. de Anparticulars whereof, are expressed at large, by Dionisius Halicarnasseus. THE

tiqui. Roma.

Observations upon the second THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE second thing comming to be noted, is the view taken of Pompeys forces; which are nine compleat legions, befides the supplies heere particularly mentioned, lent from such as bare affection to the Party and by indifferent calculation, might amount in all. peys forces; which are nine compleat legions, besides the supplies that Party: and, by indifferent calculation, might amount in all,

neere about three-score thousand men, together with the fauour of the Countrey, where the triall was to be made by the stroke of Warre.

In which Muster, were the fouldiers of C. Antonius; whose missortune these Commentaries have either willingly forgot, or some other chance hath wip't it cleane out. Howbeit, Florus hath it recorded, that Cæsar hauing sent Dolabella and Antonius to seize vpon the Straights, and entrance of the Adriatick-sea, the one tooke hold of the coast of Slauonia, and the other necrevn-To Corfew: when vpon a fuddaine came Octavius and Libo, Pompeys Lieutenants, and with great forces (they had abound their shippes) surprized both the one and the other; whereby Antonius was constrained to yeeld up fifteene Companies, which were these fouldiers of Antonius heere mentioned.

Rascipolis, or Rascupolis, was a Thracian of great same, that followed Pompey; and his brother Rascus tooke himselse to Cæsar, vpon an appointment made between themselves: for, finding in the Countrey where they

dwelt, two great Factions in opposition, & doubting which Partie to take, they

divided themselves; as the best approved part of Newtralitie: And held likewife the fame courfe, in the warre betweene Brutus and Octavius, continuing vnto the battell of Philippi. Vpon the iffue whercof, Rafcus demaunded no other reward for his fernice, then the life of his brother: which was cafilie graunted.

This Bibulus, Pompeis high Admirall, was fellow Confull with Cæfar, in the veer of Rome 694: but Cæsar so out-stript him in the managing of things, that he much suspected himselfe, as insufficient for the place: which made him keepehis houseall that yeere. Whereupon came this Distich;

Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, sed Casare factum: Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth ouer into Greece, returneth his shipping to Brundusium. Octavius besiegeth Salones.

Cafar.

Appian. lib. 4.



Aefar, upon his arrivall at Brundusium, called the souldiers together; and shewed them, that for a smuch as they overe almost come to an end of all their labours and dangers, they would now Be content to leave villingly behind them their servants and cariages in Italy, and goe aboard, cleere of those incamberments; to the end, the greater number of fouldiers might be taken in; and that they should expect the supplie of all these things, from victorie, his liberality. Every man cried out, That he should commaund what he would, and they would willinglie obay it.

The second of the Nones of Ianuary, he waied Anchor, hauing (as is formerly (hewed) (hipped seauen legions. The next day, he came to land at the Promontorie of Ceraunium, having got a quiet roade amongst the Rocks, and places of danger. For, doubting how he might safely venture vpon any of the knowne Ports of that Coast (which he suspected to be kept by the Enemy) he made choice of that place, which is called Phrasalus: and there arriving in safetie with all his ships, he landed his fouldiers.

At the same time, Lucrecius Vispillo, and Minutus Rufus (by order from Lalius) were at Orick, with eighteene shippes of Asia: and M. Bibulus, was likewise at Corfew, with one hundred and tenne shippes. But neither of these two durft come out of the Port, although Cafar had not in all above twelve flippes of warre, to wast him ouer; amongst which, he himselfe was imbarked. Neither could Bibulus come foone enough, his shippes beeing unready, and his Mariners asbore; for that Casar was descried neere the Continent, before there was any bruite of his comming in all those Regions. The souldiers beeing landed, hee sent backe the same night the shipping to Brundusium; that the other legions and the Caualrie, might be brought ouer.

Fusius Calenus, the Legat, had the charge of this service, and was to use all celeritie in transporting over the legions : but, setting out late, and omitting the opportunity of the night wind, they failed of their purpose, & so returned back. For, Bibulus beeing certified at Corfew of Cafars arrivall, and hoping to meete with some of the shippes of burthen, met with the emptie shippes, going backe to Brundusium: and having taken thirty of them, he wreaked his anger (conceived through griefe and omission) and set them all on fire, consuming therein, both the Maisters, and the Mariners ; hoping by the rigour of that punishment, to terrifie the rest.

This beeing done, heepossest all the Coast, from Salones to Orick, with shippes and Men of vvarre; appointing guardes with more ailigence then formerly hath been vsed. He himselfe, in the depth of Winter, kept watch a ship-board, not refusing any labour or duetie, nor expecting any succour, if he happened to meet with Cafar. But after the departure of the Liburnian Gallies from Illiricum, M. Octauius, with such shippes as he had with him, came to Salones; and there having incited the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew I (ca from Casars partie. And finding that he could not move them of Salones, neither with promise nor threatnings, herefolued to befiege the Towne. The Place was strong by nature, through the advantage of a Hill; and the Romaine Cittizens (there inhabiting) had made towres of wood to fortifie it within: but finding them (elues too weake to make resistance (beeing wearied out and spent with woundes) they fell at length to the last refuge of all: which was, to enfranchize all their bond-slaves, above the age of fourteene yeeres; and cutting their womens haire, made Engines thereof. Their

Their resolution beeing knowen, Octavius incompassed the towne about with fine Campes: and at one instant of time, beganne to force them by siege, and by assault. They beeing resolved to under-goe all extreamities, were much pressed through want of Corne; and there-vpon, sending Messengers to Casar, sought helpe of him: other inconveniences, they indured as they might.

And after a long time, when the continuance of the fiege, had made the Octauians remisse and negligent (taking the opportunitie of the noone time, when the Enemy was retired aside, and placing their children and women on the wall, that nothing might (eeme omitted of that vuhich was v(uall) they themselves. together with such as they had lately infranchized, brake into the next Campe vnto the Towne. Which beeing taken, with the same violence they set vyon another, and then upon the third, and so upon the fourth, and in the end, upon the fift; driving the Enemy out of all the Campes: and, having flaine a great number, they forced Octavius, and the rest remaining, to betake them to their ships; and so the siege ended. For Octavius, despairing to take the Towne, the Winter approaching, and having received such losses, retired to Pompey at Dyrra-

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Thath beene generally conceined, that there is little or no vie of women in times of warre, but that they are a butthen to fuch as feek honour by deedes of Armes; and doe better fute the licentious field of peace, then the dangers of warfare. Whereof Andromache is made an instance; from that which Homer reporterh of her teares, sighes, & praiers, to with-draw Hector from those valorous exploits, which hee vndertooke for the defence of Troy: and therefore, are by Ouid, wished to handle the diffaffe and the spindle; and leave the warre, as fitter for men, then the weakeneffe of their Sex.

12 Metamor

Iliad. 6.

colúmque I cape cum calathis, et stamina pollice torque: Bella relingue viris.

Neuerthelesse, it cannot be denied, that howsoeuer the tendernesse of women, doth require a passine course of life, under the shelter of a safe roofe, rather then in the bleake stormes of active indeauour; yet there have been some Viragos, that have ouer-topped the pride of men in points of war: amongst whom, Semiramis may leade the reft; together with Tomyris, Cyrus Mistresse by conquest. As also Zenobia, that subdued the Persians; and Helena, Ocene of the Ruffes.

Befides other noble spirits, that could answere such as told them newes of the death of their fonnes in battell; That they had brought them into the world for that onely purpose. Which do proue, as well a reall as a potentiall aptness of that Sex, to the vse and practice of Armes.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

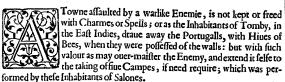
And if any man (as vnwilling to affoord them to much worth) will knowe wherein they availe the fortune of a Warre, he may take notice, that even in Quod homestian expeditions (wherein they are most subject to exceptions) they alwaies give acceptable assistances to their Husbands, both in their prouisions, and other-

wife; and are such Companions, as can hardly be left at home, without danger of greater hazard. But in places befieged, vvomen doe not onely affoord haire to make ropes, if need require (as it fell out in this fiege) but are able to cast peeces of Mill-

stones upon the Enemie, with better fortune some-times then any other man: and have thereby flaine the Generall, to the raifing of the fiege, and faving of the Cittie.

But to take instances of later times: it is not to bee forgotten, that when the Arch-Duke Mathias (after the death of Count Mansfield) commaunded the Christian Armie, at the siege of Strigonium; while the Tutkes, within the Castle, were making works for a retreit, the women (in the meane time) made good the breaches; and there bestowed such store of Wild-fire, that the Italian Squadrons (commaunded by Aldobrandine) beeing toyned poldron to poldron, to preace into the breach, feemed all of a fire at once, and were forced to fall off with great terrour and confusion.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



CHAP. III.

Cæsar sendeth to Pompey, touching a Peace; taketh in Oricum, Apolonia, and other places.



T is before declared, that Vibullius Rufus (one of Pompeis Lieutenants) was twice taken by Cafar, and dismissed; once at Corfinium, and a second time in Spaine. Him did Casar deeme (in regarde of the fauours which he had shewed him) to bee a fitte person, to bee sent with a Message to

quă vxoriü le-uamentum? Tac. l.z. Annal. ix prasenti ustodia maner llesa coniugia

Iudg. 9.

Cafar.

Herodot, lib. Trebell. Pola. Sigifm . Bar. 1 Mufcou.

Inft.lib. 1.

Qui sapiunt, bellü absolvun celeriter ; pace fruuntur quam possunt diutiss mè. Appian

Pompey; and the rather, for that hee understood, that hee was in good account and credite with him.

The lumme of his Commission was, to tell him, That it beseemed them both, to give an end to their wilfulnesse, to lay downe their Armes, and not to tempt Fortune any longer; either side had beene sufficiently afflicted with losse and dammages: which might serve for instruction and example to avoide other inconveniences. Hee, for his part, was driven out of Italy, with the loffe of Sicily, Sardinia, with the two Provinces of Spaine, as also of the Cohorts of Italie together with one hundred & thirty cohorts of Romaine Cittizens in Spaine; Him(elfe, with the death of Curio, with the loffe of the Affricane Armie, and with the rendry of the fouldiers at Corfew: and therefore they should have regard of them (clues, and of the Common-wealth.

They had good experience by their owne losses, what Fortune could do in war. This was the onely time to treat of peace, whilf either Party stood confident in his owne strength, and seemed of equall might & power. But, if Fortune should chaunce to sway to one side, he that thought hee had the better end of the staffe, would never harken to any conditions of peace, nor content him (elfe with a reasonable part, because his hope would give him all.

Concerning the Articles of Treatie for a smuch as they could not agree thereof themselnes, they ought to seeke them from the Senate and people of Rome. In the meane vuhile, it was fitte that the Common-vuealth and them selues should rest satisfied, if (without further delay) both of them did take an oath in the pre-Sence of their Armies, to dismisse their forces within three daies next following: and send avvay their Auxiliarie troopes, wherein they so relied; and consequently, to depend upon the judgement and decree of the people of Rome. For assurance whereof, on his behalfe, hee would presently discharge as well his forces in the field, as those in guarizon.

Vibullius, having received the seinstructions from Casar (thinking it no lesse requisite to aduertise Pompey of Casars arrivall, that hee might consult of that, before he delinered what hee had in charge) posted night and day, taking at euery stage fresh horse; that hee might certific Pompey, that Casar was at hand with all his forces.

Pompey was at that time in Caudania, and event out of Macedonia, to Winter in Apolonia, and at Dyrrachium. But, being troubled at the newes, he made towards Apolonia by great iourneyes, least Casar should possesse himselfe of the maritimate Citties

Cafar, having landed his forces, went the next day to Oricum. Vpon his approach, L. Torquatus, who commaunded the towne under Pompey, & had there a guarizon of Parthins, shutting the gates, ovent about to defend the place, commaunded the Grecians to take Armes, and make good the vvalles. But they, refusing to fight against the power and authoritie of the people of Rome, and the townsmen indeauouring of their owne accord to receive him in; hee opened the gates, despairing of all other succours, and gave up both himselfe and the towne to Cafar, and was entertained by him in fafetie. Oricum beeing taken-in by Ca-(ar, without any further delay he went to Apolonia.

His comming beeing heard of, L. Straberius, the Gouernour, began to carie water into the Citadell, to fortifie it, and to require pledges of the inhabitants. They on the other side, denied to give any, or to shutte their gates against the Consull, or of themselves to take a resolution, contrary to that which all Italy & the people of Rome had thought convenient. Their affections beeing knowen, he secretly consaied himselfe away. The Apolonians sent Commissioners to Cafar, and received him into the towne. The Beldinenses followed their example; and the Amatines, together with the rest of the confining Citties . And to conclude, all Epirus (ent unto Casar, promising to doe what he commaunded. But Pompey, understanding of these things, which were done at Oricum and Apolonia, fearing Dyrrachium, posted thither night and day. Howbeit, upon the report of Cafars approche, the Armiewas so astonished, that for haste on their way, they left their Ensignes in Epirus, and the confining Regions: and many of them (casting away their Armes) Jeemed rather to flie, then to march as soul-

As they came neere to Dyrrachium, Pompey made a stand, and caused the Campe to be intrenched, when as yet the Army was so affrighted, that Labienus stood out first, and tooke a solemne oath, Never to for sake Pompey, but to undergoe what chance soever Fortune had allotted him. The same oath tooke the Legates; beeing likewise seconded by the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, and by all the Army, that tooke the like oath.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Dic & Num est tempus (laith Cæsar) de pace agendi, dum oterque sibi confidit, et pares ambo videntur. Which may serue for an excellent Rule, to point out the fittelf & seasonablest time, for composition betweener wo opposite Parties. For, as in quantities, equality begetteth equalitie, and disparitie, a like vneuennesse of nature; so, in other

things: as namely, in Treaties of Agreement, the conditions doe commonly rise to either Partie, according as they stand ballanced in the scale of Equalitie; or otherwise, as the difference of their meanes shall allot the. For, if that be true in the extreamitie, which Cuttius hath, That Lawes are given by Conquerers, and accepted vpon all conditions, by them that are subdued; 445 it doth confequently follow in the Meane, that men find dealing proportionable to their fortune. To which purpose is that of Plato, where he faith, That quabilitate; mo-Peace and Quietness consist in equalitie; as Trouble and Motion are alwaies in [11, in inequaliinequalitie.

ate, semper co-

O 3.

THE

Observations upon the third

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Ex rei qua venerit exemplo, rem intellegere haud difficile. Plato 3 de legi T appeareth heere, by the fright and aftonishment of Pompeis Armie, that the course he tooke to abandon Italie, was out of no good aduice or direction. For, where he might with farre more honour, and no lesse hope of successe, have contested with Cæsar, in the place where the warre brake out, and kept him to a taske which should have held him from the conquest of Spaine, or such other archicusements as he easilie wrought in the absence of his Aduersaries: it fellout, that his departure into Greece, sorted to no other end, then by time to abate the edge of the forwardest courages, and to suffer a numerous Armie, to be daunted with noise and clamots of continuall victories, gotten youn a part of themselues; and then to give occasion to the Conquerous to come in the taile of Fame, and take them disarmed of expectation, to their great amazement.

CHAP. V.

Cæfar tooke vp his lodging for VV inter. Bibulus, distressed at Sea for want of provisions, seemed desirous of a Treatie: which, being caried on the other fide with good caution, brake off

againc.

Cæsar.

Aefar, understanding that his passage to Dyrrachium was thus intercepted, did forbeare his haste, and incamped him-selfe upon the River Apsus, in the consines of the Apolonians; that by the meanes of his Guards and Forts, such Cittle ties as had well deserved of him, might be in safety: & there determined to winter, in Tents of skinne, and to attend the

comming of his other legions out of Italy. The like did Pompey, pitching his Campe on the other fide of the River Apfus; and there affembled all his troopes and forraine aydes. Calenus, baving (according to Cafars directions) imbarked the legions, and Cavalrie at Brundusfum, and taken in as many as his shipping would containe, he set faile: but beeing gone a little out of the Port, hee received Letters of advice from Casar, that all the Havens and the Sea-coast was kept with the Enemies sleet. Where-upon, hee made againe into the Haven, and called backe all the shippes: onely one, holding on her course, without regard of the command, carying no souldiers, but belonging to private men, arrived at Oricum, and there was taken by Bibulus; who spared neither bond nor free, of as many as were of age, but put all to the sword. Whereby it happened, that in a moment of time, by great chaunce the whole Army was sauced.

Bibulus, as is before declared, lay at Oricum with his Nauie. And as hee kept

the Sea and the Ports from Casar; so was hee kept from landing in any of those Countries: for, all the Sea-coast was kept by Guardes and Watches, set along the shore, that he could neither water, get wood, nor bring his shippes to land upon any occasion: Insomuch as hee was brought into great straightness and exigent, for want of all necessaries; and woas constrained (besides all other prouisions) to fetch his water and wood from Corfew. And one time among it the rest, it happened, that the weather beeing soule, they were forced to relieue themselues, with the deaw which in the night time fell woon the skinnes, that coured the Decks of the sbippes. All which extreamities they patiently indured; and would by no meanes be brought to leave the Ports, or abandon the Sea-coast.

But as they were in the fe difficulties, and that Libo, and Bibulus were come together, they both of them spake from a-ship-board, to M. Acilius, and Statius Marco, Legates (of whom one was Gouenour of the Towne, on the other had the charge of such Guardes as were along the shore) signifying, that they would willingly talke with Cesar, of matters of great of sequence, if they might have leave. For a better shew and assurance whereof, they intimated some thing concerning a Composition. In the meane time, they earnessly desired there might be a truce: for, the thing they propounded, imported matter of great weight, which they knew Cesar exceedingly affected; and it was thought that Bibulus was able to worke some what to that purpose.

Casar, at that time, was gone with one legion to take-in some townes further off, and to set a course for provision of Corne, which was brought sparingly onto him; and was then at But hrot, opposite to Corfew. Beeing certified there by Letters from Acilius and Murco, of that which Libo and Bibulus had required, he left the legion, and returned himselfe to Oricum. At his arrivall thither they overe called out to treat. Libo came forth, and excused Bibulus, for that he was exceeding cholericke, and had besides conceived a great anger at Casar, about the Aedilitie and Prator (hip: and in regard of that, he did shun the Conference, least a matter of that utility and importance, should be disturbed by his intemperate cariage. Pompey is, and was ever desirous, that matters might be accorded, and that Armes might be laid aside; but they, of themselves, could doe nothing therein; for a smuch as by the generall resolution of a Councell, the superintendency of the warre, and the disposition of all things, overereferred to Pompey: Howbeit, when they understood what Cafar required, they would fend instantly a dispatch onto Pompey, and be a meanes that he should accomplish all things with good satisfaction. In the meane time, let there be a truce; and ontill an aunswere might be returned from him , let neither Partie offend one another. To this he added some-what concerning the Cause in question. To which, Cafar did not thinke it fit at that time to make any aunswere: nor doe we thinke there is cause now to make mention thereof.

C'efar required, that it might bee lawfull for him, to fend Embassadours to Pompey without danger; and that they would wndertake, that such as he sent, might be well intreated, or take them into their charge, and bring them safely to Pompey. Concerning the Truce, the course of the woarre sell out to be so caried, that they, with their Nauie, did keepe his ships and success from comming wnto

him

him; and he, on the other lide, did prohibite them fro landing, or taking in fresh water: and if they would have that graunted onto them, let them cease quarding of the Coast; but if they would continue that, then would he continue the other. Notwithstanding, hee thought the Treatie of accord might goe on, albeit these were not omitted; for , he tooke them to be no impediment therevato. They would neither receive Cafars Embassadours, nor undertake for their safetie; but referred the whole matter to Pompey: onely they instanced, and very wehemently orged the Truce. But Cafar, perceiving that all this speech tended onely to avoid the present danger, and to supply themselves of such wants wherewith they overe straightned, and that there was no condition of peace to be expetted, he began to thinke of profecuting the vvarre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

pacis nomine inpolutum bellum Cicero. Phil. 7

S in contracting with a Partie, it is duly to be cared, that War be not throwded under the faire name of Peace; fo a Truce demaunded by an Enemy, is to be handled sparingly & with suspicion: as a thing neuer commonly required, but when necessity doth moue them therevnto; and not to be granted, but as it may inferre the like aduantage. But to yeeld to a suspen-

fion of Armes, aduantageous to an Enemy, & no way gainefull to them that confent vnto it, is neither allowable by reason, nor Cæsars example. And if occasion proue it requisite, it must be but for a little time: for, a Prince armed in the field, that shall entertaine a Truce for any long season, shall see his Armie confumed both in courage, and in the parts thereof, which will fall afunder of themselues; and was the meanes by which Lewis, the eleuenth, put-by Edward the fourth, king of England, from going on with a warre that might have giuen him the possession of the Crowne of France. Whence it is, that such as seeke a Peace, desire no more then a cessation of Armes, for some reasonable time, as an introduction inforcing the fame. Concerning leagues, we are to note that there are found three differences.

Fædus Pacis

Fædus Comer

Fædus mutui Auxilij. z. Reg. 22.

The first, is a league of Peace: which by the Apostles rule, should extend to all men, Habete pacemeum omnibus: and by example of holy Patriarches (Hack with Abimelech, Iacob with Laban) may lawfully bee made with Heathen Princes; beeing as the golden chaine, that tieth all the Nations of the earth in peaceable communitie. The second, is a league of Entercourse, or Comerce; which is likewise by the same Patriach, sending for Corne into Egypt, and Salomons entercourse, with Hiramking of Tyre, together with divers other examples, allowable with Infidels. For, Nature, being rich in variety of commodities, doth therefore divide her workes amongst the kingdomes of the earth, that there might be a mutuall entercourse of exchange, betweene the partes of the fame. The third, is a league of mutuall Assistance; such as lehosophat made with Achab: & is hardly safe with any Prince; but no way allowable with Infidels.

Touching

Touching the Perions to be offered in a Treatie, it is to bee observed from Bibulus, that no man, whose presence may either give offence, or whose intemperance may any way interrupt a course forting to a happy iffue, is fir for any fuch imploiment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Here were, in Rome, certaine Officers called Aediles, ab Aedibus; as having the care of houses & buildings, both publique and private, that they might be built and maintained in such manner as was agreeable to the ordinances of that State, together with other things

whereof they had the charge. Nunc fum designatus Aedilis (saith Cicero) ha- In Verrem.

beo rationem quod a populo Romano acceperim, mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cerimonia, Ĉereri Liberoque faciendos. Mihi Floram Matre populo plebique Romana, ludorum celebritate placandam: mihi ludos antiquifsimos qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Ioui, Iunoni, Mineruaque effe faciendos. Mihi sacrarum Aedium procurationem; mihi tota vrbem tuendamesse commissam, ob earum rerum laborem et solicitudine fruc- The publicatitus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententia dicenda locum. Togam pretex- on of theirsetam, cellam curulem, ius imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatémque prodendam. Wherein it is to be noted, that these shewes and Plaies, were alwaies made and shesewords; fet forth at the charge and costs of the Aediles: and thence it was, that the al- dossect and so sections. lowing or disallowing of all Play-bookes belonged vnto them. Moreouer, gnos nequespecthey had the charge of all the publique buildings and works of the Cittie, to fauit quilquam gether with the prouision of victuall and Corne. And, for the missing of this of Sucto. in office, was Bibulus angry with Cæfar; and would not beregained vpon anie Claudio. condition.

CHAP, VI.

Bibulus dieth. Cæfar vseth meanes to procure a Treaty of Peace; but preuai-



Ibulus, beeing kept from landing many daies together, and fallen into a grieuous sicknesse, through cold and extreame labour (and having no meanes of help, nor yet willing to forgoe his charge) could no longer withstand the violence of the difease. Hee beeing dead, there was none appointed to take his charge: but every man commaunded his owne fleete. The

hurly burly beeing quieted, which Calars suddaine arrivall had mooned, Vibullius, with the assistance of Libo, together with L. Lucceius, and Theophanes, to whom

Cafar.

capere, difficile.

Xenop. de factu

et dict. Socratis

whom Pompey was wont to communicate matters of greatest importance, resolued to deliver what Casar had recommended onto him: & entering into the relation thereof, was interrupted by Pompey, forbidding him to speake any further of that matter. What vse or neede have I (saith he) either of my life, or of the Citty, when I shall be thought to enioy it by Casars fauour? neither can the opinion thereof be removed ontill the warre be ended; that of my selfe I returne backe into Italy, from whence I am come.

Cafar understood this, from those that were present when hee spake it : and yetnotwithstanding, hee indeauoured by other meanes, to procure a Parlee of peace. For, the two Campes of Pompey and Casar, were onely separated by the River Apfus, that ranne betweene them; where the fouldiers had often Colloquies, & by agreement among st them selves, threw no weapon during the time of their treatie. Where-vpon, he sent P. Vatinius, a Legat, to the River banke to veter such things as did chiefely concerne a Peace 3 and to aske oftentimes with a loud voice, Whether it were not lawfull for Cittizens, to fend to Cittizens, touching a treaty of peace? being athing permitted to the Thieues of the Pyreneian Mountaines: or at least, to move that Cittizens should not in Armes contend with Cittizens? And having spoken much very respectfully, as well concerning his owne well-fare, as the safetic of all the rest, he was heard with silence, by the Souldiers on both sides.

At length, it was aunswered from the other Party, that A. Varro did offer himselfe for a conference the next day; so that the Commissioners on both sides. might come and goe in safety, and deliver freely their opinions: for which, a certaine time was then appointed. The next day, great multitudes of either side. presented themselves at the place assigned; and great was the expectation therof, every man feeming to incline to peace. Out of which troope flept foorth T. Labienus, and spake softly touching the peace: and at last, entered into altercation with Vatinius. In the middle of their speech, were vveapons suddenlie cast from all parts: which hee avoided, beeing covered and defended with Armes. Notwithstanding, many were vounded; and among st others, Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtus, Centurions, besides many other souldiers. Then said Labienus, Leaue off, therefore, to speake of any composition: for, valesse Ca-(ars head be brought, there can be no peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

His imall peece of the Storie, containeth diuers notable paffages of extreamitie, in the cariage of Pompey, and others of his Partizans. As first (to take them as they lie) that of vvilfulnesse in Bibulus: who neither sicknesse, nor despaire of helpe, could moue to intermit the taske he had vndertaken; but chose rather to suffer vnto death, in approuing his zeale to the Cause, then to give himselse a breathing time for the saving of his life; and may ferue to admonish any other Bibulus, to value his life aboue that, which a stiffe and wilfull opinion may leade him vnto, beyond the measure of honorable

stood to bee well done in an other mans behalfe, that is not well done in his lost mon farmer. owne. The fecond, is Pompeis refolution; beeing fo extreame, as no composition, or other thing whatfoener, could give him fatisfaction, but onely a victorious end of that warre. Our prouerbe faith, Better a leane agreement, then a fat remedie. And the cafualties of warre, may moue an experienced Commaunder, to imbrace a fafe and quiet peace; as knowing, that he that goeth about to vex another, shall have his turne of suffering the like misseases: and as warre begin-

ftriuing to doe much, hee happen to doe nothing: for, that cannot be vnder- Fruffra Capit,

----- facilis descensus Auerni: Sed renocare gradum, superásque evadere ad.oras, Hos opus bic labor eft.

neth, when one partie listeth, so it endeth, when the other side pleaseth.

Aenead, 6.

And therefore, let no Commaunder, how great foeuer, refuse all peace, but that which is bought by extreamitie of warre; leaft the enent (whereof there can be no affurance) fall out as it happened to Pompey: but rather with the vie, let him learne the end of Armes : which is, to make straight that which is crooked; and out of discord and dissension, to draw meanes of a happie peace. To which may be added, that other of Labienus, as farre in extreamitie as

either of the former; whom nothing would fatisfie but Cæfars head. It can-

not be denied, but that he strooke at the roote; for, his head, was the head of that warre. But to say it, rather then to doe it, was no argument of Labienus worthinesse. For, as Polybius noteth; It is common to most men to magnifie themselues, with words full of wind: yea, and more then that, to follow their Successium yordessignes with impetuous violence. But, to direct their vndertakings to a fuccesfull iffue, and to remoue by industrie, or prouidence, such hinderances as tur Varro, w happen to traverse their hopes, is granted but to a few ; and now denied to La- Gellio. bienus, notwithstanding this Brauado. And therefore, let such Commaunders. as are in good opinion and esteeme with their Generall, bee well wary of imbarking their partie in any cause, further then may be ceme the wisdome and experience of judicious Leaders; as believing in that of Metellus to king Bocchus: Omne bellum sumi facile, caterum acerrime desinere: non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et sinem esse: incipere cuiuis etiam ignauo licere; deponi cum

victores velint.

Salust.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Cælius Rufus, moueth fedition in Italie, and is slaine.

Cafar.

T the same time, M.Calius Rufus, the Prator at Rome, vndertaking the business of debts, in the beginning of his Maejstracie, placed his seate by the Chaire of C. Trebonius, Pra-to tor of the towne; promising to be assisting to any man, that would appeale vnto him, concerning valuation and paiment to be performed by Arbitrators, according as Cafar had or-

dained. But it came to passe, as well through the equity and indifferencie of the Decree, as through the lexitie of Trebonius (who was of opinion, that those times required an easte and milde execution of inslice) that none vvere found, from whom the beginning of the Appeale might growe, for to pretend pouertie, or to complaine of particular misfortune, and of the calamity of those times; or otherwife, to propound the difficulties of selling their goods by an out-rope, was every mans practice: but for any man to acknowledge himselfe to bee in debt, and yet to keepe his possessions whole and untouched, was held a very strange impudencie: (o that there was no man found that would require it.

Moreover, Calius caried a very hard hand, to such as should have received benefite thereby. And having made this enterance (to the end he might not seeme to have undertooke a shamefull or dishonest cause) he published a law, That there should be no Interest paid, for any Monies let out vponconsideration, for thirtie fixe daies of the time agreed on. But when he perceived, that Servilius the Confull, and the rest of the Magistrates did oppose themselves against him, therein, and finding it not to fort with his expectation (to the end hee might incite and stirre up the humours and spirits of men) hee abrogated that law, and in steede thereof, made two others. The one, which cut off the yeerely rents that Tenants vvere accustomed to pay their Land-lords, for the houses they dwelt in : and the other, Touching new affurances, and the abolishing of old debts. Where vpon, the multitude ranne violently vpon him, and (having hurt divers that stood about him) pulled him out of his Chaire.

Of these things, Servilius the Consull made relation to the Senate: who thervpon decreed. That Calius (hould be remoued fro his Prator(hip. And by meanes of that Arrest, the Consull interdicted him the Senate, and also drew him from the * Speaking Place, as he event about to make a speech to the people. Calius, mooned with shame and despight, made as though hee would goe to Casar; but lent Messengers secretly to Milo, condemned to banishment for killing Clodius. And having recalled him into Italy, that by great gifts and revvards had gained to his party the remainder of the Company of Fencers, hee ioyned himselfe with him: and then fent him before to Thurin, to excite and stirre op the Shepheards

to sedition : he himself e going to Casseline.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

At the same instant, his Ensignes and Armes beeing stated at Capua, besides his family suspected at Naples, and their attempt against the towne, perceived; their other dessignes beeing discovered, and their Partizans shut out of Capua: fearing (ome danger, for a smuch as the inhabitants had tooke Armes, and held him as an Enemy, hee let fall his former determination, and brake off his jour-

In the meane while, Milo, having fent Letters to the Municipall townes, that what he did, was by the authority and commaundement of Pompey, according as he received it from Bibulus, he applied himselfe, and solicited such as vvere in debt: with whom prevailing nothing, hee brake up divers prisons, and began to assault Cosa in Thurin: Or there he was staine by 2. Pedius the Pratur, with a stone which he cast from the weall.

Calius, going on (as he gaue out) towards Cafar, hee came to Tury, where, when he had mooned diners of the Inhabitants, and promifed money to the French and Spanish Canalrie, which Casar had put there for a Guarizon, he was in the end staine by them. And so the beginning of great Matters, which put all Italy in feare and trouble, by the indirect practifes of the Magistrates, and the iniquitie of the times, had a speedy and easie end.

OBSERVATIONS.

T is to be noted, for the better vnderstanding these Passages, that of those which were chosen Prætors, the two chiesest remained at Rome; the one, to administer instice to the Cittizens, which was called Prator Vrbanus, who in the absence of the Consult, had the

superintendencie of the affaires of the State, assembled the Senate, received Packets, made Dispatches, and gaue order in all things: which place was now supplied by Trebonius. The other was called Prator Peregrinus: whose office was, to order the causes and sutes of forrainers and strangers; where-vnto Cælius was chosen: and, beeing of a turbulent and vnquiet spirit, tooke occasion vponthis rent in the State, to raife new garboiles, fit for his owne purpoles; as having learned, what Aristotle teacheth, That all things which are already to failth square firred, are more easily moound, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. And wenter, by the more easily moound, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. Do Mothere-vpon, having power by his office, to decide causes of Controversie, hee removed his Tribunall, and placed it hard-by where Trebonius fate, to the end he might oppose the Decrees he made, for the prising of goods, to satisfic Creditors, and draw the people to appeale vnto him; publishing with-all, certaine dangerous Edicts, on the behalfe of those that were in debt.

This Cælius was Ciceros scholler, for Oratorie; and in the opinion of Quintilian, was thought worthy to have lived longer, if he had been of a staicd and settled carriage; but now must stand for an example of a wilfull Magistrate.

Touching Roftra, which I have translated the Speaking-place, it was a part of their Forum, where the Confulls, and other Magistrates, spake vnto the people, wherein was built a Chaire or Pulpit, of the beake-heads of thips, Linie, lib.8.

which

* Rostra.

Linie. li.8. Plutarch,

which the Romaines tooke from the Antiati, and there-vpon tooke the name of Rollra; memorable amongst other things, for-that Antonie sette Tullies head betweene his two hands, in the Chaire, where he had often fopken most eloquently, and with as many good words, as were euer found in humane Oratorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Libo taketh an Iland right ouer-against the Hauen of Brundusium; and is beaten off by a stratagem.

Cafar.



Ibo, departing from Oricum, with his fleete of fifty shippes, came to Brundusium, and tooke an Iland, which lieth oneragainst the Hauen, as a place of great importance, by which our Army must necessarily come forth: & shutting in all the Ports, and parts of that shore, as also surprising by his suddaine comming, certaine shippes of burthen, hee sette all on

fire, fauing one laden with Corne, which hee tooke along with him. Whereby he put our meninto a great feare; and landing certaine fouldiers and horsemen in the night time, hee dislodged the Caualrie that overethere in Guarison : and To prevailed, through the advantage of the Place, as hee worit to Pompey, that he might draw the other shipping on shore, and new trimme them; for, hee would under-take, with his fleet alone to hinder those forces from comming to Casar.

Antonius was then at Brundusium : and trusting to the valour of the souldiers, armed out three score Skiffes, belonging to great Shippes; and fencing them with hurdles and planks, put certaine choice fouldiers in them, disposing them in severall places along the shore: and further comaunded two Triremes (which hee had caused to bee made at Brundusum, for the exercise of the souldiers in rowing) to goe out to the mouth of the Hauen.

Libo, perceiving these to come out some-what loosely, and hoping to intercept them, fent out five Quadriremes to attack them: which were no sooner come neere unto our shippes, but the old souldiers that were aboard, fledde backe into the Port.

The Enemy, caried on with a desire of taking them, preaced after somewhat rashly, and vnaduisedly: when at length, vpon a signall given, the Skiffes came suddainely out from all parts, sette upon them, and at the first shock tooke one of the Quadriremes, with all the oare-men and souldiers in her; the rest, they compelled to flie away shamefully. To which losse, this was further added that they overekept from water, by the Canalry which Antonius had disposed along the Coast: through necessity wherof (as also by reason of the ignominie receined) Libo departed from Brundusum, and gaue over the siege.

Many

Many moneths overe now past, and the Winter came hard on, and yet neyther the (hipping nor the legions, came from Brundusium to Casar. And some opportunities seemed to be omitted, for that the wind was good oftetimes; which Cafar thought they would have taken. And the longer they staied there, the Braighter was all the Coast guarded and kept, by such as commaunded the fleet; beeing now in great hope to hinder their passage. Which they did the rather indeauour, because they overe oftentimes reproued by Letters from Pompey, forthat they did not impeach Casars comming at first: which hee did to make them the more carefull, to hinder those supplies. And, in attending so from day to day an opportunity of passage, it would were worse & worse, the winds growing more easie and gentle.

OBSERVATIONS.

Y how much easier it is to keepe the out-let of one Port, then to guard the Coaft of a large Country: by fo much was Libo more likely to preuaile, in feeking to flut vp the Hauen of Brundufium, to hinder these supplies from coming vnto Cæsar; then the other, that went about to guardall the Maritimate parts of Epirus, to keepe them from landing, after they were at Sea.

But such is the vncertaintie of enterprises of vvarre, that albeit our course be Incerte funt re rightly shapen, yet it doth often faile of leading vs to that which is defired. For, howfoeuer hee was possessed of this Iland, that lay thwart the mouth of the Hauen, and had thrust out the guard of horsemen, and so became consident of blocking vo the Port: yet there was means found by the aductle Partie, to giue him fuch an affront, as made him quit the place with more dishonour, then could be recompensed by anything he got.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsars supplies passe ouer into Greece, and take landing.

🔊 Aefar, troubled at thefe things, vorit very sharply to them at Brundusium, not to omit the opportunity of the next good wind, but to put to Sea, and to shape their course to Oricum, or to the Coast of Apolonia; because there they might runne their ships on ground : & these places were freest from Guardes, by reason they could not ridefarre from the Ports.

They, according to their accustomed courage and valour (Marcus Antonius, and Fusius Calenus directing the businesse, and the Souldiours them-selucs beeing forward there-vnto, as refusing no danger for Cafars (ake) having

got a South vvind, waied Anchor, and the next day, passed by Apolonia and Dyrrachium: but beeing discouered from the Continent, Quintus Coponius, Admirall of the Rhodian Nauie, lying at Dyrrachium, brought his shippes out of the Hauen. And as he had almost (upon a slack wind) ouer-taken our men. the same South wind began at length to blowe stiffe, by which meanes they escaped: yet did not he desist from parsuing them; but was in hope, by the labour & industrie of the Mariners, to ouer-way the force of the tempest, and followed them, notwithstanding they were past Dyrrachium, with a large wind. Our men vling the fauour of Fortune, were neverthelesse afraid of the Enemies Nauie, if the wind should chance to slacke: & having got the Port called Nimphaum, three miles beyond Lissus, they put in with their shippes.

This Port lay sheltered from the South-west voind, but was not safe from a South wind: how soeuer; they accounted an ill roade lesse dangerous then the Enemies fleete: & yet they were no sooner put in, but the wind (which had blown fourtherly for two daies rogether) did now most happily some about to the South-

And heere a man may (ee the suddaine alteration of Fortune; for, they which of late stood in feare of a dangerous Roade, were now by that occasion, receined into a safe harbour: and those which threatned danger to them, were forced to bethinke themselues of their owne safetie. So that the time thus changing, saued our Partie, and sunke theirs. Insomuch, as sixteene of the Rhodian shippes were all shaken in peeces, and perished with shipwrack; and of the great number of oare-men and fouldiers, part were dashed against the Rocks & staine. and part were taken up by our men: all which, Cafar fent home in safetie. Two of our shippes comming short, and over-taken with the night, and not knowing where the rest had taken shore, stoode at an Anchor, right ouer against Lissus. Them did Otacilius Crassus, Governour of Lissus, goe about to take with Skiffes, and other little shippes, which he had prepared for that purpose; & withall, treated with them, of yeelding themselves, promising life and safety, upon that condition.

One of the shippes carried two hundred and twentie men, of the legion made of young fouldiers; in the other, were leffe then two hundred old Souldiers. And heere a man may see, what assurance and safety consisteth in courage and valour of mind; for, the new made fouldiers, terrified with the multitude of shippes that came against them, and spent with Sea-sicknesse, woon oath made not to receive any hurt, did yield themselves to Otacilius: voho, being brought all unto him, were contrary to his oath, most cruelly slaine in his sight. But the fouldiers of the old Legions (how foeuer afflicted with the inconvenience of the tempest, and noisomnesse of the Pumpe) did not slacke any thing of their ancient valour : for, having dravven out the first part of the night in conditions of treatie, as though they meant to yeeld themselves, they compelled the Maister to runne his shippe a-shore: and having got a convenient place, they there spent the rest of the night.

As soone as it was day, Otacilius sent foure hundred horse, which had the guard of that part of the coast, with others of the guarizon, to assault and take

Commentary of the Civill Warres. them: but they, valiantly defending them/elues, slew divers of them; and so got to our men in safetie. Where-vpon, the Romaine CittiZens, residing in Lissus (which towne, Cafar had formerly given them to bee kept and guarded) receiued-in Antonius, and assisted him with all things needfull. Otacilius, fearing himselfe, fled out of the towne, and came to Pompey.

Antonius sent backe the greatest part of the shippes that had brought over his troopes (which were three legions of old souldiers, one of new souldiers, and eight hundred horfe) to transport the rest of the souldiers, and horse, that remained at Brundusum: leaving the Pontones, which are a kind of French (hipping, at Lissus; to this end, that if happely Pompey, thinking Italy to be emptie and onfurnished, should cary over his Army thither, Casar might have meanes to follow him: and withall, sent Messengers speedily to Casar, to let him knowe wohere the Armie was landed, and what men he had brought over.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Olus an virtus quis in hosterequirat, is not so iustifiable by the lawes of true vertue, as that of Achilles; who professed to hate Homer 9. Iliad. that man more then the gates of hell, that promifed one thing, and purposed another. Neither do the Juristes conclude otherwife; having, for the more apparencie of truth, drawne it to a

Question, An perfidia in perfidum vti, Ius sit? alleaging Labienus practice, against Comius of Arras, together with that which admitteth no Aunswer, that Hirtins lib. 8. their example standeth as a president, to deale with them, as they deale with o- de bello Gallico. thers. But, to falfific religion, as Otacilius did, and to make an oath the Broaker of vnworthy ends, is abhorred by God and Man, and accordingly fucceedeth.

The most remarkeable instance in this kind, is that (which is to be visished were forgotten) of Lewis King of Hungaria: who, having concluded the ho- | vladiflaus. nourablest peace, that euer Christian Prince had before that time made, with any of the Turkith Sultanes, and confirmed the same by an oath, taken vpon the holy Euangelist, did neuerthelesse, at the perswasion of Iulian, a Cardinall (who tooke vpon him, by power from the Pope, to disannull the league, & abfolue him from the oath) breake the peace, & gaue battell to Amurath at Varna (wherethe Infidell tooke occasion impiously to blaspheme, in calling for vengeance on such, as in their deedes had denied the God-head of their most facred and bleffed Lord) and was there flaine, to the vtter ruine of his kingdome, and the reproche of Christian Name. Neither did the Cardinallescape the vengeance, which his treacherie had drawne vpon that roiall Armie: but beeing there wounded vnto death, was foundlying in the high way, by Gregorie Sanofe, ready to give vp the ghoste; & seemed but to stay to take with him, the bitter curses of such as passed by, slying from the battell, as the due reward of his perfidious absolution.

Audaces fortu

na inuat. Virtu

Virtute facien dŭ est, quicquid in rebus bellicis

est gerendum.

Plutarch.

omma potest.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

N cafe of difficultie and hazard (as Cæfar noteth) there is alwaies great helpe in a good courage. For, whether it be, that good hap attendeth a valourous cariage, or that vertue bee able to remoute all opposition, or what other cause there is besides; but thus it falleth out, that fuch as entertaine a noble resolution, are euer safest in extreamitie of perill; and in iteed of loffe, get honour and renowne.

Brasidas found a Mouse amongst dried figs, which bit him so that hee let her goe, and there-vpon faid, to those that stood by; That there was nothing so little, that could not faue it selfe, if it had a hart to defend it selfe against such

as affaulted it.

Nunquam ita quifquam bene Jubductaratione ad vitam fuit, quin res ,et as,v. fus, femper ali quid adportet noui, Teren. 🗸 Multi homines pauci viri. He-

rod. lib. 7.

Livie Lith, the the Romaines at the fiege of Veiente, being out of humane hope, turned their eyes to Fate, and the hope they had in Destinie.

And heerein we may observe that to be true, which the Poet hath delivered: Seris venit vsus ab annis: Time and Practice, doe much availe to perfit this courage in the mindes of Men of Warre; as knowing afore-hand the weight of fuch labours, and having incountered the like dangers, even to the redeeming of themselves from the lawes of death. Whence it is, that the Comick faith, No man can possibly come so well furnished to any course of life, but that time and experience doe alwaics teach him what he knew not before: where-as others, that goe rawlie to worke, are so daunted with the vnusuall lookes of war, as they (forgetting the profession of Armes) doe run head-long into the danger they keke to avoid; beeing able to give no other account of their feruice, but that they marched Many bodies, and but a few Men.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

The Lutarch, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Suetonius, and Lucan, doe all write, that Cæfar, impatient of the stay of his forces at Brundufium, imbarked himfelfe in a finall Frigat, of twelue oares, difguifed in the habit of a flaue, and put to fea to fetch his Legions; notwithstanding, all the Coast swarmed with the Enemies shipping: but meeting with a cotrarie wind, which would not fuffer him to get out of the River Anius, the Maister commaunded the Mariners to cast about, and get to shore. Whervpon, Cæsar discouering himselse, incouraged him to goe forward, for-that he carried Cæfar and his fortunes.

The Maister, forgetting all danger, made out againe, to get to sea; but was by force of the tempest driven to returne, to Cæsars great griefe. And albeit there is no mention made heereof in these Commentaries, yet the authoritie of so many graue Authors, is not to be contemned.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar hasteth to meet with Antonius, and preuenteth Pompey.



As Aesar and Pompey, had both intelligence, almost at one in-Stant of time, of Antonius fleet; for, they saw it passeby Apolonia, and Dyrrachium, and directed their iourneys along the Coast after them: but they understood not for a while where they were landed. Howbeit, having notice thereof, either of them tooke a contrarie refolution. For, Cafar pur-

posed to iogne with Antonius, as soone as possibly he might: and Pompey resolved to hinder their meeting, and by ambushments (if he could) to set upon them at

vnawares.

The same day, either of them drew their Armie out of their standing Camps, vpon the River Apfus: Pompey secretly, and by night; Cafar openly, and by day: but Cafar had the greater circuit to fetch, and a longer tourney to goe up the Riuer, to find a Foord. Pompey, having a ready way, and no River to paffe, made towards Antonius by great iourneys: and when hee understood that hee came neere unto him, chose a convenient place, and there bestowed his forces; keeping enery man within the Campe, and forbidding fires to be made, that his coming might be the more hidden. Whereof Antonius beeing prefently aduertifed by the Greekes, he dispatched Messengers to Casar, and kept kimselfe one day within his Campe. The next day, Cafar came voto him. Vpon notice thereof, Pompey left that place; least he should be intrapped betweene two Armies, and came with all his forces to Asparagus (which appertained to them of Dyrrachium) and there, in a convenient place, pitched his Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here two Armies are in a Countrey, and one of them hath fuccours comming to renforce them, each of those Parties, are by the example of these glorious Commannders (cateris paribus) to make towards those factours: the one, to cut them off; and the other, to keepe the standing. And to that end, it sured Pompeis condition to go secretly; how soeuer Casfar noteth it, as a touch to his valour. fo on the other fide, it flood not onely well enough with Cæfars Party, to goe openly, but allo was an argument of his courage and magnanimity, and might raise him estimation in the opinion of the Greekes. The disaduantage which Pompey could take thereby, was the danger to bee inclosed with Armies: which he, foreseeing, avoided.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Scipios preparation in Asia, to come into Greece, to assist Pompey.

Cafar. A hill, separating Syriafror Cilicia.



Bout this time, Scipio, having sustained divers losses, neere the Mount Amanum, did neverthelesse call himselfeby the name of Imperator; and, there-vpon, commaunded great Summes of money to be leuied of the Citties and Potentates of those quarters: taking, fro the generall Receivers of that

Prouince, all the Moneies that overe in their hands for two yeeres past, and commaunding them to disburse (by way of loane) the receit for the yeare to come 3 and requiring horsemen to be lewed throughout all the Prouince. Hauing gathered these together, hee left the Parthians, being neere Encmies vnto him (vvho a little before had slaine M. Crassus, the Generall, and besieged M. Bibulus) and drew the ligions out of Syria; beeing sent specially thither to keepe and settle that Province, much amuzed through feare of the Parthian vvarre.

At his departure, some speeches overe given-out by the souldiers, that if they vvere ledde against an Enemy, they vvould goe; but against a Cittizen and Confull, they would not beare Armes. The Army beeing brought to Pergamum, and there guarizoned for that Winter in divers rich Citties, he distributed great largeffe and gifts; and for the better affuring of the fouldier onto him, gaue them certaine Citties to rifle.

In the meane time, he made bitter and heavie exactions of money, throughout all the Province: for, he put a tribute upon slaves and free-men by pole, (et impositions upon the pillars and doores of houses, as also upon graine, oare-men, armes, ingines, and carriages; and what soeuer had a name, was thought fitte to yeeld money, by way of imposition: and that not onely in Citties and Townes, but almost in every Village and Castle: wherein, he that caried himselfe most cruelly, was held both the worthiest man, and the best Cittizen.

The Province was at that time full of Officers and Commaundements, peftered with Ouer feers and Exactors: who, besides the money leuied by publique authoritie, made their particular profit by the like exactions. For, they gaue-out, they were thrust out of their houses, and their Countrey, and in want of all necessaries; to the end they might with such pretences, couer their wicked on hatefull courses. To this was added, the hard and heavie Vsury, which oftentimes doth accompany warre, when all moneyes are drawen and exacted to the publique: wherein the forbearance of a day, was accounted a discharge for the vohole. Whereby it happened, that in those two yeeres, the whole Prouince was ouer-growne with debts : and yet, for all that, they stuck not to leuieround sums of money, not onely from the Cittizens of Rome, inhabiting in that Province; but also, upon every Corporation, and particular Cittie : which they gave out, was

by may of loane, according to a Decree of Senate, commaunding the Receivers to

aduaunce the like summe by way of loane, for the yeere to come. Moreover, Scipio gave order, that the Moneis which of old time had beene

treasured-vp in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, should be taken out, with other Images of that Goddesse: but as hee came into the Temple (having called onto himmany of the Senators that were there present) hee received a Dispatch from Pompey, That Casar had passed the Sea with his legions; and that, setting all things apart, hee should hasten to him with his Armie. These Letters beeing received, he dismissed such as he had called onto him, and beganne to dispose of his iourney into Macedonia, setting forward within a few daies after: by which accident, the Treasure at Ephesus was saued.

OBSERVATIONS.



T is Seneca his conceit, that Iron, beeing of that excellent vie in Propter Aurum things pertaining to Mans life, and yet to much vnder-valued to et Argentum Gold and Siluer, will admit of no peace, as often as there is question fact ferrum. li of Money; but raiseth continuall garboiles & extreamities, as a re- 14. Epist. 93.

uenge that the World doth misvalue it: and fell out as true in those better Ages. as it dooth in these daies, that are of baser Metall. For, what greater violences in the State of Rome, then those concerning Tributes and Impositions? A particular whereof, may be made out of this Chapter. For, first, wee find a maceping of the picterns. Tribute by pole, without respect of state or condition; which they called Ca- Capitatio. pitatio. And then a second, as grieuous as that, beeing a taxe laid vpon eueric dore in a house, which they called Ostiaria: whereof Tully maketh mention, Ostiaria.

in the eight Epiftle of his third Booke. And laftly, an other upon every piller in a mans house, which they called Columnaria: mentioned likewise by Cice- Columnaria. ro, Columnarium vide vt nullum debeamus. Howbeit, Alciatus vnderstandeth this, to be that we read in Dionysius Halicarnasseus, That when Treasure Epist. 1. failed at the fiege of Modena, they laid an Imposition upon euery tile that was found on the Senators houses in Rome: which gaue the Trium-virat occasion, to make the tiles as heavie to the rest of the Romaine Cittizens; and this, saith

he, was called Columnaria. Some Popes, out of their occasions, have gone farre in this kind, & found meanes to lay Impositions vpon all things pertaining to the vse of man. Insomuch as Pafquill begged leaue to dry his thirt in the Sunne, before there were of Sixt. Quinan Impolition laid vpon the Light. The rule is diuerly given in this behalfe, That the Fiske doe not swell aboue his proportion. Alexander is commended en: quod en cref-

for making his Subjects the keepers of his Treasure. And Claudianus, giueth Honorius this Elogium;

Nec tua prinatis crescunt araria damnis.

Basilius adviseth, that money thus raised, be not at any time dipped, either in the teares or in the blood of the people. But Tully draweth it to a more certaintie, by making Necessitie the square of such comaunds. Da operam (faith

12 ad Atticum

In the Papacie cente, artus reliqui tabescunt.

Sext. Aurelius Victor. In Paranet.

2 De offic.

Columnaria O

Observations upon the third

hee) ot omnes intelligant, si salui esse velint, necessitaticsse parendum. And so the opening of private mens purles, is but to keepe them thut and fafe, from fuch Enemies as would confume all; according as Scipio once aunswered, when the Romaines blamed him, for fpending their Treasure: Howsoeuer, Bella sustentar Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand fuch store of Treasure; tur pecuniaru abundantia for, VV arre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money : neither Dion. Halicar can any State continue, if the revenew which supporteth the Common-weale. bee abated; as Tacitus hath well observed, Dissoluitur imperium, si fructus quibus respub. sustinetur diminuantur.

Annal, 13

Plutarch.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar sendeth forces into Thessalia, Aetolia and Macedonia; Scipio commeth into Greece.

Cafar.

Aefar beeing ioyned with Antonius, drew that legion out of Oricum, which hee had formerly lodged there, to keepe the Sea-coast; and thought it expedient to make triall of the Prouinces, and to aduaunce further into the Countrey. And, Actolia, assuring, that if hee would send forces to protect

them, the Citties of those Provinces would readily obay what hee commaunded: Hee (ent L. Cassius Longinus, with the legion of young souldiers, called the seauen and twentith, and two hundred horfe, into Theffalia: and C. Caluitius Sabinus, with fine cohorts, and a few horse, into Aetolia; exhorting them specially, to take a course for provision of Corne in those two Provinces, which lay neere at

Que libera ap

* Lepanto.

He sent likewise Cn. Domitius Caluinus, with two legions, the eleventh and the twelfth, and fine hundred horse into Macedonia: of which Province (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principall man of that Countrey, beeing sent as an Embassador, had professed exceeding great forwardnesse on their behalfe. Of these, Caluitius, upon his comming, was entertained with great affection of the Aetolians: and having cast the Guarison of the Enemy out of Caledone and * Naupactum, became Maister of all Aetolia. Cassius arrived with the legion in The salia; and finding there two Factions, was accordingly received, with contrary affections.

Egefasetus, aman of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompeis partie: and Petreius, a man of a most noble house, endeauoured by all meanes, to deserue vvell of Casar. At the same time also, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embassadours began to come thicke unto him, from divers States of that Prouince, it was told him, that Scipio was at hand with the legions, and came with

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

great fame and opinion of all men: which is oftentimes a fore-runner of nouelties. He, making no stay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vvithin twenty miles of him turned his course suddainely, to Cassius Longius, in Thessalia: which he did so speedilie, In Macedonia, that newes came together of his comming, and of his arrivall. For to the end he que reline sib that newes came together of his comming, and of his arrivall. For, to the end he might march with greater expedition, he left M. Fauonius at the River Haliac-

mon (which divideth Macedonia from Thesfalia) with eight cohorts, to keepe ra et fusca ad

the cariages of the legions: where hee commaunded them to build a Fort. At the same time, the Caualrie of King Cottus, which was wont to keepe in the Confines of Thessalia, came string suddainely to Cassius Campe: whereat, he beeing aftonified (under standing of Scipios comming, and seeing the horsemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which inclose Thessalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haste to follow after, Letters over-tooke him, sent from Fauonius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, without Scipios belpe.

Vpon the receit of which Letters, Scipio altered both his purpole and his iourney . G leaving Cassius, made haste to help Fauonius : so that continuing his iourney night and day, he came onto him in very good time. For, as the dust of Domitius Armie, approaching, was seene to rise, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likewise discouered. Whereby it happened, that as Domitius induftry did helpe Cassius, so did Scipio his speede faue Fauonius.

OBSERVATIONS.

Aefar, beeing now ready with his forces to proceed against Pompey; the first thing he did, was to make triall of the Proninces of Greece, and to get their fauour and assistance, for his better furtherance in contesting his Aduerfarie. For, as an Armie standeth firme by two speciall meanes, first, in themselues, as they are able to resist any oppoling force; and lecondly, through the famour of the Country, wherein they are ingaged: 10, on the other fide, their ouer-throw either proceedeth fro their owne weakenette; or otherwife, when the Prouinces adioyning, doe refule fuch mutuall respects, as may relieve the wants of a consuming multitude. And therfore, having got all the forcestogether which he looked for, or could any way expect, hee fent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had beene fettling for a yeere together, and then refolued to attack him neerer.

And doubtleffe, if Scipio had not by chaunce interrupted their course, vpon his comming out of Asia, to aide Pompey, they had as easily got all Thes falia and Macedonia, as they did Actolia : and were nevertheleffe so ordered & disposed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Passages betweene Domitius and Scipio.

Cafar.



Cipio aboade two daies in his standing Campe, upon the Riuer Haliacmon, which ranne betweene him and Domitius Campe. The third day, as some as it began to be light, he pas-(ed his Armie ouer the River by a Foord, and incamped himselfe. The next day in the morning, he imbatteled his forces before the front of his Campe. Domitius, in like manner,

made no difficultie of bringing out his legions, resoluing to fight. And whereas there lay a field of sixemiles, betweene both the Campes, he led his troopes imbattelled under Scipios Campe; who nevertheleffe refused to move any iote from his standing : yet for all that, Domitius souldiers were hardly kept from giving battell: but specially a River, lying under Scipios Campe, with broken and uneasie bankes, did hinder them at that time.

Scipio, understanding of their alacrity, and desire to fight; suspecting it might happen, that the next day he should be forced to fight against his will, or with great dishonour keepe himselfe within his Campe, having with great expectation in the beginning, gone on rashly, and vnaduisedly, was now dishonoured with a reproachfull end. For in the night time he role, without ane noise or warning for the trussing up of the baggage; and passing the River, returned the same way he came: and in an eminent place, neere onto the River. he pitched his Campe.

A few daies after, he laid an ambushment of horsemen in a place, where our men had formerly accustomed to forrage. And, as Q. Varus, Generall of the horse in Domitius Army, came out according to his or ainary vie, they set vpon him at a suddaine : but our men did valuantly sustaine the on-set; and every man betaking himselfe speedily to his ranke, they altogether of their owne accord. charged the Enemy: and having staine foure-score, they put the rest to flight, with the loffe onely of two of their men.

OBSERVATIONS.

T appeareth heere, that to shew a readiness and resolution to fight, vpon fuch grounds as are institute by the rules of Warre, is no fmall aduantage to the prosperous cariage of the same. For, albeit Scipio was great in his owne thrength, and as great in the opinion and expectation of men; yet when he found fuch an alacritic in the Enemie, to give and take blowes, and a defire to entertaine ferioully all occasions of gining battell; he was so farre from prosecuting what he had pretended, as hee Commentary of the Civill Warres,

rather chose the fortune of a safe retreit, and consequentlie, to turne the aduantage which the world in opinion had given to his Armie, to his owne 1eproach, and disaduantage: where-as on the other side, to bee found for the most part viwilling to hazard the triall of a Field, or indisposed to fight vpon any occasion, doth inuite an Enemie to attempt that, which otherwise hee would not; and giveth them courage to beate him from all his purposes, as knowing the resolution of their Aduersarie, and the meanes they have, either to take or leave at their pleafure.

CHAP. XIIII.

Domitius draweth Scipio to a losse, by an Am-

bushment. Young Pompeis attemps vpon Oricum.



R Fter these things , Domitius hoping that Scipio might be drawne to fight, hee made as though hee overe in great woant and scarcitie of Corne: and there-upon, rising from the place vuherein hee was incamped, with the viualicry of remoouing, according to the custome of Warre, and having marched three miles, hee ledged all his Armie, with the Caualrie, in a connenient and secrepplace.

Scipio, beeing readie to follow after, fent his horfem.n. and a great part of his light-armed souldiers, to discouer what way Domitius tooke: who, marching forward, as the first troopes came within the Ambushment (suspecting some-what by the neighing of the horses) fell backe againe. Those that followed after, seeing the former troopes so suddainly to retire, stood still.

Our men, finding themselues discouered, & thinking it in vaine to attend the rest, having got two troopes of horse within their reache, they contented them-(elues with them: among st whom, was M. Opimius, the Generall of the horse. The rest of those two troopes, they either put to the sword, or tooke alive, and brought them to Domitius.

Cafar, as is before shewed, having withdrawne the Guarizons from along all the Sea-coast, left onely three Cohorts at Oricum, for the defence of the Towne: and to them, he committed the custo die and safe keeping of the Gallies, which he had brought out of Italy; whereof Acilius the Legate had the charge, being left Gouernour of the towne. Hee, for the better securitie of the shipping, had drawen all the fleet into a back angle, behind the towne, and there fastened them to the shore: and in the mouth of the Hauen, had sunke a great ship, and set another by her, vpo which he built a towre, to keepe the entrance of the Port; & filled the same with souldiers, to defend the Hauen from any suddaine attempt.

Birames.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

Vpon notice whereof, Pompeis sonne, beeing Admirall of the Egyptian fleete, came to Oricum, and with many haul fers and hookes, waied up the funk shippe; and affaulted the other shippe, set by Acilius for the defence of the Hauen, with hippes wherein hee had made towres, which stood by counterpoize, that hee might fight with advantage of height, supplying continually fresh men: and attempting alfo, as well from the Land side, to take the towne by scaling Ladders. as by Sea with his Nauie; to the end he might distract and dismember the forces voithin.

In the end, with extreame labour, and multitude of vveapons, hee ouercame our Partie, and tooke the (hippe, having cast out such as had the guard: who fled all away with Skiffes and Boates. At the same time, beeing likewise seized of a (mall height, on the other side of the towne, in the nature of a Pene-insule, hee convaied over foure small *Gallies, with Rollers and Levers, into the inner part of the Harbor, lying behind the towne; in somuch, as setting on each side upon the Gallies tied vnto the shore, emptie & vnfurnished, he caried foure of them away, and burned the rest.

This beeing done, heleft D. Lalius, whom hee had taken from the Egyptian fleete, to keepe the passage, that no victualls, or other provisions, might bee brought into the towne, either from Helide or Amantia : and hee himfelfe, going to Lissus, found thirty shippes of burthen, which Antonius had left within that Hauen, and set them all on fire. And as hee went about to take Lissus, the Souldiers which Casar had put there for a guariz on to the Towne, together with the Romaine Cittizens, & the townsmen thereof, did so well defend the same, that after he had continued there three daies, and lost a few men in the siege, he left the place, without effecting any thing.

OBSERVATIONS.



N Ambushment is easily at all times laid: but to do it so that it may not bee suspected, and in such manner, that the Enemie may fall into the danger thereof, is that which is to be aymed at therein. And therefore, to give the better colour to fuch dessignes, the tricke hath beene to pretend feare (and so flight) or want of Corne, or some-what else, to draw the Enemie to

follow after, with more boldnesse and resolution. And so to have it wel done, there must be two deceits to affist each other; as in this of Domitius, to make thew of remouing, through scarcitie and want: and then to lie in waite for an advantage: According to that of the Spaniard; Avn Traydor, dos Aleuofos. For, the preuention of such snares of deceit, the rule is generally given by Onofander, That the departure or falling away of an Enemie, is alwaies to bee fuspected.

And for the more securitie therein, experienced Commaunders haue been carefull before they stirred their Armie, to make exact discouerie, euen to the place where they intended to lodge. For, as in Phylicke, it is the greatest part of the cure, to know the difease: so in matter of war, the danger is almost ouer, when it is perceived whence it may growe.

The manner observed in discoveries, hath vsually been to send the Parties out in three Companies or troopes; The first, confisting of a small number, to beat the way at eale, and to range about from place to place, as shall be found conucnient: the second Companie, beeing some-what stronger, to second and relieue the first, if there be occasion: and the third, able to ingage a good number of the Enemic.

And after this manner, Cyrus disposed of his fore-runners: as appeareth in Zenophon. But this, being fubicat to the confideration of time and place, and other circumstances, may varie, as shall seeme expedient to the wisedome of the Generall.

CHAP. XV.

Cæsar marcheth towards Pompey; offereth him battaile; cutteth him off from Dyrrachium.



Fter Cafar understood that Pompey was at Asparagus, he marched thitherward with his Armie; and taking by the vvay the towne of the Parthinians, wherein Pompey had put a Guarizon, the third day he came to Pompey in Macedonia, and lodged himselfe fast by him. The next day hee drew out his forces; and putting them in order, presented him bat-

Cafar.

taile. But when he found that he would not accept thereof, hee drew backe his Army into the Campe, and bethought himselfe of some other course. For, the next day, taking a difficult and narrow way, hee fet forward with all his forces towards Dyrrachium: hoping either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the towne, or at least to cut him off, from all Conucies and Munition, which was there stored up for the vuhole provision of the warre; as afterwards it came to passe. For, Pompey beeing ignorant at first of his purpose, inasmuch as he tooke a contrarie way thought he had been driven thence, through scarcitic and mant of Corne. But, beeing afterwards aduertised by the discouerers what course hee tooke, he rose the next day, in hope to meet him a neerer way. Which Casar suspecting, exhorted the souldiers to indure a little labour with patience. And resting a small part of the night, in the morning he came before Dyrrachium, euen as the first troope of Pompeis Armie was discouered afar off: and there incamped himfelfe.

Pompey, beeing cut off from Dyrrachium, when hee could not accomplish his Quenque vocat purposes, fell to a second resolution, and fortified his Camp in an eminent place, tusinola Pecalled Petra: from whence there was an indifferent passage to the shippes, and tram. Lucan.

discessiones sem-persuspectas ha-

Cap. 5.

Cafar.

sheltered likewise the Hauen from certaine winds. Thither he commanded part of the shippes to be brought, together with Corne, & provision of victuall, from Asia, and such other Countries as were in his obedience.

Cafar, doubting that the warre would prove long and tedious, and despairing of any succour of victualls from the Coast of Italie, for-that all the shore was (with great diligence) kept by Pompeis partie: And that the shipping which in Winter hee had made in Sicilia, Gallia, and Italia, were staied and came not to him, hee dispatched L. Canuleius, a Legate into Epirus, to make provision of

And forasmuch as those Regions were farre off, hee appointed store-houses and Magasins in certaine places, o imposed carriage of Corne upon the Countrey bordering about them. In like manner, hee commaunded, what graine foeuer should be found at Lissus, Parthinis, or any other place, to be brought unto him: which was very little, for a smuch as the Countrey there-about, was rough and Mountainous, and affoorded no Corne, but that which was brought in from other places; as also, that Pompey had taken order in that behalfe; and a little before, had ransacked the Parthinians, o caused his horsemen to carie away all the Graine, which was found among st them.

OBSERVATIONS.

HE first thing that Cæsardid, after their approach neere one vnto another, was to offer battaile; as the best Arbitrator of the Cause in question, and most fitting the viance of the auncient Romaines. But, forasmuch as the indevours of such as are in action, are alwaies ordered by him that is the Sufferer: and that Pompey refused to accept thereof knowing himselfe to bee much stronger in forces, better accommodated, having a farre greater partie in the Country, and the Sea whollie at his command(which aduantages, were like to end the bufiness, without hazard of a battaile) Cæfar bethought himfelfe of fome other project, which might take away the fcome of that refufall, by undertaking fuch things, as much imported the state of his Aduersarie. For, in such cases, when an Enemie will not fight, fome-what must be done, to cast dishonour, or greater inconveniences, vpon him; or at least, to make ouertures of new opportunities. And therefore, hee tooke a course, either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the Towne, wherin all his promisions of warre were stored up; or other-wife, to cut him off from the same. The least of which, was a sufficient acquittance of any disgrace, which the neglect of this offer might feeme to inferre; Hauing thereby occafion to vie that of the Poet, Iam fumus ergo pares.

CHAP

CHAP, XVI.

Cæsar goeth about to besiege Pompey.



Aesar, beeing informed of these things, entered into a deliberation, which he first tooke from the very nature of the place wherein they were; for, where-as Pompeis Campe

was inclosed about with many high and steepe Hilles , hee first tooke those Hills, and built Forts upon them: and then, as the condition of each place would beare, hee made works of fortification, from one Fort to another, and determined to inclose Pompey 4bout with a Ditch and a Rampier. And especially, upon these considerations; for-that hee was greatly straightned through want of Corne, and that Pompey beeing strong in horse, hee might with lesse danger, supply his Army from all parts with provision: as also to the end hee might keepe Pompey from forraging, and so make his Caualry onserviceable in that kinde. And further, that hee might abate and vveaken the exceeding great reputation, which Pompey had

out the world, that hee was besieged by Casar, and durst not fight. Pompey would by no meanes bee drawne to leave the commoditie of the Sea. and the towne of Dyrrachium, having there laid up all his provision of warre, Armes, vveapons, Engines, of what fort focuer; besides Corne, which was brought from thence to his Armie by Shipping. Neither could hee hinder Calars furtifications, walesse hee would accept of battaile, which for that time he was resolved not to doe; onely it remained, as the last thing hee could thinke of, to possessed himselfe of as many Hills as he might, and to keepe as much of the Countrey as hee could, with good and strong guard: and by that meanes to distract, as much as possiblie hee might, Casarsforces, as accordinglie it fell out. For. having made twentie foure Castles and Forts, hee tooke-in twentie sive miles of the Countrey incircuit, and did forrage within that space, and there caused many things to be set and planted by hand, which in the Interim, serued as foode for horses.

attained unto amongst forraine Nations, when it should bee noised through-

And, as our men perceived their fortifications to be caried, and continued, from one Castle to another, without intermission; they beganne to feare, least they had left some places to sallie out, and so would come upon them behind, before they were aware.

And the reason they made their ovorkes thus perfect, throughout the whole inward circuit, was, that our men might not enter in upon them, nor circumuent them behind. But they (abounding in number of Men) exceeded in their works, having also on the inside a lesse compasse to fortifie.

Actus actinori in patientis fur dispositione. A ristot. Metalli

athles to

onaly and

Observations upon the third

Ex subcoattis et centonibus.

And as Cafar went about to take any place, albeit Pompey was refolued not to fight, or interrupt him with all his forces: neuerthelesse, kees (int out his Archers and Slingers, of which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men were wounded, and slood in great feare of the arrowes: and almost all the souldiers, made them coates, either of quilt or stiffening, or of leather, to keep them from danger.

To conclude, either Party vsed all force and meanes to take places, and make fortifications; Casar, to shut up and straighten Pompey what he could: & Pompey, to inlarge himselfe, and possesses as many hills as conveniently hee might; which gave occasion of many skirmishes and encounters.

OBSERVATIONS.

E may heere take notice, of the firangest enterprize, that ener was

vndertaké by a judicious fouldier. Por, where elle may it be read or vnderstood, that a weaker Partie, went about to besiege a strong active understood, that a weaker Partie, went about to besiege a strong active understood unclose a whole Country by Castles and Towres, and perpetual fortiseations from hill to hill; to the end he might shut him vp, as he lay incamped in the field? But herein appeare the infinite and restles indeauours of a Romaine spirit, and the workes they wrought to atchieue their owne endes: and yet not besides the limits of reason. For, if that of Seneca haue any affinitie with truth, That a man is but a common, or rather contemprible thing, vnlesse himselse aboue ordinary courses; it is more specially verified in a Souldier: whose honour, depending vpon the superlatiue degree, must seeke out projects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon such inducements, as are heere alleadged; which shew good reason he had to be so

Contemptares eft homo, nifi fuprahumana fe erexit.

Cum ratione in-

madde.

CHAP. XVII.

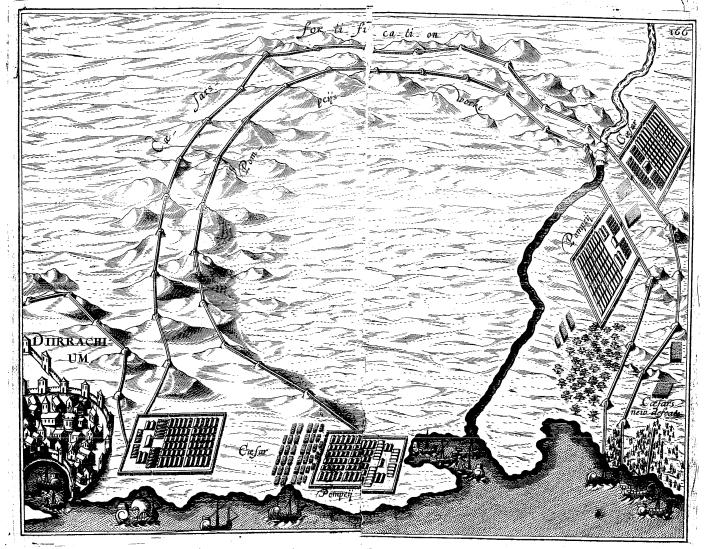
A Passage that happened betweene both Parties, about the taking of a Place.

Casar.

Mongst these fights and incounters, it happened, as Casars ninth Legion had taken acertaine Place, and there began to fortisse, Pompey had possess himselfe of the Hill next adioyning there-onto, and beganne to hinder our men from their worke. And having from one side an easie accesse onto it; first with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great

troopes of light-armed men, and engines of Battery, hee begame to dissurbe them in their business. Neither were our men able, at one and the same time, to desend themselues, and goe on with their fortifications.

Casar,



Cafar, feeing his fouldiers wounded, and hurt from all parts, commaunded them to fall off, and leave the Place. But, for as much as they were to make their retreit downe the Hill, they did the more vrge and preace upon them; & would not suffer them to fall backe, for that they seemed to for sake the Place for feare. It is reported, that Pompey should then, in a vaine-glory, say to those that overe about him, That he would be content to be taken for a Generall of no woorth, if Cafars men could make any retreit from thence (where they were for ashly ingaged) without great loffe.

Cafar, fearing the retreit of his fouldiers, caufed Hurdles to be brought, and lette against the Enemie, in the brimme of the Hill; and behind them, sunke a trench of an indifferent latitude, and incombered the place as much as possibly hee could. Hee lodged also Slingers in convenient places, to defend his men in

their retreit. These things beeing perfited, hee caused the legions to be drawnebacke. But Pempeies partie, beganne with greater boldness and insolencie, to presse our people: and putting by the Elurdles, which were fet there as a Baricado, they pafled over the ditch. Which when Cafar perceived, fearing, least they should rather seeme to be beaten off, then be brought backe, whereby a greater scandale might consequently ensue, having almost from the mid-way incouraged his men. by Antonius, who commaunded that legion hee willed that the figne of charging the Enemy should be given by a Trumpet, and gave order to assault them.

The fouldiers of the ninth legion, putting themselves suddainly into order, threw their Piles : and running furiously from the lower ground, up the steepe of the Hill, draue the Enemy head-long from them; who found the Hurdles, the long poles, and the ditches, to be a great hinderance unto them in their retreit. It contented our men to leave the place without loffe: fo that having flaine many of them, they came away very quietly, with the loffe of five of their fellowes. And bauing staied about that place awhile, they tooke other hills, & perfited the fortifications upon them.

OBSERVATIONS.



His Chapter sheweth, that advantage of place, and some such industrious courses, as may be fitted to the occasion, are of great consequence in extreamities of warre : but, aboue all, there is nothing more availeable to cleere a danger, then valour. Valour is the Her-

cules that ouer-commeth fo many Monsters; and verifieth that saying, which cannot be too often repeated Virtute faciendum est, quicquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum. But of this, I have already treated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The scarcitie which either Partie endured in this siege.

Cefar.



HE cariage of that warre was in a strange & unusual manner, as well in respect of the great number of Forts and Casiles, containing such activities of ground within one continued fortification, as also in regard of the whole siege, and of other consequents depending there-upon. For, who soewer goeth about to besiege another, doth either take occasion fro

the weakeness of the Enemy, daunted, or Briken with seave, or onercome industable or otherwise beeing moued there-onto by some injurie offered. Whereas now it happened, that they were farre the stronger, both in horse and soote: and generally, the cause of almost all seges, is to keepe an enemy from proussion of Corne. But Casar, beeing then farre inferiour in number of souldiers, did neverthelesse besiege an armic of intire and vntouched forces, especially at a time when they abounded with all necessary proussions: for, every day came great store of shipping from all parts, bringing plenty of all things needfull: neither could there any wind blowe, which was not good, from some part or other.

on the other lide, Cafar, having spent all the Corne he could get, far or neere, was in great want & scarcitic: and yet not with standing, the souldiers did beare it with singular patience; for they remembred how they had suffered the like the yeere before in Spaine, and yet with patience and labour, had ended a great and dangerous warre. They remembred likewise, the exceeding great want they indured at Alesia, and much greater at Auaricum. And yet, for all that, they vent away Conquerers of many great Nations. They refused neither Barlie nor Pease, when it was given them in stead of Wheate. And of Cattell (whereof they were surnished with great store out of Epirus) they made great account.

There is also a kind of roote, found out by them that were with Valerius, called Chara, which eaten with Milke did much relieve their want; 5 made with all, a kind of bread, where of they had plenty. And when Pompeis Party happened in their Colloquies, to cast in their teeth their scarcitie and misery, they would comonly throwe this kind of bread at them, and scatter it in divers places, to discourage them in their hopes. And now Corne beganne to be ripe, and hope it selfe did relieve their want, for that they trusted to have plenty within a short time. And oftentimes the souldiers, in their watches and conferences, were heard to let fall speeches, that they would rather eate the barke of trees, then suffer Pompey to escape out of their hands.

Befides, they understood, by such as ranne away from the Enemy, that their horse of service could scarce be kept aliue; and that the rest of their Cattell were all dead: and that the souldiers themselves, were in no good health, through the narrowness of the place wherin they were pent: as also by meanes of the ill sauor

and multitude of dead bodies, together with continual labour, beeing waccuflomed to trauaile and paines; but especially through the extreame want of water: For, all the Rivers and Brookes of that quarter, Casar had either turned
another way, or dammed up with great works. And, as the places were mountainous, with some intermission, and distinction of Valleies, in the forme and
fassion of a Caue or Denne: so hee slopped the same with great piles beaten into
the ground, and interlaced with fagots and hurdles, and then strengthened with
earth, to keepe backe the water; Insomuch, as they were confrained to seeke
lowe grounds, and Marish places, and there to sinke Welles. Which labour, they
were gladde to wader take besides their daily works, albeit these Welles sloode
farre dislant from their Guarizons, and were quickly dried up with heat.

But Casar's Armie was in exceeding good health, and had plenty of water, together with all kind of provisions, excepting Wheate; which the season of the geere daily brought on, and gave them hope of store, Harves beeing so neere at hand.

in this new course of warre, new policies and devices of warfare were inuented, and put in practice by either Partie. They, perceiving by the fires, that our Cohorts in the night time kept watch at the works, came stealing out; and discharged all their Arrowes won them, and then presently retreited. Wherewith, our men beeing warned, sound out this remedy; that they made their fires in one place, and kept their watch in another.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Orafmuch as all matter of attempt, doth much import the fortune of a warre, wee may not omit to take notice of the reasons heere expressed by Cæsar, which are the true moriues of vndertaking a siege. The first is drawen, either from the weakness of an Enemie, or as hee is daunted with seare, or ouer-come in battaile. For, having therevon no considence in his owne power, doth rest himselfe in the strength of the Place, which he holdeth and possesses the himselfe in their adversaries occasion; to lay siege vnto their Hold; and either to force them, or shut them p like women.

The fecond is, when one State hath offered injurie to another (which alwaies imported loffe) beyond that which flood with the course of respect formerly held between them. For reuenge wheteof, the other side laieth siege to some of their Townes, to repaire themselues by taking-in the same.

And thirdly, the final cause of all sieges, is to keep an Enemie from victuall, and other manner of prouisions; and so to take them by the belly, when they cannot take them by the cares. Which is a partso violent, in requiring that which is due to Nature, as it hath made the Father and the Sonne sall out for a Mouse: as it hapned at Athens, besieged by Demetrius.

Plutarch

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE second thing worthy our confideration, is the patience and deportment of Cælars fouldiers, in their fo great wants and necessities; as first, in helping themselues, with this roote called Chara, described by Dioscorides, to be a little seed, tasting some what like

Anif-feede, good to help digettion, and having fuch a root as a Caret, which beeing boiled, is very good meat; and is the same which our Physicians call Caraway-feed: where-with they ferued their turne with fuch contentment, as they feemed to have been trained up in the Schoole of Frugalitie; a vertue worthy of all regard, and the onely meanes to make easiethe difficulties of warre; beeing as necessary for a souldier, as the vie of Armes: and is that which was aimed at in the auniwere of Cyrus, to fnew the feruices in a fouldiers diet. For, beeing demaunded, what he would have made ready for supper? Bread; faith he; for, we will suppe at the Fountaine.

Neither hath it been thought fit, to give way to the natural loofness of the ftomacks appetite, vpon any occasion: but, to vse the like moderation in the time of plentie. For, Zeno tooke the aunswere of them, that would excuse their liberall expenses, by their abilitie of meanes, for no better paiment, then they themselves would have taken the excuse of their Cookes, for putting too much falt on their meat, because they had falt enough.

Cæfar punished his Baker, for giving him better bread then his fouldiers had, And Scipio cassiered a cupple of Romaines at the siege of Carthage, for teasting a friend in their Tent, duting an affault. Which austeritie of life, raised the Remaines to that height of honour, and made them Maisters of the world, from the East to the Westerne Ocean.

Secondly, as a confequent of this contentment, we may note their refolution to hold on their course of fiege, purposing rather to cate the bark of trees. then to suffer Pompey to escape their hands. It is an excellent point in a Generall, to keepe himselfe from irresolution; beeing a weakeness of ill consequence, and not vnlike the disease of the Staggers, variable, vncertaine, and without bottom or bound: where-as constancie to purposes, produceth noble and worthy ends.

An inftance whereof, is Fabius Maximus, who notwithstanding the reproach and scandall cast upon him, continued firme in his determination, to the fauing of his Country. And if it bee fowell befeeming a Leader, it is of much more regard in the fouldier: especially confidering that of Xenophon; Non facile in officio potest miles contineri ab eo qui necessaria no subministrat. For, as the same Author observeth in another place, Nullus est adeo fortis aut validus, qui possit aduersus famem aut frigus pugnando militare.

THE

Lib. 2. cap. 59

Labor militiæ

affidua frugai tatus confuerud ne facilior eft. Luftin. Cyrus contented with bread and water. Xenophon.

Aequalë oporte mper esse Im peratoru animii utari enım pr rerum varietatibus, mentis ın stabilis argumē tum efficitur.A gapetus.

cunttando restituit Rem. Enni

Li.6.de Curopa

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Mongstall the parts of the Romaine discipline, their Watch deferueth a particular description; supplying in the Armie, the office of the naturall eye in the bodie: which is, to give notice of any approaching danger, for the preuenting of the fame. Polybius hath left it to posteritie in this manner; Of each fort of the

Legionatie foote, as namely, the Hastati, Principes, and Triarij, and likewise of the horse, there was chosen one, out of the tenth and last Maniple, that was made free from watch and ward. This partie, as the Sunne began to decline, came dailie to the Tent of the Tribune, & there had given him a little Tablet, wherein the watch-word was writ; which Tablet, they called Teffera: and then returning to his Companie, delivered it to the Centurion of the next Maniple, and that Centurion to the next; and so in order, vntill it came to the first and chiefest Companie, which was lodged next vnto the Tribunes: and by the Centurion thereof, was returned to the Tribune before Sunne fetting.

And if all the Tablets were brought-in, then did the Tribune knowe, the word was given to all. If any wanted, they made inquirie, and by the notes of inscription, finding which was missing, they punished the default as they faw cause. And this was their watch-word, by which their Party was distinguished from an Enemie; and in likelihood (for, Polybius doth not affirme fo much) was by the Centurion giuen, to fuch of his Maniple as were to watch that night.

Their night watches were thus ordered; AManiple, or Companie, was alwaies appointed to watch at the Generalls Paulion. The Treasurer had three watches, and enery Legat, two; A watch confifting of foure men, according to the generall division of their night into foure parts : each of those foure hauing his turne appointed him by lotte, for the first, second, third, or fourth watch, and the rest sitting by. The Volites kept watch without the Camp, and the Decuries of horse at the gates : besides, every Maniple had a private watch within it felfe.

Of those that were appointed to watch, a Lieutenant of each Maniple, did bring to the Tribune in the euening, such as were to keepe the first watch of the night: and to them were deliuered leffer Tablets, then were given out at first, called Tefferula, appropriated to euery particular watch; one for himfelfe, and three other for his fellowes.

The trust of going the Round, was committed to the horsemen: for, it belonged to the first Commaunder of horse, in each legion, to give order to his Lieutenant, to appoint before dinner, foure young men of his troope, to goe the Round the next night; and in the evening, to acquaint the next Commander to appoint Rounders for the night following. These horsemen, being thus appointed, did cast lots for the first, second, third, and south watch; and then repaired to the Tribune: of whom they had order what, and how many watches to visit, having received the watch-word before, from their Commandder : and then all foure went to attend at the Tent of the Primipile, or chiefelt Centurion of a Legion; who had the charge of distanguishing the toure was ches of the night by a Trumpet.

When time ferued, for him that was to goe the Round the first watch, hee went out accompanied with some of his friends, and visited those watches which were assigne watto him. And if he found the watch-man waking, and in good order, he then tooke that Tablet from him which hee had received of the Tribune, and departed. But, if he found him fleeping, or out of his place, he tooke witnesse thereof, and departed. The same did the rest of the Rounders, as their watches fell out in course. And as the day beganne to breake, all the Rounders brought in the Tablets to the Tribunes. And if all were brought in there was no more to doe: but if any wanted, it was found our by the Character, what watch had failed; which beeing knowne, the Centurion was called, and commanuded to bring those that were sunlitie. If the offence were in the watch-man, the Rounder was to proue it by witnesses: if not, it fell voon himselfe; and a Councell of warre beeing presently called, the Tribune gaue judgement to kill him with a club. And in this manner did the Romaines Leep watch in the Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A relation of divers incounters, that happened betweene both Parties.



N the meane time, Pub. Sylla, whom Cafar (at his departure from the Campe) had left to commaund the Armie, beeing certified thereof, came with two legions to succour the Cohort : at whose approach, Pompeys partie was easily beaten off, beeing neither able to indure the shocke, nor sight of our A men. For, the first beeing put off, the rest gaue backe, and

left the place: but as our men pursued them, Sylla called them backe, & would not (uffer them to follow farre after. Howbeit, many men thinke, that if hee vooild have pressed hard upon them, the warre had ended that day. But in my opinion, he is not to be blamed; for there is one charge and power peculiar to a Lieutenant, and another to him that commaundeth in Chiefe: the one, dooing nothing but by order and prescription; and the other, disposing every thing as

Alia funt Lega ti partes, atqu Imperatoris.

There is 2

itted.

great part of

the historie in

this place o-

Cafar.

bee shall thinke fit. Sylla (in Cafars abfence) having freed his men, was content there-voith, 👁 would no further ingage them in fight (which might happely prooue fubiest to all fortune) least he should seeme to assume onto himselfe, the place and authoritie of a Generall. There overe certaine things that made the retreit of Pompeis men very difficult and hazardous. For, having ascended from a bottome to a Commentary of the Civill Warres.

Hill, they now found themselves upon the top thereof. And as they were to make their retreit downe againe, they flood in feare of our men, preacing on the from the higher ground, neither was it farre from sunne-setting for, hoping to end it speedily, they drew out the busines untill it was almost night: whereby, Pompey was forced to take a resolution from the time, and to possesse himselfe of a Mount, no further from the Fort then out of shot. There hee made a stand, forti-

fied the place, and kept his forces. At the same time, they fought in two other places : for , Pompey, to separate and distract our troopes, assaulted divers forts together, to the end they might not be succoured from the next Guarizons. In one place, Volcatius Tullus, with three Cohorts, sustained the assault of a Legion, o made them for sake the place. In another part, the Germaines fallying out of our works, flew many of the Enemie, & returned back to their fellowes in safetie. So that in one day, there were

fixe feuerall fights; three at Dyrrachium, and three at the fortifications: of all which an account becing taken, there were found staine of Pompeys Partie, to the number of two thou and; with many Centurions, and other special men, | Euocati.

called out to that warre. Among st whom, was Valerius Flaccus, the sonne of L. who, beeing Prator, had obtained the Province of Asia: besides, there were sixe Ensignes taken. Our Partie, lost not about twentie men in all those fights;

howbeit, in the fort, there was not one man but was hurt. Foure Centurions of one Cohort lost their eyes; and, for argument of their indeauour, and great danger, they made report to Cafar, of thirtie thousand arrowes shot into the fort, together with a Target of one Saua, a Centurion, which was shewed onto him, beeing pearced through in two hundred and thirty places, whom Casar (as having well deserved of him, and the Common-wealth) rewar- Millibus ducended with sixe hundred pound sterling; and advaunced him from the Companies

appeared, that by his meanes specially, the fort was faued. For, the Cohort, hee

doubled their pay, as well in Money, as in Corne and Apparrell: and rewarded

of the eight ranke, to be the chiefest Centurion, or Primipile of the Legion: for, it

Primipilus.

them nobly, with ornaments of Militarie honour. Pompey, having vorought all that night, to fortifie his Trenches, the daies following, he built towres xxv. foote high; which beeing finished, he added mantilets to that part of the Campe. And after five daies, having gotte a darke night (Soutting all the Ports of his Campe, and ramming them up) in the beginning of the third watch, hee drew out his Armie in silence, and betooke himselfe to his old fortifications.

OBSERVATIONS.

He breach of the Historie in this place, is like a blotte in a faire Table or as a gappe in a dannee of Nymphes, and dooth much blemish the beautie of this Discourse: But, for-as-much as it is a losse which cannot bee repaired, wee must rest contented with the vse of that which remaineth.

Out

Solon. Plato de leg. Livie.lib. 4. Lib. 6.

In repub. multo prastat beneficii juam maleficij immemore effe:

bonus,segnior fi rbi negligas; malus improbior. Salu. Ingur

premio, ni colpa sin pena.

Cafar.

cording to the institution of their discipline, supported specially by Pramium and Pana. The recognition whereof (according to the judgement of the grauest Law-giuers) is the meanes to raise a State to the height of perfection. Eo enim impendi laborem et periculum, unde emolumentu et honos speratur. The

Romaines, faith Polybius, crowned the valour of their fouldiers with eternall honours. Neither did any thing so much excite them to the atchieuement of noble Acts, as their Triumphs, Garlands, and other Enfignes of publique renowne: which Cæfar specially observed about the rest. For, besides this which he did to Cassius Sæua (recorded by all the Writers of these warres) Plutarch relateth that at his being in Britaine, he could not containe from imbracing a

In vita Cafari fouldier, that caried himselfe valiantly in defence of divers Centurions. And where-as the poore man, falling downe at his feete, asked nothing but pardon for leaving his Targer behind him; he rewarded him with great gifts, & much honour. Howbeit, the difference which Salust hath made in this kind, is too generally observed, that It more importeth a Common-weale to punish an ill member, then to reward a good act: for, a vertuous delire, is by neglect a lit-

tle abated; but an ill man becomes vnsufferable. And thence it is, that merit is neuer valued but vpon necessity. It is fit, that hee that will haue the honour of wearing a Lions skin, should first kill the beast, as Hercules did: but, to kil a Lion, and not to have the skin, is not so availeable as a meaner occupation. Anthony Gueuara giueth another rule, observed in that government, which is the true Idea of Perfection: En la casa de Dios jamas fue, ni es, ni sera, merito sin

CHAP. XX.

Cæsar moueth Scipio to mediate a Peace.

Etolia, Acarnania, & Amphiloclis, being taken by Cafsius Longinus, and Caluifius Sabinus, as is before declared, Caar thought it expedient to attempt and try Achaia, and to proceed further in that course: wherevoon he sent thither L. Calenus, and 2. Sabinus, and to them he added Cassius, with his Cohorts. Their comming being bruited abroad.

Rutilius Lupus, to whom Pompey had left the charge of Achaia, determined to fortifie the Isthmus, to keepe out Fusius. Calenus in the meane time, with the fauour and affent of the States, tooke-in Delphos, Thebes, & Orcleomenum, besides some other places, which he tooke by force. The rest of the Citties, he laboured to draw to Cafars party, by Embassages sent about unto them: & ther in was Fusius occupied for the present. Casar, every day following, brought-out his Army into an equal & indifferent place, to see if Pompey would accept of battel; informuch as he led them under Pompeis Camp, the vaward being within shot of the Rampier, Pompey, to hold the fame & opinion he had attained, drew out his forces, o foimbattelled them before his Camp, that their rere-ward did touch the

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

Rampier; and the vuhole Armie was fo disposed, that every man was under the protection of such vocapons as might be shot from thence.

While these things were dooing at Achaia, and at Dyrrachium it was certainly knowne, that Scipio was come into Macedonia. Casar, not omitting his former purpose, sent Clodius vnto him; a familiar friend to both of them, and one whom Scipio had formerly so commended to Casar, that hee had taken him in the number of his neerest fauourites. To him hee gaue Letters and Messages, to be deliuered to Scipio: whereof this was the effect; that he had vsed all meanes for peace, and yet had prevailed nothing at all: which he tooke to be the fault of luch as had the charge of the busines, being fearefull to treat with Pompey thereof in an unseasonable time. But Scipio had that credit & respect, that he might not onely deliver freely what he thought fitting but might also (in some sort) re-Braine him, and reforme his errour. For, being Commaunder in chiefe, ouer an Armie; besides his credit, he had strength to compell him. Which, if he did, everie man would attribute the quiet of Italie, the peace of the Prouinces, and the safetie & preservation of the Empire, to him onely. All these things did Clodius make knowne to Scipio : and for the first daies, was well heard : but afterwards, could not be admitted to speech; Fauonius, reprehending Scipio, for going so far with him, as afterwards we understood upon the ending of the war: whereby

he was forced to returne to Cafar, without effecting any thing. Cafar, that he might with greater facilitie keepe-in Pompeis Caualrie at Dyrrachium, and hinder them from forrage, fortified and shutte up two passages (which, as we have before declared, were very narrow) with great works, and there built Castles. Pompey, understanding that his horsme did no good abroad. within a few daies, convaied them within his fortification by shipping, Howbeit, they were in extreame necessitie, and want of forrage: insomuch, as having beaten off all the leaves of the trees, they fed their hor fes with young Reedes, brused, and beaten in peeces. For they had spent the Corne which was sowed within theworks, & were forced to bring food for their Cattel, from Corcyra and A. carnania by long & tedious nauigation; and where it fell short, they made it up with Barly, and so kept life in their horses; but afterwards, when as not onelie are nemus, letheir Barly, and other food was spent in all places, o the grasse o hearbs dried thumque minan vp, but the fruit also wasted, and consumed off the trees, their horses beeing so mote dubias ra

Et morfu spolileane, as they were not able to stand on their legges, Pompey thought it expedi- dicibus berbas.

OBSERVATIONS.

ent, to thinke of some course of breaking out.

T may feem a cunning trick of Cæfar, & perhaps it was his end, to indeauor with faire pretenles, to ingage Scipio fo far in contrining indeauor with faire pretenles, to ingage Scipio fo far in contriuing a Peace, as being Generall of an Armie, he might affume vnto himfelfe a commaunding authority; and there-vpon, bred fuch a iealousie, as would keepe Pompey and him afunder.

Neuertheleffe, it is euery way worth a mans labour, to make overtures of peace howfoeuer: especially considering, how it changeth the relative in the

Si bonam ded

itis, fidam et

perpetuam ; si malam, haud

diuturnam.Li

Nihil est quod

ion expugnet

ertinax opera

et intenta et di-

ligens cura. Se-

nec. li.6. Epi. 51

Observations vpon the third

condition of men, which in warre, is Homo homini Lupus, and in peace, Homo homini Deus. And, prouing good, will doubtlesse continue, if inconvenient, the sooner broken; and so the case is but the same it was before.

Secondly, we may note, that there is nothing so difficult, but pertinacie and restlesse labor, directed with diligent & intent care, wil in the end ouercome it: For, Cæsar, that at the first seemed to vndertake impossibilities, going about to beliege a great part of a Country, & to shutte vp a huge Armie in an open place, did neuertheleffe (by indeauour) bring the to fuch extreamitie of want. that if, as Democritus faid, the Bodie (hould have put the mind in fute, for reparation of losse, which her ambition and wisfull obstinacie had drawne voon it, thee would never be able to pay damages.

Touching the Ishmus, which Rutilius Rufus went about to fortifie, it is a necke of earth, joyning an Iland vnto the Continent. For, as the Inlet of the Sea, betweene two Lands, is called Porthmus (wher-vponthe rowne of Porthmouth in Hampshire hath that appellation, as fited vpon the like Inlet) so any smallanger, orneck of earth, lying between two Seas, is called Isthmus. Wherof, this of Achaia is of speciall note in Greece; beeing the same that ioyned Peloponesus to the Continent, & was of speciall fame for the fire of Corinth.

These necks of earth, called Isthmus, are of the nature of these things, as have been often threatned, and yet continue the same. For, albeit the ambition of great Princes have fought to alter the fashion of the earth in that behalfe, yet I know not how their defires haue forted to no end. Perfodere naugabili Alueo has angustias tentauere Demetrius Rex, Dictator Casar, Caius Princeps, at Domitius Nero, infausto vt omnium patuit exitu incepto. In the time of King Seloftris, and fince, in the Empire of the Othomans, they went about to bring the Red-sea into Nile; but fearing it would be a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea beeing lower then another, they gaue ouer the enterprise. And it may be upon like confideration, or otherwise, fearing to correct the workes of Nature, they forbare to make a passage betweene Nombre de Dios, and Panama: and fo to joyne one fea to the other, as was faid to be intended.

CHAP. XXI.

An Accident which fell out by two Bretheren of Sauoy, in Casars Armie.

Cafar.



2002 (26 6 Here vvere in Cafars Campe, two brethren of Sauoie, Roscillus and Aegus, the sonnes of Abucillus, who for many yeeres together, was accounted the principall and chiefe man of that State: these were men of singular worth, and haddone Cafar verie great feruice in all the warres of Gallia; and in that respect, Casar had advaunced them to great & honorable Charges in their Countrey, and caused

them (extraordinarily) to be taken in the number of the Senators, and beltowed much of the Enemies lands opon them, besides great summes of ready money, & of poore had made them rich.

These men were not onely well respected by Casar, but were in good account throughout all the Armie. Howbeit, relying too much on Cafars fauour, and puffed up with foolish & barbarous arrogancie; they disained their owne men. deceiving the horsemen of their pay, and averting all pillage from publique distribution, to their owne particular. The horsemen, prouoked with these iniuries, came all to Casar, and complained openly thereof: adding further, that their troopes were not full, nor answerable to the List or Master-role, by which they required paiment.

Cafar, thinking it no fit time of punishment, and withall attributing much to the worth of the men, put off the whole matter, and child them privatly, for making a gaine of their troopes of horse; willing the Caualrie to exspect a supply of all their wants fro his favour, according as their fernice had well deferred. Neuerthelesse, the matter brought them into great scandall and contempt with all men: Which they plaintly perceived, both by the speeches of other men, as also by that they might indge themselves, their owne consciences accusing them. With which reproach, and shame, they were so moved (& thinking peraduenture that Panamsemper they were not quit thereof, but deferred untill some other time) that they resol- |ane oculos verued to leave the Armie, to feek new fortunes, and make proofe of other acquain- pecawerant.

tances. And, having imparted the matter to a few of their followers, to whom Cicin orati.pre they durst communicate so great a dislocaltie, first they went about to kill C. Volusenus, Generall of the horse (as after the wvarre was ended was discouered)

with such as were acquainted with their purposes. Pompey, finding them Gentlemen of fort, liberally brought up, attended with a great retinew, and many horfes, and both of them very valiant, o in good account with Casar; and withall, for that it was an unusuall and strange accident, he ledde them about the works, and shewed them all the fortifications: for, before that time, no man, either fouldier, or horseman, had fledde from Casar to Pompey; where as daily they came fro Pompey to Cafar: especially, such as were inrolled in Epirus and Aetolia, which were at Cafars denotion.

that they might come to Pompey, opon some deserved service: but after they

found it hard to accomplish, they tooke up as much money as they could borrow,

as though they meant to have paid their troopes, what they formerly had defrau-

ded them of; and having bought many hor (es, they went to Pompey, together

These two Bretheren, exactly understanding all things in Casars Campe (as well concerning such works as were perfect, as such others wherein men skilfull in warre might find defect; together with the opportunitie of time. Or distances of places: as also the diligence of the Guardes, with the nature and indeauour of euery man that had a charge) related all particularly to Pompey.

R 3.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

E may heere observe the finceritie, & direct cariage of inferior Commaunders in the Romaine Armie, by the scandall these two Sauoiens ranne into, for making false Musters, and defrauding the fouldiers of their due: A matter so ordinarie in these our times, as

cultome feemeth to inftifie the Abuse. For, what more common in the course of our moderne warres, then to make gaine of Companies by mustering more then they haue in pay? & by turning that which is due to the souldier to their own benefit? The first wheros, if it be duelie weighed, is an offence of a high nature against the State; and the second, such an injurie to the souldier, as can hardly be answered.

It is merilie (as I take it) faid by Collumella, That, in foro concession latrocinium. But, for those to whom is committed the safetie of a kingdom, to betray the trust reposed in them, by raising their meanes with dead paies, & consequently, steading the Cause with dead service; as also, by disabling their
Companions & fellow-souldiers, from doing those duties which are requiste,
for want of due entertainement, is a thing descruing a heavie censure, & will
doubtless fall out vnto them, as it did to these two Bretheren. The sequell
whereos, will appeare by the storie, and confirme that of Xenophon; Dij haud
impunita relinqunt impia et nesaria hominum sasta.

Lib. 5. Cyrop.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey, attempting to breake out, put Cæsars Partie to great lossē.

Cesar.



Omper, beeing informed of the fethings, and having formerly refolued to breake out, as is already declared, gave order to the fouldiers, to make them coverings for their worions, of Osiers, and to get some store of Bavins and Fagots: which beeing prepared, hee shipped a great number of the light-armed souldiers, and Archers, together with those fagots, in

Skiffes and Gallies. And about mid-night, drew threefcore Cohorts out of the greater Campe, and the places of Guarizon, and sent them to that part of the fortification vohich was next onto the Sea, and furthest off from Casars greatest Campe. Thither also be sent the shippes before mentioned, filled with lightarmed men and sagots; together voith as many other Gallies as were at Dyrrachium: and gaue directions how every man should imploy himselfe.

Cafar had left Lentulus Marcellinus the Treasurer, with the Legion newly inrolled, to keepe that fortification; who, for that he was fickly, and of an ill disposition of body, had substituted Fuluius Posthumus as his coadiutor.

There

There was in that place, a Trench of lifteene foote deepe, and a Rampier against the Enemie, of tenne foote in altitude, and as much in breadth. Ind about fixe hundred foote from that place, was raised another Rampier, with the front the contrary way, but some what lower then the former. For some few daies before, Casar (fearing that place, least our men should bee circumuented with their shippes) had caused double fortifications to be made in that place; that if (peraduenture) they (hould bee put to their shifts, they might neverthelesse make good resistance. But the greatness of the works, and the continuall labour they daily indured, the fortifications beeing caried eighteene miles in circuit, would not suffer them to finish it. Whereby it happened, that hee had not, as yet. made a Rampier along the Sea-shore, to joyne these two fortifications together, for the defence thereof: which was informed Pompey, by thefe two Sauciens. brought great damage and losse to our people. For, as the Cohorts of the ninth Legion kept watch and guard upon the Sea; suddainely, by the breake of day, came Pompeis Armie; which feemed very strange unto our men: and instantly there-vpon, the fouldiers from a-shipboard, assaulted with their vveapons, the inner Rampier; and the rest began to fill up the Trench.

The legionary souldiers, appointed to keepe the inner fortifications, having planied a great number of Ladders to the Rampier, did amuse the Enemie with weapons, and Engines of all sorts; and a great number of Archers overe thronged together on each side. But, the coverings of Osiers which they ware on their head-peeces, did greatly desend them from the blowes of sloves, which was the onely weapon our men had for that purpose. And as our men were over-laid with all these things, and did har diy make resistance, they sound-out the defect of the fortification, formerly mentioned: and landing their men betweene the two Rampiers, they charged our people in the reare, and so driving them from both the fortifications, made them turne their backs.

This Alarum becing heard, Marcellinus fenter backs.

This Alarum becing heard, Marcellinus fent certaine Cohorts to fuccour our men: who feeing them flie, could neither reassure them by their comming, nor voiths and the furie of the Enemy themselues: infomuch, as what reliefe so-euer was sent, was distracted by the feare and associations them that fled away. Whereby, the terrour and the danger was made much the greater, and their retriet was hindered, through the multitude of people.

In that fight, the Eagle-bearer beeing grieuously wounded, and fainting for want of strength, looking towards the horsemen; This haue I, said he, in my life time, carefully and diligently defended for many yeeres together; and now, dying, with the same fidelitie doerestown to Casar: suffer not (Ipray you) such a dishonour, the like whereof, neuer happened in Casars Armie, but returneit unto him in safetie: by which accident, the Eagle was saued; all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing staine, but the first of the Maniple of the Principes: and now the Enemy, with great stangther of our men, approached neere Marcellinus Campe.

The rest of the Coherts beeing greatly assonished, M. Antonius holding the next Guarizon to that place, vpon notice thereof, was seene to come downe from the upper ground, with twelve Cohorts. Vpon whose comming, Pompeis Partie

was

Observations upon the third

was repressed and stated, and our men some-what reassured, giving them time to come againe to themselves, out of that astonishment. And not long after, Cafar having knowledge thereof by (moak made out of the Forts, according to the ve of former time, came thither also, bringing with him certaine Cohorts out of the Guarizons.

OBSERVATIONS.

T is an old faying, that Thieues handfell is alwaies naught, But, Traytors handfell is much worfe : as appeareth by the falling away of these two Sauoiens; who were the first that lest Cæsar in this war, of these two Sauoiens; who were the first that lest Cæsar in this war, and the first that brought Pompey good fortune: themselves standing culpable of as great an offence, as if they had alienated the whole Army. In the course whereof, we may see plainly that which I have formerly noted; that it is an excellent thing to be still attempting upon an Enemie, so it be done vpon good grounds and cautions: for while Pompey stood vpon the defensive ward, the honour of the contention fell continually upon Cælar. And doubtleffe, he that observeth Cæsars proceedings in the cariage of all his wars, shall find his fortune to have specially growne, from his actine and attempting spi-

'îr virtute exi mius, aliquando fortuna, semper

Irma alienass

rane crimë est et ea pænadefer

ioni exequatur

rtique (i[‡]tota a

ienauit. Li. 14.

S. de re militari

In this Eagle-bearer, we may fee verified, that which Paterculus affirmeth of Mithridates. That a valiant spirit is sometimes great by the fauour of Fortune; but alwaies great in a good courage.

For these titles of degrees, as Princeps prior, and the rest here mentioned, having formerly discoursed at large of the parts of a legion, & the Hierarchie of their discipline, I will rather referre the Reader there-vnto, then bumbalt out a volume with distastefull repetitions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæsar purposeth to alter the course of Warre; attempteth to cut off one of Pompeys Legions.

Cafar.

Aefar, understanding of the losse, and perceiving that Pompey was got out of the fortifications, and was incamped upon the Sea, in such fort as he might freely goe out to forrage. Or have no leffe accesse with shipping then formerly hee had; changing his course of warre, which had not succeeded to his expectation, he incamped himselfe fast by Pompey. The works beeing perfected, it was observed by Casars Discouerers, that certaine Cohorts, to the number of a Legion, were brought behind a wood into the old Commentary of the Civill Warres.

Campe. The lite of the Campe was after this manner: The daies before, Calars ninth Legion, oppoling themselues against Pompeis forces, and working upon the fortifications (as is before declared) had their Campe in that place, adioyning unto a wood, and not distant from the sea aboue foure hundred pases. Afterwards. Cafar, changing his mind for some certaine causes, transferred his lodging some-what further off from that place. A few daies after the same Camp was possest by Pompey. And for a smuch as hee was to lodge more legions in that place. leaving the inner Rampier standing , hee inlarged the fortification , so that the lesser Campe beeing included in the greater, served as a Castle or Citadell to the same. Besides also, hee drew a fortification from the right angle of the Campe. foure hundred pases out-right, to a River, to the end the souldiers might water freely, without danger. And he also changing his mind, for some causes not requisite to be mentioned, left the place too: so that the Camp stood empty for many daies together , and all the fortifications were as perfit as at the first.

The Discouerers brought newes to Casar, that they had seene an Ensigne of a Legion carried thither. The same was likewise confirmed, from certaine Forts which stood upon the higher grounds. The place was distant from Pompeis Camp, about D. pales. Cafar, hoping to cut off this legion, and desirous to repaire that daies loste, left two Cohorts at worke, to make a shew of fortifying, and he himselfe (by a contrarie way, in ascouert a manner as he could) ledde the rest of the Cohorts, in number thirtie-three (amongst whom was the ninth legion, that had lost many Centurions, and was very weake in souldiers) towards Pompeys legion, and the lesser Campe, in a double battaile. Neither did his opinion deceive him : for he came thither before Pompey could perceive it.

And albeit the fortifications of the Campe were great, yet affaulting it speedily with the left Cornet, wherein he himselfe was, hee draue Pompeys souldiers from the Rampier. There food a * Turne-pick in the Gate, which gave occasion * Entitus. of resistance for a while: and as our men would have entered, they valiantlie defended the Campe; T. Pulcio, by whose meanes C. Antonius Armie was betraied, as we have formerly declared, fighting there most valiantly: yet neverthelesse, our men ouercame them by valour; and cutting up the Turne-pick, entered first into the greater Campe, and afterwards into the Castle, and slew manie that resisted, of the legion that was forced thither.

But Fortune, that can doe much in all things, and specially in warre, doth in asmall moment of time, bring great alterations; as it then happened: for, the Cohorts of Casars right Cornet, ignorant of the place, followed the Rampier which went along from the Campe to the River, feeking after the Gate, and taking it to be the Rampier of the Campe: but when they perceived, that it ioyned to the River, they presently got over it, no man resisting them; and all the Caualrie followed after those Cohorts.

OBSER-

riculis fufcipiun tur. Herodot.

Fortuna omnia

espensa, omnia

erutur accepsa.

t in tota ratione

otramque paginam facit. Plin.

ib. 2. cap. 7.

OBSERVATIONS.



Ompey, having cleered his Armie of that fiege, it booted not Cæfar to profecute his purpose any longer: for, when the end is missed, for which any course is vndertaken, it were folly to seeke it by that meanes. We must rather chuse new waies, that may lead vs to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which

Sopiess no fember 1900 Head we to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which he re it wo grads for no effect. And yet neuertheleffe, the fufficiencie of the Generall, is no way disabled: for, Albeit a wife man doth not alwaies keep one pase, yet still he holdeth one and the same way.

Magna magnitum per Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are al-

Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are alwaies made with great difficultie and danger. Wherein, the wisedome of the heathen world ascribed all to Fortune, as the fole cause of all Markable enems; and that which filled up both the pages of all the Bookes, wherein men noted the course of things: Clades inbello accepte, non semper ignatia, sed aliquando Fortuna temeritati sunt imputanda, saith Archidamus; and is that which is aymed at by Cæsar.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The fight continueth, and Cæsar loseth.

Cafar.



N the meane while, Pompey, after so long a respite of time, having notice therof, tooke the first Legion from their works, and brought them to succour their fellows: and at the same time, his Caualry did approach neere our horsemen; and our men that possessed the Campe, did discouer an Army imbattelled comming against them, and all things were suddainsie

changed. For, Pompeys legion, assured with a speedy hope of succour, began to make resistance at the Decumane gate, and voluntarily charged our men.

Cefars Caualrie, beeing got-ouer the Rampier, into a narrow passage, fearing how they might retreit in safetie, beganne to slie away. The right Cornet, secluded, and cut-off from the left, perceiving the terrour of the horsemen (least they might be indangered within the fortifications) betooke themselves to the other side, from whence they cannot not for them (least they should be surprised in the straites) cast themselves over workes of ten soote high, into the ditches: and such as first got over, beeing troden where soote, by such as sollowed after; the rest. sured themselves, in passing over their bodies.

The fouldiers of the left Cornet, perceiving from the Rampier, that Pompey was at hand, and that their owne fide fledde away, fearing leaft they (hould bee shut up in those straights, having the Enemy both without and within though though

thought it their best course to returne backe the same way they came. Whereby there happened nothing but tumult, seare, and flight: insomuch, as when Casar caught hold with his hand, of the Ensignes of them that stedde, and commaunded them to stand; some for feare left their Ensignes behind them, others, for saking their horses, kept-on their course neither was there any one of them that would stand. Notwithstanding, in this so great a calamity and missap, these helps fel out to relieue vs.; that Pompey searing some treachery (for that, as I think, it happened beyond his expectation, who a little before saw his men slie out of his Camp) durst not for a good while approach neere the softifications: and our men, possessing the narrow passages and the Ports, didhinder the horsement from following after. And so, a small matter fell out to be of great moment, in the carriage of that accident, on either side. For, the Rampier, which was caried from the Campe to the River (Pompeys Campe beeing already taken) was the onely hinderance of Casars expedite and easie victory: and the same shing, hindering the speedy sollowing of their horsemen, was the onely lastie and bely of our men.

In those two fights, there were wanting of Cesars men, nine hundred and threescore; and horsemen of note, R. Felginas, Tuticanus Gallus, a Senators son, C. Felginas, of Placentia, Agrauius, of Putcolis, Sacrativirus, of Capua, sue Tribunes of the souldiers, and thirtie Centurions. But the greatest part of these perished in the Trenches, in the fortiscations, and on the River bankes, prest to death with the sear and slight of their fellowes, without any blowe or wound given them. There were lost at that time, thirtie two militarie Ensignes.

Pompey, upon that fight, was faluted by the name of Imperator; which title he then obtained, and so suffered himselfe to be sliled: howbeit, he used it not in any of his Missiues, nor yet wore any Laurell in the bundle of Roddes caried before him.

Labienus, having begged all the Captines, caused them (for greater oftentation) to bee brought out in publique; and to give the more assurance to such as were sledde there, from Casars partie; calling them by the name of fellow souldiers, in great derison asked them whether old souldiers were wont to slie? and so caused them all to be staine.

Pompeis partie tooke such an assurance and spirit upon these things, that they thought no surther of the course of war, but carried themselves as though they uvere already victors: not respecting (as the cause of all this) the paucitie of our men, nor the disduantage of the place, and the straightnesse the reof, the Campe beeing possessed, and the doubtfull terror both within, and without the works: not yet the Armie divided into two parts, in such sort, as neither of them were able to help or succeut the other. Neither yet did they adde to this, that the sight was not made by any valiant succeuter, or in forme of battell, but that they received more hurt from the narrownesse of the place, and from their owne disorder, then from the Enemy.

And to conclude, they did not remember the common chances, and casualties of warre: wherein oftentimes, very small causes, either of false suspicion, or of suddaine seare, or out of scruple of Religion, doe inferre great and heavie losses, as often as either by the negligence of the Generall, or the sault of a TriHumanarii rerii

irculus est, qua

rotatus semper,

sis nascantur.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

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of their proweffe that no alteration of things could after happen; they magnified that daies victorie, by Letters and report throughout the whole world.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Ometimes we may thinke to repaire a losse, and thereby hazard a greater misfortune. For, albeit the faying be common, that A man must seek his coate where he lost it, as Dicers do ; yet there is alwaies more certaintie in feeking, then in finding: For, the circle of humaine affaires, beeing caried round in a course, doth

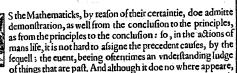
ofdem fortunanot fuffer happinesse to continue with one Partie. And there-vpon it was, that tos effe non finit. Pittacus dedicated a Ladder to the Temple of Mitylene, to put men in mind of Herodót.lib.1. their condition : which is nothing elfe but going up and downe. The life of a fouldier is a meere Hermaphrodite, and taketh part of either fexe of Fortune; conditio mortaand is made by Nature, to beget Happiness of Aduersitie, and Mischances of lium, vt aduerfa Good-happe; as if the Caule of all causes, by intermixing sweet with sower, ex secundis, seunda ex aduer would lead vsto his Prouidence, and confequently to himfelfe, the first Moo-Plin in Panieg ner of all Motions.

The divertitie of these events are so inchained together, as one seemeth to haue relation to the other : for, this taske admitted not of Veni, vidi, vici; nor went on with Alexander, marching ouer the Plaines of Asia, without rub or counterbuffe. But the bufiness was disposed, heere to receive a blowe, & there to gaine avictory: And fo, this loffe at Dyrrachium, made the battell at Pharfalia the more glorious; and beautified the course of this warre, with variety of chances. The best vie of these Disasters, is that which Croeffus made of his crosse fortunes, Meicasus, etsi ingrati, mihi tamen extitere disciplina.

Herodot. lib. 1

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.





what was the cause of Labienus leauing Cæsar, yet his insolent carrage towards thele Captines, may make at least a probable coniecture, that his revolt procceded from his owne disposition, rather then from any cause on Cassars behalfe. For, where a man hath once done an iniurie, he wil neuer cease heaping one wrong after another, and all to inflific his first errour. Where as on the other side, a noble spirit, free from ill desert, will demeane himselfe, answerable to his first innocencie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæsar speaketh to the Souldiers concer-ning this mishap; and forsaketh the Place.



Aefar, beeing driven from his former purpofes, resolved to change the vuhole course of the warre; so that at one of the (ame time omitting the siege, and withdrawing the Guarizons, hee brought all the Armie into one place, and there

pake unto the fouldiers : exhorting them not to thinke much at those things that had happened, nor to be amuzed therewith; but to counterpoise this losse (which was in a mediocritie) with manie happie and fortunate battailes they had gained.

Let them thank Fortune, that they had taken Italy without blowe or wound; that they had quieted and put in peace, both the Propinces of Spaine, full of warlike men, and directed by skilfull and practifed Cammaunders; that they also had subdued the fertile bordering Provinces: and likewise, that they should remember, with what facilitie they were all transported in safetie through the midst of the Enemies fleets; not onely the Hauens and Ports, but all the coast being full of shipping.

If all things fell not out prosperously, Fortune was to bee helped by their industrie. The losse which was received, might bee attributed to any man rather then onto him: for, he had given them a secure place to fight in; had possest himselfe of the Enemies Campe; driven themout, and overcome them in fight. But whether it overe their feare, or any other errour, or Fortune herselfe, that would interrupt a victorie alreadie gained, euery man was now to labour to repaire the damage they had sustained, with their valour : which if they did indeauour, hee would turne their losse into aduantage, as it formerly fell out at Apo.

Gergonia; that such as before were affraid to fight, did of their owne accord, offer themselves to battell.

Having ended his speech, hee displaced some Ensigne-bearers. The Armie, Ignominianothere-vpon, conceived such a griefe of the blowe that was given them, and such a tauit. defire they had to repaire their dishonour, that no man needed the commaund either of a Tribune, or Centurion; and were withall, inflamed with an earnest desire of fighting: insomuch, as many of the higher Orders, thought it requisite to continue in the place, and referre the cause to a battell. But contrariwise, Cafar was not affured of the terrified fouldiers, and thought it expedient besides, to interpose some time for the setling of their minds; fearing likewise least he should be straightned through scarcity of Corne, spontheleaning of his fortifications. And therefore, without any further delay, giving order for such as were

lay, that To be an ill hap, is a

wounded and licke; as soone as it was night, hee conuaied all the cariages secretty out of the Campe, and sent them before, towards Apolonia, forbidding them to rest wntill they came to their lodging; & sent one legion with all to conuo; them.

That beeing done, heretained two Legions within the Campe: and the reft, beeing ledde out at divers Ports, about the fourth watch of the night, hee sent them the sameway. And after a little payse (for the observing of Military order, and to the end his speedy departure might not be discovered) he commanded, and to take up theory of trussing up their baggage; and presently setting forward, overtooke the sormer troope, and so event speedily out of the light of the Campe.

Pompey, having notice of his purpose, made no delay to follow after: but ayming at the same things, either to take them incombered in their march, or associated mish feare, brought forth his Armie, and sent his horseme before, to say the Reareward. But Casar went with so speedy a march, that he could not of the high and vneasse the caual rie overtook ethe taile of the Armie, and ingaged them in sight. Amongst whom, Casar opposed his horsemen, and intermingled with them source bundred expedite souldiers, of them that had place before the Ensignes: Who so much prevailed in the incounter, that they draue them all away before them, lemmany of them, and returned themselies in safetie to their

Casar, having made a sust dairs march, according to his sirst determination, and brought his Armie over the River Genusus, he lodged in his old Campover-against Asparagus, and kept all the souldiers within the Rampier, commaunding the horse that went out to forrage, to be presently taken in, by the Decumane Port.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Preliorum delicta emendationem non accipiunt. Vegeti, lib. 1.cap. 14. Lbeit that of Cato be true, that an Errout in fight is not capable of amendement: yet out of that which happeneth amiffe, may alwaies be forme-what gathered, to repaire the difaduantage, and to dispose a Partie to better carriage for the future. Accordingly we may note Cæsars notable temper and demeanour, after so great a losse; recalling the courage of his souldi-

ers, & fetling their minds in a course of good resolution, with as many valuable reasons as humane wisdom was able to afford him: without which, all their other aduantages, either of valor or experience & vie of Armes, or their affuredness after so many victories, or what other thing soener, that made the excell all other Armies, and beene viterlie buried in this overthrow. For his better furtherance wherein, he thought it sit to vie the help of time, before he brought them to the like triall. For, that which is said of griefe, If reason wil not give an end

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end vnto it, time will; is to be vnderstood of any other passion of the mind: Finem dalendi, which cannot possible be so great, but time will consume it.

qui confilio non fecerit, tempore inuenit. Senec. Epift. 64.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

He fecond thing which commeth to bee handled, is the manner of Cæfars retreit; beeing as exquifite a patterne in this kind, as is extant in any florie: and is the rather to be confidered, for a finuch as it is one of the principall points of Militarie Art, and woorthieft the confidered of a Generall, To be able, ypon all occasions, to make a face and

knowledge of a Generall, To be able, vpon all occasions, to make a sase and sure retreit. For, those that can doe nothing else, can easily put themselues into a vvarre: but, to returne them home againe in safetie, is that which concerneth the honour of a Leader.

Many are the causes, that may moone a Commanner to dislodge himselfe, and to leaue his Aduersarie for a time: but, the meanes to doe it sately depend specially ypon these two points; The one is, to aduance himselfe onward at first, as sarre as possibly he can, to the end he may get the start, before the ene mie be ready to follow him: and is raught by Xenophon; who, after the death of Cyrus, in the battell against King Arraxerxes, brought backe a thousand men into Greece, from an Armie of two hundred thousand horse, that preaced hard ypon them, for sue hundred leagues together. Which retreit is exactlic storied by the said Author, in seauen bookes containing all the difficulties con-

cerning this point: amongst which, we find this passage.

It much imported vs, saith hee, to goe as farre at first as possiblie we could; to the end wee might have some advantage of space before the Enemie, that preaced some behind: for, if we once got before, and could out-strip them for a daies iourney or two, it was not possible for them to ouertake vs; for as much as they durft not sollow vs with a small troope, & with great forces they

could neuer reach vs: befides the fcarcine and want of victuall they fell into, by following vs, that confumed all before them.

Thus farre goeth Xenophon. And according to this rule, Cæfar ordered his retreit: for, he got the flatt of Pompey fo farte the first day, by that eight mile hee gained in the after-noone, as it followeth in the next Chapter, that he was neuer able to ouer-take him.

The fecondthing for the affuring of a retreit is, So to prouide againft the incomberances of an Enemie, that hee may not find it eafie to attack him that would be gone. Of all retreits which may any way be taken from example of Beafts, that of the Wolte is most commended: who neuer flies, but with his head turned back upon his aduetfaries; and the westuchteeth, as are not to be trufted.

After the Wolfes manner marched Cæfar: for, howfoeuer the body of his Armieretreited one way, yet they turned to terrible a countenaunce towards the Enemie, as was not to be induced. And vpon these two hinges, is turned the carriage of a skilfull retreit.

S 2:

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Howhe-

7

Linie. 31.

Howbeit, for the better furtherance heereof, it shall not bee impertment to adde heere-vnto some inventions, practiced by great Commaunders. which may ferue to amuse an Enemie, vvhile a Generall doth prepare himfelfe to obserue the former points.

King Philip of Macedon, defirous to leaue the Romaine Armie, fent a Herauld to the Confull, to demaund a ceffation of Armes, while hee buried his dead: which hee purposed to performe the next day, with some care and solemnitie. Which beeing obtained, he distodged himselse secretie that night, and was got farre on his way before the Romaines perceived it.

Hanniball, to cleere his Armie from that of the Romaines, which was com-Linie. 27

maunded by the Confull Nero, about midnight made manie fires, in that part which stood next the Romaine Campe: and leaving certaine Pavillions and Lodgings, with some few Numidians, to shew themselves upon the Rampier, hee departed fecretile towards Putcolis. As foone as it was day, the Romaines (according to their cultome) approaching the Counterscarpe, the Numidians thewed themselues; and then suddainely made after their sellowes, as fast as their horses could carry them. The Consull, finding a great silence in the Campe, fent two Light-horsmen to discouer the matter; who returning, told him of the Enemies departure.

Lib. 2. de bello

In like manner, Varus (as is formerlie related) left a Trumpeter in the Campe, neere Vtica, with certaine Tents; and about midnight, caried his Armie fecretly into the Towne.

Front. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Mithridates, willing to leave Pompey, that cut him off (hort; the better to couer his departure, made shew of making greater protition of forrage then hee was accustomed: appointed conferences the next day: made great store of fires in his Campe; and then in the night escaped away.

The Persians, in the voiage which Solyman the Turke made against them, in the yeere one thousand fine hundred fiftie foure, beeing driven to a Place where the Ottomans thought to have had a hand vpon them, gathered everie man a fagot; and making a great heape thereof, fer them all on fire, in the paffage of the Turkes Armie: which burned fo furiouslie, as the Persian escaped before the Enemie could passe by the fire.

CHAP

CHAP, XXVI.

Cæsar goeth-on in his retreit: Pompey ceaseth to follow him.

N like manner, Pompey having that day marched a full iourney betooke himselfe to his former lodging at Asparagus. And, for-that the fouldiers overe not troubled with fortifying their Campe, by reason all the ovorkes were vohole and intire, many of them went out farre off to get wood, and to

(eeke forrage, Others, rifing hastily, had left a great part of their luggage behind them; and induced by the necrenesse of the last nights loding, left their Armes, and went backe to fetch those things that were behind. Insomuch, as Casar, seeing them thus scattered (as before hee had conceiued hove it would fall out) about high noone gaue wearning to depart, and so ledde out his Armie; and doubling that daies iourney, hee ovent from that place about eight mile: Which Pompey could not doe, by reason of the absence of bis souldiers.

The next day, Cafar, having in like manner fent his carriages before, in the beginning of the night, set forward himselfe, about the fourth watch; that if there were any suddaine necessity of fighting, he might (at all occasions) be readie with the whole Armie. The like he did the daies following : by which it happened, that in his passage over great Rivers, and by difficult and cumbersome waies, he received no detriment or loffe at all. For, Pompey being staied the first day, and afterwards strining in vaine, making great iourneys, and yet not overtaking vs the fourth day gave-over following, and betooke himselfe to another resolution.

Cafar, as well for the accommodating of his voounded men, as also for paying the Armie, reassuring his Allies and Confederates, & leaving Guarizons in the townes, was necessarily to goe to Apolonia: but hee gaue no longer time for the dispatch of these things, then could be spared by him that made haste. For fearing least Domitius should beeing aged by Pompeys arrivall, hee desired to make towards him with all possible celeritie: his whole purpose and resolution, insisting upon these reasons; That if Pompey did follow after him, hee should by that meanes draw him from the Sea-side, and from such provisions of warre as hee had stored up at Dyrrachium: and so should compell him to under-take the wvarre, upon equall conditions. If hee wvent ouer into Italie, having ioyned his Armie with Domitius, hee would goe to succour Italie by the way of Illiricum. But, if hee should goe about to besiege Apolonia, or Oricum, and so exclude him from all the Sea-coast, he would then besiege Scipio, and force Pompey to relieue him.

And

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And therefore, having writ and fent to Cn. Domitius, what he would have done (leaving foure Cohorts to keepe Apolonia; one at Lissus, and three at Oricum, and disposing such as overeweake through their wounds, in Epirus and Acarnania) he fet forward.

OBSERVATIONS.

Lib. 5. de Mili Ro. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. cap. 1.

Onfecto infto itinere eius diei, saith the storie. Which giueth occalion to inquire, how far this just daies journey extended. Lipfius faith, it was twentie-foure miles, alleaging that of Vegetius; Militari gradu (faith he) viginti millia passum horis quing; duntaxat astiuis conficienda: pleno autem gradu qui citatior est, toti-

dem horis viginti quatuor; understanding instamiter, to bee so much as was measured militari gradu. But he that knowes the marching of an Armie, shall eafilie perceine the impossibilitie of marching ordinarilie twentie-foure miles a day. Besides, this place doth plainly consute it; for, first, hee saith that hee made a just daies journey; and then againe, rising about noone, doubled that daies journey, and went eight miles. Which Thewes, that their Instrum iter was about eight mile: and so suteth the slowe congeiance of an Armie, with more probabilitie then that of Lipfius.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pompey hasteth to Scipio. Domitius heareth of the overthrowe.

Cafar.



site for him to hasten to Scipio, that he might succour him if Cafar (bould chaunce to intend that way: but if it so fell out that he would not depart from the Sea-shore, and Corcyra, as expecting the legions and Caualrie to come out of Italie he would then attack Domitius. For thefe causes, both of them

Ompey also, coniecturing at Casars purpose, thought it requi-

made hafte, as well to assist their Parties, as to surprize their enemies, if accasion overe offered: but Cafar had turned out of the way, to goe to Apolonia; whereas Pompey had a ready way into Macedonia by Caudania. To which there happened an other incouenience: that Domitius, who for many daies together had lodged hard-by Scipios Campe, was now departed from thence, to make provision of Corne, unto Heraclea Sentica, which is subject to Caudania; as though Fortune would have thrust him upon Pompey. Moreover, Pompey had writ to all the States and Provinces, of the overthrowe at Dyrrachium, in farre greater tearmes then the thing it selfe was : and had noised it abroad, that Casar was beaten, had lost all his forces, and fled away.

Which reports, made the waies very hard and dangerous to our men, & drew many States from Casars partie: whereby it happened, that many Messengers beeing fent, both from Cafar to Domitius, and from Domitius to Cafar, were forced to turne back againe, and could not passe. Howbest, some of the followers of Roscillus and Acques (who as is before shewed, had fled unto Pompey) meeting on the way with Domitius Discouerers (whether it were out of their old acquaintance, having lived together in the warres of Gallia; or otherwise, out of vaine-glorie) related all what had happened; not omitting Cafars departure, or Pompeis comming. Whereof Domitius being informed, and beeing but scarce foure houres before him, did (by the helpe of the enemy) avoide a most eminent danger, and met with Casar at Eginum: which is a towne situate vpon the frontires of Thessalia.

OBSERVATIONS.

Oy is an opening and dilating motion; and oftentimes openeth the bodie fo wide, as it letteth out the foule: which returneth not again. bodie so wide, as it letter thou the soule: which returneth not again.

And in like manner, the causes of all such excultations, doe for the most part, spread themselues further then is requisite.

Pompey, having victorie in hope, rather then in hand, boasted as though Humanarii acall were his: Not considering, that the happinesse or disaster of humane actions, doth not depend upon the particulars, rifing in the course thereof, which from e singulars arevariable and divers; but according as the event shall censure it. Wherevpon, the Ruffes haue a faying in fuch cafes, that Hee, that laughes afterward, laughes too: as Cæfar did.

ex euentu iudi intur.D.onyf. Hal. lib. g.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Cæsar sacketh Gomphos, in Thessalia.

Aesar, hauing ioyned both Armies together, came to Gomphos, which is the first towne of The salia by the way leading out of Epirus. These people, a few daies before, had of their owne accord, sent Embassadours to Casar, offering all their meanes and abilities to be disposed at his pleasure; requiring also a Guarizon of souldiers from him. But now they had heard of the over-throwe at Dyrrachium: which was made fo great, and fo prevailed with them, that Androstenes, Prator of Thessalia (chusing rather to be a partaker of Pompeis victorie, then a companion with Casar in adversitie) had drawne all the multitude of servaunts and children out of the Country, into the towne; and shutting up the Gates, dispatched Messengers to Scipio & Pompey, for succour to be fent unto him, in that hee was not able to hold out a long fiege. Scipio, under standing of the departure of the Armies from Dyrrachium,

Commentary of the Ciuil Warres

Cefar.

had brought the legions to Larisa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neere vnto Theffalia. Cafar, having fortified his Campe, commaunded Mantilets, Ladders, and

Hurdles to be made ready for a surprize : which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the fouldiers, and shewed them what need there was (for the relieuing of their wants, and supplying of all necessaries) to possesse the selues, of an opulent and full towne; as also by their example, to terrifie the other Citties: and what they did, to doe speedily, before it could be succoured. Where-vpon, by the singular industrie of the souldiers, the same day became thither, giving the affault after the ninth houre (not with standing the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before sunne-setting, and gaue it to the souldiers to bee ri-

fled: And prefently removuing from thence, came to Metropolis, in such sort, as

After three of he clocke in heafternoone

he out-went as well Messengers, as newes of taking the Towne. The Metropolitanes, induced with the same respects, at first shutte up their gates, and filled their voalls with Armed men: but afterwards, understanding by the Captines (whom Cafar caufed to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they presently opened their gates; and by that meanes overe all preserved in safetie. Which happinesse of theirs, beeing compared with the desolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Thessalia (excepting them of Lariffa, which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yeelded obedience to Cafar, and did what he commaunded. And, having gotte a place plentious of Corne, which was now almost ripe, herefolued to attend Pompeis comming; and there to prosecute the residue of that warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Inje faith, that the fiege of that Place which we would quicklie take, must be prosecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Casar ob-

Lib. 5. Oblidio eius vi bis quam citò capere velis, et vr renda et premë

ferued: for, he followed it so hard, that he tooke the Towne fortified with exceeding high walls, in foure houres space, or thereabouts, after he beganne to affault it. Which, Plutarch faith, was so plentifully stored of all necessarie prouision, that the souldiers found there a refection of all the mileries and wants they suffered at Dyrrachium: infomuch as they feemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage; by reason of the vvine, victuals & riches of that place: which were all given vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; Lex inter omnes homines perpetua est, quando belligerantium orbs capta fuerit, cuncta corum effe qui cam ceperint, et cor-

Lib. 6. de Insti

Bello lex acqui Diony. Halicar in exper. legat.

pora eorum qui in orbe funt et bona. Appian faith, the Germaines were so drunke, that they made all men laugh at them : and, that if Pompey had surprised the in these disorders, they might haue paid deare for their entertainement. Hee addeth moreouer (to shew the stiffenesse of the inhabitants against Cæsar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Personages, stiffe-dead vponthe ground, without appearance of any wound, having their goblets by them; and hee that

gane the poison, sitting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the reit. And as Phillip, having taken Acrolisse, in the Country of the letitians, drew all the rest to his obedience, through the feare they conceived of their viage: fo the confideration of the calamitie which befell Gomphos, and the good intreatie which the Metropolitans found, by yielding vnto Cæfar, brought all the other Citties, vnder his commaund.

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Thessalia: his Armie conceined assured hope of

Ompey, a few daies after, came into Thessalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, first gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios (ouldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and

authoritie, commaunding the Trumpets to attend his pleasure, for matter of direction, and that he should vie a Pratoriall Pauillion.

Pompey, having frengthened himselfe, with an addition of another great Armie, every man was confirmed in his former opinion; and their hope of victorie wwas increased: so that the longer they delaied the matter, the more they scemed to prolong their returne into Italie. And albeit Pompey proceeded slowelie and deliberatly in the business, yet it was but a daies worke, howsoener hee might be well pleased with authoritie and commaund; and to vie men both of Consular dignitie, and of the Pratorian order, as his vassalls and seruaunts.

And now they began to dispute openly, concerning rewards, and dignities of Prelacie: and quoted out those, which from yeere to yeere were to be chosen Consuls. Others begged the houses and goods of such as overe with Casar. Besides, a great controuersie that further grew betweene them in open councell, whether L. Hertius were not to be regarded at the next election of Prators, beeing absent, and imploied by Pompey against the Parthians. And, as his friends orged Pompey with his promise given at his departure, requiring hee might not now be deceived through his greatnesses authoritie; the rest, running a course of as great danger and labour, faw no reason (by way of contradiction) why one man should bee respected before all others. And now Domitius, Scipio, and Spinther Lentulus, began to grow to high words in their daily meetings, concerning Casars Priesthood: Lentulus alleadging, by way of ostentation, the honour that was due to his age and authoritie; Domitius vaunting of the credit and fauour he had at Rome: and Scipio, trusting to Pompeis alliance. Moreover, Atius Rufus accused L. Affranius to Pompey, for betraying the Armie in Spaine. L.

Domitius

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Domitius gaue out in councell, That all such as overe of the rank of Senators. should be inquired upon by a triple Commission: and that those which were per-Sonally in the warre, should be of the Commission to sudge the rest; as well such as overe at Rome, as those that did no service in this warre. The first Commission, should be to cleare such as had well-deserved, from all danger. The second. Penall: and the third, Capitall. And to conclude, every man laboured, either to have a reward, or to bee avenged of his Enemie. Neither did they thinke fo much of the meanes how to ouercome, as how to vee the victorie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Comineus.

He Tale which the Emperour Frederick related to the Commissioners of Lewis the elementh, King of Fraunce (concerning the parting betweene them of the Territories of Charles, Duke of Burgundie) Not to fell the skin before they had killed the Beare; might

well have fitted these of Pompeis Partie, that contended for offices before they fell, and disposed of the skinnes ere they had tooke the Beares: Not sparing out of their impatiencie to tax Pompey of spinning out the warre, for the fweetneffe he found in authoritie & commaund; as Agamemnon did at Troy. Infomuch, as Plurarch reporteth, That one Fauonius, imitating Catos feuerity & freenes of speech, went about throughout all the Campe, demaunding, Whether it were not great pittie, that the ambitious humour of one man, should keepe them that yeere, from eating the figs and delicate fruite of Thusculum? And all men, generally, stood so affected, as Pompey could not withfland their inforcements. For, as Florus faith; Milites otium, foci mora, principes ambitum Ducis increpabant. Onely Cato thought it not fitte, to hazard themselues vpon a desperate man, that had neither hope or help, but in Fortune. But, as in most things befides, so in this he stoode alone, and could not preuaile against a multi-ude.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Lacere sibi ternas tabellas dari, ad indicandum ijs, qui erant ordinis Senatori, faith the storie, which Tabellas, I have translated Commissions, as best suting our English phrase: but the meaning was as followeth.

It appeareth by historie, that the Romaine people, as well in election of Magistrates, as in causes criminall, did give their voices openly & aloud, for fixe hundred yeeres together; untill one Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, perceiving that the Commons, for feare of the great Ones, durst not dispose of their voices freely, and as they would, published an Edict, that The people should give their voices by Balating. Which law, Tully commendeth; Grata est tabella qua frontes operit, hominum mentes tegit, dat que eam libertatem quod velint faciant. And in another place, hee calleth it Principiu

In orat. pro Planco.

instifsimalibertatis. Vpon an election of Magistrates, the balls were given according to the number of the Competitors; that every man might chuse as he pleased.

In criminall Causes, euery man had three: one marked with A. signifying Absolution, and another with C. for Condemnation, and another with N. L. for Non liquet, which they called Ampliatio, defirous to be further informed; which our Grand Iuries doe expresse by an Ignoramus. And in this manner, would Domitius haue had his fellow Senators either quined or condemned. The balls which were given vpon the making of a law, were two: one marked with V.R. which fignified Vtirogas, that it might goe on : and the other with A. fignifying Antique; rejecting it. For, as Feltus noteth, Antiquare eft in

modum pristinum reducere. And in this manner they would have proceeded against Cæsars Partizans, beeing altogether miltaken, in the affurance of their happiness: the continuance whereof, depended upon Vertue, and not upon Fortune.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar, finding the Enemy to offer battell in an indifferent Place, prepareth to vndertake him.



Rouision of Corne beeing made, and the souldiers well resolued(to which end he had interposed a sufficient space of time, after the battell at Dyrrachium) Cafar thought it time now to try what purpose or will Pompey had to fight. And therefore, drawing the Armie out of the Campe, hee imbattelled

his troopes, first, upon the place, and some what removued from Pompeis Campe: but every day following he went further off his own trenches, and brought his Armie under the hills whereon the Enemy lay incamped: which made his Armie daily the more bold and assured, keeping continually his former course with his horsemen; who because they were lesse in number by manie degrees then those of Pompeis partie, hee commaunded certaine lusty young men chosen out of them that flood before the Ensignes for their nimble & swift running, to fight amongst the horsemen: and by reason of their daily practise, had learned the ve of that kind of fight. So that one thousand of our Caualrie, in open and Champaine places, would when need were, undergoe the charge of seauen thousand of theirs, and were not much terrified with the multitude of them. For, in that time they made a fortunate incounter, and slew one of the two Sauoiens, that had formerly fled to Pompey, with divers others.

Pompey, having his Campe vpon a hill, imbattelled his Armie at the lower foote thereof, to see if he could get Casar to thrust himselfe into an unequall and disaduantageous place. Casar, thinking that Pompey would by no meanes bee

Prima egregio rum ducum sa-

ientia victoria

fine periculo cŏ-

i. fratage.

arare.Polya li

But, as the Tents were taken downe, it was a little before observed, that Pompeis Armie was aduaunced somewhat further from their Trenches, then or dinarily they were accustomed; so that it seemed they might fight in an equall and indifferent place. Wherevpon, Casar, when his troopes were already in the gates setting out; It behoueth vs, saith he, to put off our remouing for the present, and bethinke our selves of fighting, as we have alwaies desired; for, we shall not easily hereafter find the like occasion: and presently drew out his forces. Pompey alfo, as it was afterwards knowne, was resolved (at the instance of all that were about him) to give battell; for, bee had given out in souncell some few daies before, that he would ouerthrowe Cafars Armie, before the troopes came to soyne battell.

And, as many that stood by wondered at it, I know, saith he, that I promise almost an incredible matter: but take the ground whereupon I speake it, that you may undergoe the business with more assurance. I have persuaded the Caualrie, and they have promised to accomplish it, that whe they come neere to ioyne, they shall attack Casars right Cornet on the open side, and so the Army being circumvented behind, shall be amused and routed, before our men can cast a vveapon at them. Whereby, we shall end the warre without danger of the Legions, or almost without any wound received : which is not difficult or hard to doe, for vs that are so strong in horse; and withall, gaue order that they should be ready against the next day, for a smuch as the occasion was offered (according as they had often intended) not to deceive the opinion which other men had of their prowesse and valour.

Labienus, seconding this speech, as contemning Casars forces, extolled Pompeis resolution to the skies. Doe not thinke, Pompey, Saith he, that this is the Armie vohere-with he conquered Gallia, or Germania; I was present my selfe at all those battells, and doe not speake rashly what I am ignorant off. There is a very small peece of that Army remaining: a great part of them are dead, as cannot other wife be chosen, in so many battells. The Pestilence (the last Autumne) in Italy consumed many of them; many are gone home, and many are left in the Continent. Haue ye not heard, that the Cohorts which are now at Brundusium. are made and raised of such as remained behind there to recover their healthes? These forces that ye see, were the last yeere gathered, of the Musters made in the hither Gallia; and most of them, of the Colonies beyond the Po: and yet all the flower and strength of them, was taken away in the last two overthrowes at Dyrrachium.

When he had spoken these things, he tooke a solemne oath, not to returne into the Campe but with victorie, exhorting the rest to doe the like. Pompey, commending him, tooke the same oath: neither was there any man that refused it.

Thefe things beeing thus caried in the councell, they rose up, and departed,

with great hope and ioy of all men; as having already conceived victory in their minds: and the rather, because they thought that nothing could be spoken vainlie, by so skilfull a Commaunder, in so weightie and important a Cause.

OBSERVATIONS.

Oncerning the fashion of the Caualrie, in which either Partie reposed so much confidence, wee are to note, that the Romaines had two forts of horsemen; the one compleatile armed (according to their manner) and incorporated in the bodie of their

Legions, whose entertainement, was thrice as much as the foote-mon. Aeque impotens postulatum fuit (faith Liuie) vt de stipendio equitum (merebant autem triplex ea tempestate) ara demerentur. And the other, were as light-horsemen, which they called Alary.

The first fort were thus armed, as Iosephus witnesseth; They wore a sword on their right fide, somewhat longer then that of the footmen, & caried a long staffe or speare in their hand, a Target at their horse side, and three or more Darts in a quiuer, with broad heads, and not much leffe then their staues; hauing such head-peeces and corfelets as the foote-men had.

The light-armed men, had either light Darts, or Boawe and Arrowes. And doubtleffe, their chiefest service was with their casting weapons. And accordingly, Tully putteth his fonne in mind, of the praise hee had got in Pompeis Armie (where he commaunded awing of horse) ; Equitando, iaculando, omui militari labore tolerando.

And, as their service confisted in breaking their Staues vpon an Enemy, & in calting their Darts; so wee exercise the practice of the former, in our triumphs at Tilt; and the Spaniards the later, in their Iocuo di cane.

Our moderne horsemen, are either Launciers, Petronelliers, or Pistoliers. The Perronelliers do discharge at a distance; making their left hand that holds the bridle, their rest: which is uncertaine, and to no great effect.

The Piffoliers, that will doe some what to purpose, doe come up close one to another, and discharge his Pistoll in his enemies necke, or vnder the corselet, about the flanke or feate of a man; and commonly misseth not.

I haue seene a deuice to vse a Musket on horse-backe, which if it prooue as feruiceable as is by fome conceined, will be of great aduantage.

> CHAP. T.

Lib. 7.

CHAP, XXXI.

The manner of imbattelling their Armies.

Cafar.



S Casar approached neere onto Pompeis Campe, hee obserued his Armie to be imbattelled in this manner : There were in the left Cornet two legions, which in the beginning of these broiles, were by order and decree of Senate, taken from Ca-(ar; whereof one was called the first o the other the third; and with them stood Pompey. Scipio had the middle squadron, with the legions he brought out of Syria.

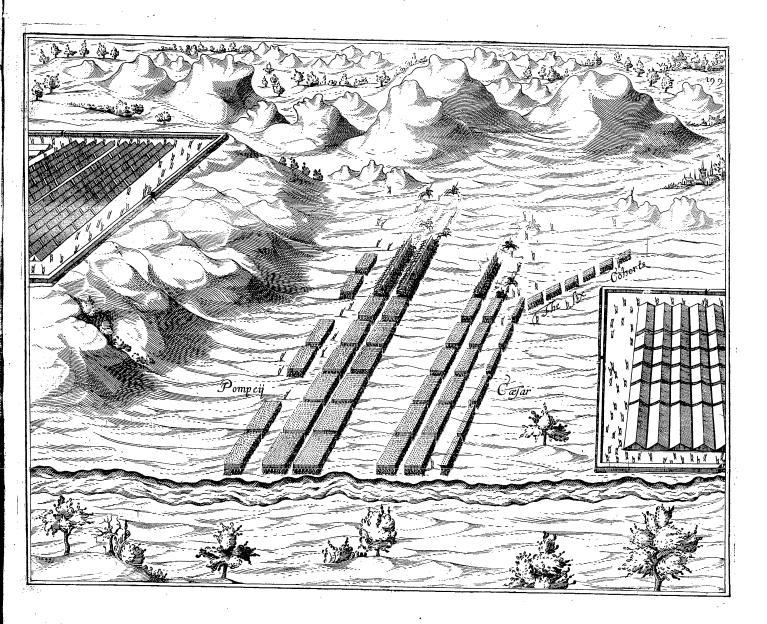
The Legion of Cilicia, ionned with the Spanish Cehorts, which Afranius brought with him, made the right Cornet. These Pompey held to be very strong. The rest of the troopes were interlaced, betweene the middle Squadron, and the Cornets, and made in all one hundred and tenne Cohoris, which amounted to fiftie-five thousand men: besides two thousand old souldiers, and men of note. whom he had called out to that warre, and dispersed them over all the Armie. The rest of the cohorts, which were seauen, he had left in the Campe, or disposed about the forts neere adiorning. The right Cornet was flanked with a River that had high & cumber some banks: and therevpon he put all his Caualrie, together with the A chers and Slingers in the left Cornet.

Cafar, observing his former custome, placed the tenth legion in the right Cornet, and the ninth in the left; albeit they were very much weakened in the fights at Dyrrachium: but to this he so ioned the eight, that he seemed almost to make one of two, and commaunded them to succour each other. Hee had in all about eighty cohorts, which made twenty-two M. men. He left two cohorts to keepe the Campe, and gaue the left Cornet to Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the middle Squadron to Cn. Domitius, and put himselfe opposite to Pompey. And withall, having well observed these things (according as I have formerly declared) fearing least the right Cornet should be inclosed about with the multitude of the Caualrie, he speedily drew sixe cohorts out of the third battell, & of them he made a fourth, to incounter the horsemen: and shewed them what hee would have done; admonishing withall, that the victorie of that day consisted in the valour of those cohorts, commaunding the third battell; and likewise the whole Armie not to ioyne battell without order from him: which when he thought fit. he would give them notice thereof by an Enligne.

firis quantus fit Ca ar habetis. Lucan.lib. 7.

And going about to incourage them to fight, according to the vie of wvarre, he put them in mind of his fauours, and his carriage towards them from time to time; and specially, that they themselves were witnesses, with what labour and meanes he had fought for peace, as well by treaty with Vatinius, as also by imploying Claudius to Scipio: and likewise how he had indeauoured at Oricum with Libo, that Embassadors might be sent to treat of these things. Neither was he willing at any time to missend the souldiers blood, or to deprive the Comon-wealth of either of those Armies.

This



This speechbeeing delivered, the souldiers, both requiring and longing with an ardent desire to fight, hee commaunded the signe of battell to bee given by a Trumpet.

OBSERVATIONS.



Oncerning the order vsed in disposing these Armies, for the triall of this Caufe, it appeareth by the Horie, that Pompey fee two Legions in his left Cornet, which are heere named the first and the third. Howbeit, Lucan faith, that those Legions were the first and the fourth.

-Cornus tibi cura finistri, Lentule cum prima, qua tum fuit, optima bello,

Et quarta legione datur. -The middle squadron was ledde by Scipio, with the legions he brought our of Syria, which were also two; Expettabat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas, as it is in the second Chapter of this booke.

In the right Corner, was the Cilician legion, with the Cohorts that Afranius brought out of Spaine: which, amounting to the number of a Legion, made that Cornet equall to the reft. And so of these fixe Legions, which were the strength and snowes of his Armie, hee fashioned his battell into a middle Squadron, and two Cornets. His other forces, beeing young fouldiers, hee disposed in the distances, betweene the Cornets and that middle Squadron.

Frontinus, speaking of this point, faith; Legiones secundum virtutem, firmissimas in medio, et in cornu locanit; spacia his interposita Tyronibus suppleuit. His number of men, by our text, was fiftie-fine thousand; but Plutarch

maketh them not about fortie-fine thousand.

Cælar had not halfe so many men, and yet made a triple battell; but not so thick or deepe with Legions: for, in the right Cornet he put the tenth Legion, and in the left the ninth and the eight; beeing both weake and farre spent, by the former ouer-throwes. Of the other Legions he maketh no mention: but it feemeth they filled up the diffances betweene the Cornets and the bodie of the Armie; and were as flesh to those sinowes & bones, which out of the prerogatiue of their valour, tooke the place of the Cornets, and the middle bulke of the battell. And fearing least his right Cornet should be circumuented, by the multitude of their Caualrie, hee drew fixe Cohorts out of his third or last battell, to make a fourth battell to oppose the Caualrie: which gotte him the | Singulas Cohorvictorie. For, howlocuer the Text faith, Singulas cohortes detraxit: yet Plu- les detraxit. tarch faith plainly, that Those Cohorts he thus tooke, were fixe, and amounted to three thouland men: which rifeth to the number of so many Cohorts. And Appian, agreeing herevnto, faith, that his fourth battell confifted of three thouland men. Frontinus likewise affirmeth, hee tooke out sixe Cohorts, et tenuit in subsidio, sed dextro latere conuersas in obliquum: Where-vnto that of Lucan agreeth;

Tenet obliquas post signa cohortes.

Which

Lib.2.cap.z.

Lib.2.ca.3.

Lib. 7.

Observations vpon the third

Which is thus to be understood: that they turned their faces towards the left Cornet of Pompeis Armie, that they might bee the readier to receive the Caualrie comming on to inclose Casars right wing; as beeing sure of the other fide, which was fenced with a Riuer and a Marith.

Touching Cæfars Speech to the fouldiers, it feemed like that of Themistocles, at the battell of Salamina; where Zerxes made a long Oration to encourage the Persians, and lost the day: Themistocles spake bur a few words to the Greekes, and got the victorie. How-focuer; one thing is not to bee omitted, that Plutarch, and fuch others as have dipped their pennes, either in the sweat, or in the blood of this battell, doe all agree, that Cæfar had not aboue twentietwo thousand men.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Battell beginneth; and Cæsar ouercommeth.

Cafar.

Here was one Crastinus, in Casars Armie, called out to this warre, who the yeere before had ledde the first companie of the tenth Legion; a man of singular valour; who upon the signe of battell given, Follow me, saith he, as many of you as were of my company; and doe that indeauor to your Emperor, which you have alwaies beene willing to performe.

This is the onely battell remaining onfought: which beeing ended, He shall be restored to his dignitie, and wee to our libertie. And withall, looking towards Cafar, I will, faith hee, O Emperour, so carry my selfe this day, that thou shalt give mee thanks, either alive or dead. And when he had thus spoken, he was the first that ranne out of the right Cornet: @ about one hundred and twentie elected souldiers of the same Centurie followed voluntarily after him.

There was so much space left betweene both the battells, as might serue either Armie to meete vpon the charge. But Pompey had commaunded his men to receive Casars assault, and to under-goe the shock of his Armie, vuithout mooning from the place wherein they stood (and that by the aduice of C. Triarius) to the end that the first running out oviolence of the fouldiers being broken, o the battell distended, they that stood perfit in their Orders, might set upon the that were scattered & dispersed; hoping, the piles would not fall so forceablie opon the Armie standing still, as when they advanced forward to meet them: And that it vocald fall out withall, that Cafars fouldiers, having twice as farre to runne, would by that meanes be out of breath, and spent with wearinesse.

Which, in my opinion, was against all reason: for, there is a certaine incitation and alacritic of spirit, naturally planted in every man, which is inflamed with a desire to fight. Neither should anie Commaunder represse or restraine the same, but rather increase it, and set it forward.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

Nor was it in vaine of ancient time ordained, that the Trumpets should euerie vohere sound, and every man take up a shout; but that they thought these things did both terrifie the Enemy, and incite their owne Party.

But our fouldiers, voon the signe of Battell, running out with their Piles ready to be throwne, and perceiving that Pompeis fouldiers did not make out to meet them (as men taught with long vie, and exercised in former fights) stopt their course of their owne accord, & almost in the mid-way stood still; that they might not come to blowes upon the spending of their strength: And after a little respite of time, running on againe, threw their piles, and presently drew their fwords, as Cafar had commaunded them. Neither were Pompeis fouldiers wanting in this business; for they received the piles which overecast at them, tooke the shock of the Legions, kept their ranks, cast their piles, and betooke them to their swords.

At the same time, the Caualrie, according as was commanded them, issued out from Pompeis left Cornet, & the whole multitude of Archers thrust themselues out. Whose affault our horsemen were not able to indure, but fell backe a little, from the place wherein they stood: whereby Pompeis horsemen, beganne to presse them with more eagerness, and to put themselves in squadrons, to inclose the Army about. Which Casar perceiving, he gave the signe of advauncing forward, to the fourth Battell, whom he had made out of the number of the Cohorts; who came with such a fling upon Pompeis horsemen, that none of them were able to stand before them; and turning their backs, did not onely give place, but fledde all as fast as they could, to the highest Hills: whereby, the Archers and Slingers, beeing left naked without succour, were all put to the sword . And with the same violence, those Cohorts incompassed about the left Cornet, notwithstanding any resistance that could be made by Pompeis partie, and charged them behind, upon their backs.

At the same time, Casar commaunded the third Battell, which as yet stoode fill, and overe not remooued, to advaunce forward: by meanes of which fresh and found men, relieuing such as overe faint and wearie, as also, that others did charge them behind upon their backs, Pompeis partie were able no longer to indure it, but all turned their backs and fledde.

Neither was Cafar descined in his opinion, that the beginning of the victorie would growe from those Cohorts which hee placed in the fourth Battell, against the horsemen; according as hee himselfe had openly poken, in his incouragement to the fouldiers. For, by them, first the Caualrie was beaten; by them, the Archers and Slingers overe staine; by them, Pompeis Battell voas circumuented on the left Cornet, and by their meanes they began to flie.

As soone as Pompey saw his Caualrie beaten, and perceived the part wherein hee most trusted, to bee amused and affrighted, and distrusting the rest, hee foorth-with left the Battell, and convaied himselfe on horseback into the Camp. And speaking to the Centurions that had the watch at the Pratorian gate with a loud voice, as all the fouldiers might heare, faid, Keepe the Campe, and defend it diligently, to preuent any hard casualtie that may happen. In the meane while, I will goe about to the other Ports, to settle the Guards of the Campe.

And

Commentary of the Ciuil Warres.

Lib. 7.

Florus.

And having thus faid, hee went into the Pratorium, distructing the maine point, and yet expecting the event.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Ompey so caried himselfe in the course of this warre, as he rather feemed a fufferer then a dooer; neuer disposing his Armie for any attempt or on-fer, but one when hee brake out of the place wherein he was befreged at Dyrrachium. And accordingly he gaue order, that In the maine action and point of triall,

his fouldiers should infer and fustaine the assault, rather then otherwise. But, whether hee did well or no, hath fince been in question. Carar vererly dishked it, as a thing contrary to reason. Est quadam, tainh he, animi incitatio at que alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, que findio pugna incenditar; hanc non reprimere (ed augere Imperatores debent.

Platarch.

Agreeable wherevnto, is that of Cato the Great; that In cases of battell, an Enemy isto be charged with all violence. And to that purpole it is requifite, to put the fouldiers (at some reasonable distance) into a Posterne of vaunting and defiance, with menaces and cries of terrour; and then to fpring forward in fuch manner, as may make them fall vpon their enemies with greater furie: As Champions or Wraftlers, before they buckle, stretch out their limbes, and make their florishes as may best ferue to affure themselves, and difcourage their aduerfaries; According as we read of Hercules & Antæus,

Lucan. lib. 4.

Ille Cleonai proiecit terga Leonis, Ant sus lib.ci. perfudit membra liquore Hospes, Olympiaca seruato more Palestra. · Ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem. Auxilium membris, calidas infudit arenas.

Howbeit, foralmuch as all men are not of one temper, but require severall fashions to tune their mindes to the true note of a battell, wee shall find seucrall Nations, to have feuerall viances in this point. The Romaines (as appeareth by this of Cæfar) were of auncient time accuitomed to found Trumpets, and Hoboies, in all parts of the Armie, and to take up a great clamour and (hout: whereby the fouldiers (in their understanding) were incouraged, and the Enemic affrighted. Where-as, contrariwife, the Greekes went alwaies with a close and filent mouth, as having more to doe then to fay to their Enemies. And, Thucidides, writing of the Lacedemonians (the flower of Greece for matter of Armes) faith, that Infleed of Trumpets, and Cornets to incite

paffions, leaft they should be transported with bridless impetuosity. It is reported that Marshall Biron the Father seeme to dislike of our English march (hearing it beaten by the Drummes) as too flowe, & of no encouragement: and yet it to fitteth our Nation (as Sir Roger Williams then an-

them, they yied the iweet harmonie of Flutes, to moderate and qualifie their

fwered) as wee have divers times over-runne all France with it. Howfoever, the enent of this battell is sufficient to disproue Pompeis errour heerein, and to make good what Cælar commaunded.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



SAGORA Hese fixe Cohorts, which made the sourth battell, did so incounter Pompeis Caualrie, that they were not able to with fland them. It is aid, that Cæfar gaue them order, not to fling their Piles as commonly they did, but to hold the in their hands like a Pike or a Liue-

lin, and make onely at the faces of those Gallants, & men at Armes on horseback. For the holding of them in their hands. I doe not understand it, and can not conceine how they could reach more then the next ranks voto them in that manner. But for making at the faces of the Cauairie, Florus faith, that Lib. 4. cap. 2. Cælar, as he galloped vp and downe the ranks, was heard to let fall bloody and bitter words, but very patheticall, and effectuall for a victorie: as thus, Soul-

dier, cast right at the face; Wher-as Pompey called to his Men, to spare their fellow Cittizens. Eutropius, in his Epitome of Suctonius, affirme h the same thing, both of the one and of the other: and Lucan feemeth to auerre the fame, concerning that of Cælar;

Aduer los que iubet ferro contundere vultus.

Frontinus hath it thus; C. Cafar, cum in partibus Pompeianis, magna equitu Lib. 4. cap. 7. Romanorum effet manus, eaque armorum scientia milites conficeret, ora oculosque corum gladijs peti iussit, et sic aduersam faciem cadere coegit.

THIRD OBSERVATION.



Mongst these memorialls, Crastinus may not be forgotten, being the first man that began the battell, whom Plutarch calleth in the life of

C. Crassinius; and faith, that Cæfar sceing him in the morning, as hee came out of his Tent, asked him what hee thought of the fuccesse of the battell? Crassinus, stretching out his right hand vnto him, cried out aloud, O Cæfar, thine is the victorie; and this day shalt thou commend mee, either aliue or dead: And accordingly, brake afterwards out of the ranks; and running amongst the midt of his Enemies, with manie that followed him, made a great flaughter. At last, one ranne him into the

mouth, that the swords point came out at his neck, and so slew him. By him, and others of like courage and worth, was Cæfar raifed from the extreamitie of his wants, and the difgrace of his former losses, to the chiefest height of earthly glory: And heerein might well assume, vnto himselfe, that which was formerly faid of the people, Magna populi Romani fortuna, sed

semper in malis maior resurrexit; Together with that of Plutarch, Res inuicta

Lib. 4. Infelix, quant

tute parafti?

Dy tibi non mortem, qua cunctis pæna paratur, sed sensum post fata tua dent Crastine morti. Cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum, primaque ThessaliCommentary of the Civill Warres.

onely deceived him; beeing (as it were) betraied, by fuch as beganne first to flie:

from whom hee hoped chiefely to have had victorie.

Cæfar preaceth hard after the Enemie, and

taketh the Campe.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cafar.



laieth a heauie doome.

am Romano fanguine tinxit.

Ompeis fouldiers beeing thus forced to flie into their Campe: Cafar, thinking it expedient to give them no time of respite. exhorted the Armie to vee the benefit of Fortune, and to affault the Campe : who, not with standing the extreame heate (for the business was drawne out untill it was high noone) vvere willing to under-goe any labour, and to yeeld obedi-

ence to his commandements. The Campe was industriously defended, by the Cohorts that had the quard thereof; but much more stoutly by the Thracians, and other succours of Barbarous people. For, such souldiers as were fledde thither out of the battell, were so terrified in mind, and spent with wearinesse, that most of them (bauing laid aside their Armes, and Military Ensignes) did rather thinke how they might best escape, then to defend the Campe. Neither could they which stood upon the Rampier, any longer indure the multitude of uveapons, but fainting with voounds, for sooke the place : and presently fledde into the high Mountaines adioyning onto the Campe; being ledde thither by the Centurions, and Tribunes of the fouldiers.

In the Campe were found tables ready laid and prepared with linnen, together with cupbords of plate, furnished & set out; and their Tents strewed with fresh hearbes and rushes: and that of Lentulus, and divers others, with Ivie, & many other superfluities, discouering their extreame luxurie and affurance of victorie. Whereby it was easily to be conceived, that they nothing feared the euent of that day; beeing so carefull of such unnecessary delights. And yet for all this, they opbraided Cafars patient and miferable Army, with riot and excesse: to whom there were alwaies vvanting such requisites, as overe expedient for their necessary vies.

Pompey, when as our men were come within the Campe, having got a horfe, and cast away all Ensignes of Imperial authoritie, got out at the Decumane gate, and made towards Lariffa, as fast as his horfe could cary him. Neither did her stay there: but with the same speede (having got a few followers that escaped by flight) posting night & day came at length to the Sea-side, with a troope of thirtie horse; and there went aboard a ship of burthen: complaining that his opinion

OBSERVATIONS.

fafe; wee are to vinderstand it as a critere and manner prefequence of an Embassiadour, to temporise in things which are preference accountable for words and time: dutte or an Embattadon, to temporare for words and time: but no way charged with expeditions of warre. Wherein Protraction is oftentimes the interrupter of absolute victorie, and the onely supplanter of that which is desired. Vincere scis Haniball, sed victoria vti nessis, was a common by-word, and happened then well for the state of Rome. But now it fell out otherwife; having met with one that knew how to conquer, and how to follow victorie to purpofe.

For, notwithstanding the battell he had fought, and the aduantage hee had thereby got, might have feemed sufficient for one daies labour, yet hee would not let occasion passe, without taking the benefit that was then offered; and neuer ceassed, untill he had forced the Campe, and ouer-taken those that escaped the battell: and so made victorie sure vnto him, by driving the naile home to the head. In regard whereof, he did not unfittle vie for his word or Motto, they call it, Musher αναβαλλάμλος, BY. DEFERRING. NOTHING.

Here-as it is said, that a dilatorie course is very profitable and lilatio. Diony. Halic. lib. 8. Non comittun ur legatistriemes aut loca, aut legiones, aus erces; sed verba et tempora. De-most, de falsale-

205

Laborin nego-io, 2 fortitudo n periculo, 3 ino, 4 celeritas in oficiendo, were Cæfars proper

Cafar.

CHAP, XXXIIII.

Cæsar besieged those that were escaped into the Hills.



Aefar, having got the Campe, instantly required the souldiers not to looke after pillage and booty, and let slippe the meanes of ending the rest of their business: which, after hee had obtained, hee began to inclose the Hill about with works of fortification. They of Pompeis partie, distrusting the place,

for that the Hill had no water, left it at an instant. And all those that were partakers of that fortune, made towards Larissa. Which Casar obseruing, divided his forces, and commaunded part of the Legions to remaine in Pompeis Campe, and part he sent back into his owne : leading foure Legions along with him, he tooke a neerer way to meet with them; and having gone fixe miles, he imbattelled his forces. Which they percessing, betooke themselves onto a high Hill, under which ranne a Riner.

Cafar, perswaded the souldiers, albeit they were spent with continual labor all that day, and that night was now at hand, yet they would not thinke it much,

to cut off the River from the Hill by a fortification, to keepe them from watering in the night. Which worke beeing perfected, they beganne by Commissioners to treat of conditions of yielding themselves. Some few of the Senators escaped in the night-time away by flight.

Cafar, as soone as it was day, caused them all to come downe from the Hill into the Plaine, & there to cast away their Armes : which they performed without refusall; And casting themselves upon the earth, their hands spred abroad, with shedding of many teares, desired mercie. Casar, comforting them, commaunded they should stand up: and having spoken somewhat touching his clemencie, a little to ease them of their feare, he gaue them all their lives with safetie; comman. ding the fouldiers not to hurt any of them, nor that they should want any thing that was theirs.

These things beeing thus atchieued with diligence, hee caused other Legions to meet him from the Campe, sending those he had with him to rest themselves: and the same day came to Larissa. In that battaile, hee lost not abone two handred fouldiers; but of Centurions, and other valiant men, hee lost thirtie. And Crastinus, fighting valiantly, was staine (of whom wee formerly made mention) with a sword thrust into the face. Neither was that false which hee said as hee went to the battell: for, Cafar was perswaded, that Crastinus behaved himselfe admirably in that fight, and did deserve as well of him as a man possibly could.

There were staine of Pompeis Armie, about fifteene thousand: howbeit there Exerciam maio- were of them that yielded themselves, aboue twentie-foure thousand. For, such Cohorts as were in the Forts, did likewife yield themselves to Sylla: and manie fledde into the next Townes and Citties. Of Military Ensignes, there were brought out of the battell to Cafar, one hundred and four escore, with nine E4gles. L. Domitius, Lying out of the Campe into the Mount, fainting for wvant of strength, was staine by the horsemen.

OBSERVATIONS.

ND thus we see the issue of that battaile, and the victory which Cæsar obtained, at as cheape a rate as could be imagined: for, there were flaine twentie-three M. of the enemie, and as manie taken, by rendring themselues, with the losse of two hundred fouldiers, and thirty Centurions; amongst who was Crastinus:

whose death obliged Cæsar to make this honourable mention of his valour. But as it is observed by Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Non Deus quispiam se ducibus , pro salute omniu qui certamen ineunt, sponsorem sistit : necea conditione imperium accepimus, ve omnes homines deuincamus nulle ex nostris amisso.

CHAP

CHAP. XXXV.

Lalius attempteth to block-in the Hauen at Brundusium: and Cassius fireth Casars shippes at Messine.

Bout the same time, D. Lalius came with his Nauie to Brundusium; and according as Libo formerly did tooke the Iland in the mouth of the Port. And in like manner, Vatinius, Gouernour of Brundusium, having furnished and fent out certaine Skiffes, inticed out Lalius ships, and of them tooke a Galley, that was further shot out with two leffer shippes into the straights of the Port: o also had disposed his Canalry along the shore, to keep the Mariners from fetching water. But Lalius, having

the time of the geere more fauourable and fitter for sayling, supplied his Armie with water from Corfew and Dyrrachium: neither could he be beaten off his dessigne, nor be driven out of the Port, or from the Iland, either with the dishonour of the shippes he lost, or with scarcitie and want of all necessaries, untill hee heard of the battell in The falia.

About the same time also, Cassius came into Sicilia, with the Nauie of Syria,

Phanicia and Cilicia. And, where as Cafars thips were divided into two parts. Pub. Sulpitius, Prator, beeing Admirall of the one halfe, and lying at Vibone in the Straights : and M. Pomponius, Admirall of the other halfe at Messana; Casfius came first to Messana, and was arrived before Pomponius heard of his comming : by which meanes, he surprised him, distracted, and much amused, without any order or guardes. And finding a strong and fauourable wind, filled the (hippes of burthen, with Rosin, Pitch and Towe, and like matter of firing : and sending them out to Pomponius Nauie, he burned all the shippes, beeing in number thirtie-fine; among st which there were twentie that had decks. By meanes owhereof, they conceived such a terrour, that albeit there was a legion in Guarizon at Messana, yet the Towne was hardly kept . And, but that certaine Messengers comming post, brought newes at the same instant of Casars victory, most men thought the Towne would have beene loft but the newes comming (o opportunely, the towne was kept.

Cassius departed from thence, & went to Sulpitius fleete at Vibone; where the (hippes beeing brought to shore, were there laid, for feare of the like danger, as formerly they had accustomed. Calsius, finding the wind good, sent-in fortie shippes of burthen, furnished with matter to burne the Nauie. The fire having taken hold of both Cornets of the fleete, fine of them were burned downe to the water. And as the flame beganne to be further caried with the voind, the fouldiers of the old legions, which were left for the defence of the shipping, and were

Lib.8.

Dion. Hallib.3.

of the number of them that were ficke, did not indure the dishonour: but getting aboard of their owne accord, put the shippes from the shore; and setting vppon Cassius sheet, tooke two Gallies, in one of the which was Cassius simplife: but hee, being taken out, with a shiffe sledde away. And surthermore, they tooke two Triremes: and not long after, certaine newes came of the battell in Thessalia, so that Pempeis-party believed it; for, before that time, it was thought to be but a thing given out by Casars Legats, & other of his friends. Where-vpon, Cassius departed with his Navie, and left those places.

OBSERVATIONS.

HE branches of a Tree doe receive life from the stock, and the stock is maintained by the roote: which beeing once cut a funder, there remaineth no life for stock or bough, lease or branch. Accordingly it happened with this large-spred Partie; the roote wheteof was then in Thessalia: and beeing broken a sunder by the violence of Carlas forces, it booted not what Lelius did at Brundussium, or Cassius, either at Messana, or Vibone. For, all the parts were ouer-throwne with the bodie: and

Mcsan, or Vibone. For, all the parts were ouer-throwne with the bodie: and the fortune of the battaile ouer-swaid other pettie losses whatsoener; beeing so powrefull, in the opinion of the world, Vt quò se fortuna, eodemetiam fauor hominum inclinat. Or, as Lucan saith, Rapimur, quò cancta feruntur.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Cæfar pursueth Pompey: who is slaine in Egypt.

Cafar.

Pompeius Tro gus. lib. 6.

Lib. 8.

Aefar, fetting all other things apart, thought it expedient for him to pursue Pompey, into what parts soeuer hee should betake himselfe, least he should raise new forces, and renewe the warre againe: and there-vpon, made forward euery day, as farre as his Caualrie was able to goe; commaunding one Legion to follow after by lesser iourneis. There was a publi-

cation made in Pompeis name at Amphipolis, that all the youth of that Province, as well Greekes, as Cittizens of Rome, should come to bee involled for the war. But it is not possible to discover, whether Pompey did it to take away all cause of sufficion, that he might the longer hide his purpose of slying away, or whether he went about by new leuies, to keepe Macedonia, if no man preaced hard after him.

Howfoeuer; he himfelfe lay at Anchor there one night. And calling vnto him his auncient Hosts and Friends, hee tooke so much money of them, as would defray his necessarie charges: and understanding of Casars comming, within a few daies he arrived at Mitylen, where hee was kept two daies with soule uveather:

and there, renforcing his fleet with some Gallies he tooke to him, he went into Cilicia; and from thence to Cyprus. There hee understood, that by the generall consent of the Antiochians, and such Citizens of Rome as were there residing, the Citadell was already taken to keepe him out: and that Messenses were fent about to those that were fleed from his Party, into the bordering Cities, forbidding them to come to Antioche; for, if they did, they should hazard it with the danger of their heads. The like happened to L. Lentulus, who the yeere before was Consult; and to Pub. Lentulus, of Consular dignity: and to some other at Rhodes. For, as many as sled thither after Pompey, and came unto the Iland, were neither received into the Towne, nor into the Hauen; but were commanded by Messenses sent unto them, to depart from thence, and forced to wey anchor against their will: and now, the fame of Casars comming, was spredde abroad throughout all the Cities.

Where-wpon, Powapey, leaving off his purpose of going into Syria, having taken what money he found in Banke, besides what he could borrow of his private friends, and putting aboard great store of Brasse for the wse of warre, with eleven thousand Armedmen (which he had raised partly out of the townes, and partly had forced up, with Marchants, and such others of his followess, whom he thought fit for this business) he came to Pelusium. There by chaunce was king Ptolomy, a child, within yeeres, with great forces making war against his sister Cleopatra; whom a few Months before, by meanes of his Allies and Friends, hee had thrust out of his kingdome: And Gleopatras Campe was not farre distant from his.

Pompey (ent onto him, that in regard of ancient hospitalitie, and the amitie he had woith his Father, hee might be received into Alexandria; and that hee would aide and support him with his vvealth and meanes, being now fallen into miserie and calamitie. But they that were sent, having done their message, beganne to speake liberally to the Kings souldiers, which Gabinius received in Syria, and had brought them to Alexandria; and vpon the ending of the wvarre, had left them with Ptolomey, the father of this child. Thefe things being known, fuch as had the procuration of the kingdome, in the minoritie of the Boy, whether they were induced through feare of gaining the Armie, whereby Pompey might eafily seize upon Alexandria & Egypt; or whether despising his fortune (as for the most part, in time of misery, a mans friends doe become his enemies) did give a good answere publiquely to such as overe sent, and willed him to come unto the King : but, secretly plotting amongst themselves, sent Achillas, a chiefe Commaunder, and a man of singular audacitie, together with L. Septimius, Tribune of the fouldiers, to kill Pompey. They, giving him good words, and he himselfe also knowing Septimius to have led a Company under him in the warre against the Pirats, went aboard a little Barke, with a few of his followers: and there was staine, by Achillas and Septimius. In like manner, L. Lentulus vvas apprehended by commaundement from the King, and killed in prifon.

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5 Polit.

Fir be now demaunded, Where was Cæfars defire of Peace? and Why hee purfued not a treatie of Composition, at this time when when as his tale would have been heard with gladness, and any conditions of attonement very acceptable to the vanquished? The aunfwere is already made in the beginning of this Commentarie: That there was but one time of making peace : and that was, when both Parties were equall, which was now past; and Casartoo farre gone, to looke back upon any thing that might worke a reconcilement. The one was crept fo high, and the other cast downe so lowe, that they seemed not compatible in any Medium, although it were to the fauing of the Empire. Howbeit, it is not denied, but that Pompey gaue great occasion of these warres. For, Seneca faith; Hee hadbrought the Common-wealth to that passe, that it could not longer stand, but by the benefit of servitude. And he that will looke into the reasons of this confusion, shall find all those Causacorrumpentes, which are noted by Aristode to threaten the well-fare of a State, in the excesse of Pompeis exorbitancie : for having nothing in a Meane, hee held all his fortunes by the tenure of Nimium; and was ouer-growne, first, with too much honour: secondly, with too much wealth: thirdly, with too much power: whereby he exceeded the proportion of his fellow Cittizens; and so blemished the beautie of that State, whose chiefest graces were in a futing equalitie. And, adding to these the convulsions of feare, he made no difficultie to ingage Rome in a bloody warre; as having no other hope, but in the confusion of Armes.

It is faid, that at his arrivall at Mitylene, he had much conference with Cratippus, whom Tully mentioneth in his Offices: wherein, amongst other remontrances, the Philosopher made it plaine, that his course of gouernment, had brought a necessitie of changing that State, from the liberty of a Common-wealth, to the condition of a inst Monarchie. And sith it fell to Cæsars fortune, if there were any errour committed in the seizure, he may take the benefite of the generall pardon, exemplified by Trebellius Poliæ: That no Na-

tion can shew a Man that is altogether blameleffe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Oncerning the state of Egypt, wee are to note, that Alexander the Great being cut off by death, his Captaines laid hold upon such Prouinces and kingdoms as were under their commaunds: amongst whom one Ptolomeus, the sonne of Lagus a Macedonian, seized upon Egypt, where he raigned 40 yetes; & of him

were all his fucceffors called by the name of Ptolomy. This first Ptolomy, posfest himselse of Egypt, about the yeere of the world 2640 which was 275 yeers before Pompeis ouerthrow. His son that succeeded, by the name of Ptolomey Philadelphus, caused the Bible to be translated out of Ebrewinto Greek by 70 Interpreters, which are called the Septuagint; and made the samous Librarie which was burned in these varres.

The Father of this young Ptolomey, was the ninth in fuccession from the first 3 and at his death, made the people of Rome Tutors to his children. His

eldest fonne, and Cleopatra his daughter, raigned together fixe yeeres; but in the end, fell to strife and warres, and were deeply ingaged therein, when Pompey arrived: but shortly after, Carfar so ordered the differences, that hee sette the Crowne vpon Cleopatras head; who held it peaceably, until she came to play that tragicall part with Anthony: which beeing ended, the kingdom was then reduced to a Province, under the obedience of the Romaine Empire.

Commentary of the Civill Warres.

Concerning this m ferable end of Pompey, it is truly faid of Seneca, that Death is alike to all: for, although the waies are diners by which it happeneth, yet they all meet in the fame end. And, for a finish as Plutarch hath described particularly the manner of this Catastrophe, it shall not be impertinent to in-

ert his relation thereof.

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Titura in rita.
Tompai.

When Pompey heard newes that king Prolomy was in the Citty of Pelufium with his Atmy, making warre against his fifter, hee went thirber, and fent a Messenger before, who she king, to advertise him of his arrivall, and to intreat him to receive him. K. Prolomy was then but a young man, informuch, that one Photunus gouernedall the whole Realme under him. He assembled a Councell of the chiefest & wisest men of the Court, who had such credit and authoritie, as it pleased him to give them. They being assembled, he commanded every man in the Kings name to say his mind, touching the receiving of Pompey, whether the King should receive him or not. It was a miserable thing to see Photunus, an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of Chio, an hired Schoolemaister to teach the young king Rhetorick, & Achillas, an Egyptian, to consult among the selection of the should do with Pompey the great. These were the chiefest Councellors of al his Eunuches, & of those that had brought him up. Now did Pompey ride at anchor upon the shore side, expecting the resolu-

tion of this Councell: in the which, the opinions of others were divers, for, they would not have received him; the other also that he should be received. But the Rhetorician, Theodotus, to thew his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, quoth he, if wee receive him, we shall have Casar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do dethe him, on the other fide, Pompey wil blame them for refuling him, & Cæfar for not keeping of him; therfore this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him. For, therby they should win the good wil of the one, and not feate the displeasure of the other: & some say moreouer, that he added this mock withall, A dead man bites not. They, being determined of this among themselues, gaue Achillas commission to doe it. He, taking with him Septimius (who had charge afore-time vnder Pompey) and Saluius, another Centurion also, with three or fourefouldiers besides, they made towards Pompeis Gallies, about whom were at that time the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But, when they faw the likelihood of their entertainement, & that it was not in Princely shew nor manner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, feeing fo few men come to them in a fither boat; they beganne then to mistrust the small account that was made of them, and counselled Pompey to returne backe, and to launch againe into the sea, beeing out of the danger of the hurling of a Darr.

In the meane time, the fisher-boat drew neer, and Septimius role, and saluted Pompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as fomeraigne Captaine: and Achillas also spake to him in the Greek tongue, and bade him come into his boat; because that by the shore-side, there was a great deale of mud, & fand banks, so that his Galley should have no water to bring him in. At the very fame time, they faw a farre off divers of the Kings Gallies, which were arming with all speed possible, & all the shore besides, full of souldiers. Thus, though Pompey & his company would have altered their minds, they could not have told how to have escaped: and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had given the murderer occasion to have executed his crueltie. So taking his leave of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end, hee commaunded two Centurions to goe downe before him, into the Egyptians boat, & Philip, one of his flaues infranchifed, with anotherflaue, called Scynes. When Achillas reached out his hand to receive him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and fonne, and faid these verses of Sophocles vnto them;

The manthat into Court comes free, Must there in state of bondage bee.

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when hee lest his owne Gally, & went into the Egyptians boat, the land being a great way off from his Gally. When he faw neuer a man in the boat speak friendly vnto him, beholding Septimius, he faid vnto him; Me thinks, my friend, I should know thee, for that thou half ferued with me hecretofore. The other nodded with his head, that it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor shewed him any curtesse.

Pompey leeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hand, in which hee had written an Oration, that hee meant to make vnto King Ptolomey, and began to read it. When they came neer to the shore, Cornelia, with her servants and friends about her, stood up in her ship, in great seare, to fee what should become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many of the Kings people on the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receive and honor him. But even as Pompey tooke Philip his hand to arise more easily, Septimius came first behind him, and thrust him through with his fword: next vnto him alfo, Saluius & Achillas drew out their fwords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, onely fighing a little. Thus, being 50 yeares old, hee ended his life the next day after the day of his birth.

They that rode at anchor in their shippes, when they saw him murthered, gaue fuch a fearfull cry, that it was heard to the shore: then weying up their anchors with speed, they hoised faile, and departed their way, having wind at will, that blew a luftie gale. As foone as they had gotten the maine Sea, the Egyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they faw they were past their reach, and unpossible to be ouer-taken, they let them goe. Then, having striken off Pompeys head, they threw his body ouer-board, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him.

Philip,

Philip his entranchiled bond-man, remained euer by it, vnull fuch time as the Egyptians had feen it their bellies full. Then, having washed his body with falt water, & wrapped it up in an old thirt of his, because he had no other thift to lay it in, he fought vpon the fands, and found at length a peece of an old fithers boat, enough to ferue to burn his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As hee was busic, gathering the broken peeces of this boat together, thither came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had ferued vnder Pompey, & faid voto him; O friend, what are thou, that prepareft the funeralls of Pompey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bond-man of his, infranchised. Well, faid he, thou shalt not have all this honor alone: I pray thee yet let mee accompany thee in fo denout a deed, that I may not altogether repent mee to haue dwelt fo long in a strange Country, where I haue abidden such misery & trouble; but that to recompence me withall, I may have this good hap, with mine owne hands to touch Pompeys body, and to help to butie the onelie and most famous Captaine of the Romaines.

The next day after, Lucius Lentulus (not knowing what had passed) comming out of Cyprus, failed by the thore-fide, and perceived a fire made for funeralls, and Philip standing by it: whom he knew not at the first. So hee asked him, What is hee that is dead, and buried there? but straight setching a great figh, alas, faid he, perhaps it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a little, and was straight taken and flaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not long after, Cæfar also came into Egypt, that was in great warres; where Pompeis head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it; & abhorred him that brought it, as a deteftable murtherer. Then, taking his Ring where-with he fealed his Letters, wherupon was grauen a Lyon holding a fword, he burft our a weeping. Achillas and Photinus he put to death. King Ptolomey himself: also, being oner-throwne in battaile, by the Riuer of Nilus, vanished away, & was neuer heard of after. Theodotus, the Rhetorician, escaped Cæfars hands, and wandered vp and downe Egypt in great mifery, despifed of enery man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who flew Cæfar) conquering Afia, mer with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could polsibly deuile, at the length flew him. The ashes of Pompeis bodie, were afterwards brought unto his wife Cornelia; who buried the in a towne of hers, by the Cittie of Alba.

And, having in this manner paid the tribute which the law of Nature doth exact, the law of the Twelue Tables did free his Sepulchre from any further butum officium disturbance; Vbi corpus demortui hominis condas sacer esto. Onely this may que mortalium be added; That as Fabius was called Maximus, Scipio Magnus, and Pompey quefi.6. Magnus, which titles they caried, as markes of speciall Nobleness, to raise the Fabius distus aboue the comon worth of men: so their ends made them even with the lowest of the State. According to that of Seneca; Internallis distinguimur : exitu a- finens lib.8. quamur.

Epift. 100.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Prodigious Accidents, happening vpon the Battell in Pharsalia. Casar commeth into Egypt.

This that followeth, feeneth of anoAefar comming into Asia, found T. Ampius going about to take the money out of the Temple of Diana, at Ephelus : and for that cause had called together all the Senators that were in the Prounce, that hee might wee them as witneffes in the matter; but, beeing interrupted by Casars arrivall, hee fled away: so that two severall times, the money was saued at Ephefus by Cafars meanes. It was further found very ser-

taine, that in the Temple of Minerua at Elide (a just calculation of the time beeing taken) the same day that Casar ouer-threw Pompey, the Image of victorie which flood before Minerua, & looked towards her portrature, did turne it felfe towards the Portall, and the Temple-gate. And the same day likewise, there was such a noise of an Armie, twice heard at Antioche in Syria, and such sounding of Trumpets, that the Cittie rannein Armes to keepe the walles. The like happened at Ptolomaida. And likewise at Pergamum, in the remote and hidden places of the Temple, which are called asoura, into which it is not lawfull for any man to enter but the Priests, were belles heard to ring. Besides, at Tralibus, in the Temple of Victory (where they had consecrated an Image to Casar) there was shewed a Palme-tree, which in those dates vvas growne from betweene the ionnts of the stones, out of the pauement.

Cafar, staying a few daies in Asia, hearing that Pompey was seene at Cyprus, and coniecturing he went into Egypt, for the amities and correspondencie hee had with that Kingdome, besides other opportunities of the place; he came to Alexandria with two legions, one that hee commaunded to follow him out of Theffaly, and another which he had called out of Achaia, from Fusius a Legate, together with eight hundred hor fe, ten Gallies of Rhodes, and a few ships of Asia. In these Legions, were not about three thousand two hundred men; the rest, were either ovounded in the fights, or spent with travell, and the length of the iourney: but Cafar, trusting to the fame of his great exploits, did not doubt to go with these weak forces, thinking every place would entertaine him with safetie.

At Alexandria hee understood of Pompeis death : and as hee was going out of the shippe, he heard a clamour of the souldiers, which the King had left to keep the towne, and faw a concourse of people gathered about him, because the bundle of Rods was caried before him; all the multitude crying out, that the Kings authority was diminished. This tumult being appeased, there were often up-roares and commotions of the people for every day after; and many (ouldiers were flain in divers parts of the Cittie. Where-vpon, Casar gave order, for other Legions to be brought him out of Asia, which he raised and involled of Pompeis souldiers.

The Priests of Egypt faide, That whenfoeuer the Axe and the bundle of Rods, came into Alexandria the power of their Kıngs should present

He himselfe was stated by the winds, called Etclix, which are against them that ding as it was Saile to Alexandria. In the meane time, for a smuch as he conceived, that if controversies between at Memphis. lumne of gold,

Kings, did appertaine to the people of Rome, then consequently, to him, as Con-Sull: and so much the rather it concerned his office, for that in his former Confulship, there was a league made by the decree of Senate, with Ptolomey the Father: In regarde hereof, he signified, that his pleasure was, that both the king and his sister Cleopatra, should dismisse their Armies, and rather plead their Cause before him, then to decide it by Armes.

There was at that time one Photinus an Eunuch, one that had the administration of the kingdome, during the minoritie of the Child; he first began to coplaine among his friends, and to take it in scorne, that the King should be called out to pleade his Caufe: and afterwards, having gotten some assistance of the Kines friends, he drew the Armie (coretly from Pelusium, to Alexandria, and made Achillas (formerly mentioned) Generall of all the forces; inciting him forward, as well by his owne promifes, as from the King, and instructing him by Letters & Messengers, what he would have done.

Ptolomey, the Father, by his last Will and testament, had left for heires, the eldest of two sonnes, and likewise the eldest of two daughters: and for the confirmation thereof, had in the same Will, charged and required the people of Rome, by all the gods & the league he made at Rome, to see this accomplished. For which purpose, he sent a copy of his Will to Rome, to be kept in the Treasury: and by rea-Son of the publicke occasions, which admitted no such business for the present, were left with Pompey; and the Originall, signed and sealed op was brought to Alexandria.

While Cafar was handling these things, beeing very desirous to end these controuerfies by arbitrement, it was told him on a fuddaine, that the Kings Army, and all the Caualry, were come to Alexandria. Cafars forces were not such that he durst trust open them, to haz ard battell without the towne; onely it remained, that he kept him/elfe in such places, as were most fit & convenient for him. within the towne, and to learne what Achillas intended. How soener: he commaunded all the fouldiers to Arme; and exhorted the King, that of those which were neerest unto him and of greatest authority, hee would send some to Achillas, to knowe his meaning.

Dioscorides and Serapion, beeing deputed there-vnto, having beene both Embaffadours at Rome, and in great place about Ptolomey the Father; they came to Achillas: whom as soone as they were come into his presence. So before he would heare or understand what they would, commaunded them to be taken away, and Saine. Of whom, one having received a wound, was caried away by his own people for dead. The other was flaine out-right. Whereupon, Cafar wrought to get the King into his owne hands; thinking that his Name & Title would preuaile much amongst his people: as also to make it appeare, that this warre was rather mooued by the private practice of some seditious thieues, then by order & commandement from the King.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS. Meaning He multiplicitie of occasions and troubles, which happen to such

Lib. 2. Epift. 8

as haue the ordering of any businesses of import, dothmake that of Plinie often remembred : Veteribus negotijs noua accrescunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur; tot nexibus, tot quasis Catenis, mains in dies occupationum agmen extenditur. For, albeit Pompey had now spent his malice, and was no more to appeare in Atmes against Cæsar: yet his hap was by slying, to draw him (as it were by way of reuenge) into a place, where hee was necessarilie to be intangled in a dangerous warre.

Lib. 15.eap.18

To these prodigies here mentioned, may be added that of Aulus Gellius, that The same day the battell happened, there sell out a strange wonder at Padua: where a certaine Priest, called Cornelius, of Noble race, and holis life, suddainlie sell into an extasse, and said, he saw a great battell astare off; Datts and Piles slie thickein the ayre, some slying, and some pursuing, great slaughter, accompanied with many lamentable groanes and cries: and in the end, cried out, that Caelar had got the victorie. For which, he was mocked for the present; but, asterwards, held in great admiration.

Lib. 5. cap. 9.

Plinie maketh the small increase of Nilus, to bee a fore-teller of Pompeis death; Minimumque Pharsalico bello veluti necem magni prodigio quodam sumine auersante.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Cæsar landeth his forces, taketh Pharus, and causeth Photinus to be slaine.



HE forces that were with Achillas, were neither for their number, or falbion of men, or vole or experience in war, to be contemned, having twentie-two thousand men in Armes. These troops colissed of the Gabinian souldiers, which were now growne into a custome of life and liberty of the Egyptians: and having forgot the name and discipline of the people of Rome, had there maried voivies, and most of Rome, had thered no the fewere added such as were gathered from the thieues and robbers of Syria, the Province of Cilicia, and other sinitimate

Regions: besides many banished men, and others, condemned to die, that stedde thisher. And for all our fugitiues, there was euer a sure and certaine receipt at Alexandria, and a certaine condition of life: for, upon giuing up of his name, Commentary of the Civill Warres, he was presently involved a souldier: and if one chaunced to be taken and apprehended by his Maister, hee was presently rescued by the concourse of souldiers; who, beeing all in the same condition, did strine for him, as for the selves: these required the Kings friends to be slaine. These were accustomed to rob rich men of their goods to better their pay, to besiege the Kings house, to expell some out of their kingdome, and to send for others home, according to an old custome and priviledge of the Alexandrian Armie.

There were, besides, two thousand horse, that had beene of auncient continuance in many of the warres held at Alexandria, and had brought back Ptolomey the father, and restored him to his kingdome; had slaine Bibulus two sons, and had made warre with the Egyptians: and this vie and knowledge they had of ovarre. Achillas, trusting to the serves, and contemning the small number of Casar troopes, did take and possesses, and contemning the small number of Casar troopes, did take and possesses which his men, did first of all indeauour to breake into his house: but Casar, having disposed the cohorts in the streets waies, did beare out the assault. At the same time, they fought likewise at the Port, and it came at length to a very foreible incounter: for, having drawne out their troopes, the sight began to be hot in divers streets and lanes; and the Enemic (ingreat troopes) went about to possesses themselves of the Gallies, of which there were L. sound there, that were sent to serve Pompey, and returned home againe after the battell in Thessallas. These were all Triremes, and Quinqueremes, rigged, and ready to goe to sea.

Besides these, there were twenty-two, which were alwaies accussioned to bee the best, for the desence of Alexandria, and overe all surnished with decks: which if they had taken, together with Casars shipping, they would have had the Hauen and the Sea at their commaund; and by that meanes, hindered Casar fro succours and provision of victuall: in regard whereof, they sought hard on both sides; Achillas expecting victory, and our men for their safetie. But Casar, obtained his purpose: and because he was not able to keepe so many severall things with so small forces, he set them all on fire, together with those that were in the Road, presently landed some souldiers at Pharus; which is a tower in an iland, of a great height, whilt with strange workmanship, taking that name from the lland: this Iland lieth ouer against Alexandria, and so maketh it a Hauen. But sormer Kings had inlarged it 9 hundred pases in length, by raising great mounts in the Sea: and by that meanes, had brought it so neere to the towne, that they iowned them both together with a bridge.

In this lland dwelt divers Egyptians, and made a Village, of the bignesse of a Towne: and what shippes source had fallen off their course, either by tempest or errour, were there robbed by those Egyptians. For, by reason of the narrowe entrance, no shippes can come into the Hauen, but by the fauour and leave of them that hold Pharus. Casar, beeing afraid of this, while the Enemie was busse in fight, landed his souldiers, tooke the place, and there put a guarison. Whereby he brought it to passe, that both corne and succours might safely come by sea to supply him: for, he had sent to all the confining Regions for aide. In other places of the towne they so fought, that they gave over at length upon equal conditions:

which

Observations vpon the third

which happened by reason of the narrowness of the passages: And a few of each fide beeing flaine, Cafar tooke in fuch places as were most convenient for him, 5 fortified them in the night. In this quarter of the Towne, was contained a little part of the Kings house (wherein, hee himselfe at his first arrivall, was appointed to lodge) and a Theater ionned to the house, which was in steed of a Castle, and had a passage to the Port, and to other parts of Road. The daies following he increased these for tifications, to the end he might have them as a wall against the enemy, and thereby need not fight against his will.

in the meane time, the younger daughter of King Ptolomey, hoping to obtaine the Crowne, now in question, found meanes to conuay herselfe out of the Kings

houle, to Achillas, and both loyntly together, undertooke the managing of that warre: but presently there grew a controversie between the , who should comand in Chiefe; which was the cause of great largess and rewards to the souldiers either of them beeing at great charges and expences to gaine their good wills.

While the Enemy was busied in these shings, Photinus, the Governour of the young King, and Superintendent of the kingdome on Cafars partie, fent Meffengers to Achillas, exhorting him, not to defift in the business, or to bee discouraged. Vpon the discouering and apprehension of which Messengers, Casar caused him to be flaine. And these were the beginnings of the Alexandrian warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Hatus is a little Iland in the Sea, ouer-against Alexandria; in the midst whereof, Prolomey Philadelphe built a tower of an exceeding height, all of white Matble. It contained many Stages, and had in the toppe many great Lanternes, to keepe light In the night, for a marke to such as were at Sea. The Architector ingraved there-vpon this inscription; Softrates Gnidien, the sonne of Dexi-

phanes, to the Gods, Confernators, for the Safety of Nanigators. It was reckoned for one of the scanen Wonders of the world. The first whereof was the Temple of Diana, at Ephelus. The fecond, was the Sepulchre which Artemilia, Queene of Caria, made for her Husband, Mausolus, whose ashes the dranke. The third, was the Collossus of the Sunne, at Rhodes. The fourth, was the Walls of Babylon. The fift, was the Pyramides of Egypt. The fixt, was the Image of Iupiter Olympian, at Elide, which was made by Phidias, and contained three-score cubites in height, and was all of Luorie, and

pure Gold. And the seauenth, was this Pharus.

(7 Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.	
£ 41	2	Ensignes	easinesse.	
2) 125	25	uncaple	uncapable.	
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MODERNE TRAINING, OR TACTICKE PRACTISE.

OR as much as my purpose was to make this taske of Observations as a paralel to our moderne Discipline, I did not thinke it fit to mingle the Tacticke Practife of these times with the vie of foregoing ages, but rather to shut vp these Discourses therwith, as the fecond line of this warlike paralell, which is thus drawne in the best fashion of moderne Art.

In the knowledge of marshalling an Armie, there is nothing more especially to be regarded, then that

from a confused companie of men, having chosen the fittest for the warres, we should so place and digest a convenient number of them, that in marches, in incamping, in battels we may be able with a few well ordered to incounter a farre greater armie in confusion, and to ouerthrow them. From hence AEneas did define the Art of warre, to be the knowledge of warlike motions.

Before this vnexpert armie shall be able to be moued in such fashion, it shall not be amiffe to acquaint it with the most vsuall termes, wherewith they shall be often commanded into diverse postures as occasion shall be offered. For as lin the art of Fencing, no man shall be able to turne and wind his bodie for his best aduantage to offend his enemie, or defend himselse, valesse first his maifter shall instruct him in the seuerall parts and postures thereof: so every souldier or the whole troope as one bodie, or one fouldier shall neuer be readily instructed to transforme or turne it selfe by diverse motions into different formes, vnleffe they first understand what is meant by Fronts and Flanckes, by Files and Ranckes, what by Leaders and Followers, by Middlemen and Bringers vp. By this meanes each fouldier understanding what the terme doth fignifie, shal readily both apprehend and execute such commandements as the Captaine or Officer shall direct them.

A File is a certaine number of men following fingly one Leader vnto the A File. depth of 8 or 10, asthey shall be commaunded. The auncients have called this File Seriem, ordinationem, or decuriam: it confisteth of Leaders and Followers, placed according to their worth and valor: and especially there ought to be regarded, the Leader or Decurio, the fifth, fixth or Middleme, & the tenth

The Leader.

THE MANER OF OVR and last called the Bringer-vp or Tergiductor.

Frst therefore every souldier being aptly fitted vnto his severall armes according to his worth, age and flature, they are to be disposed into severall files, wherein enery one is especially to acknowledge his leader or foremost man to be the author of all his motions, and therefore duely attending what directions shall be commaunded, each follower shall according to the motions of his leader or foremost man, order his owne; and is to be excused if he attend the motions of his leader before he moue himfelfe.

A Ranke or Front. Battallion.

Sidemen.

When many files are thus disposed together, all the leaders making one and the same front, and their followers observing likewise one and the same proportion of distance before, and after, and on each side; these Files thus ioyned make one Battallion, the front whereof is called a Rancke, and so likewife the second and third in depth, according to the number of men in each file. The first, second and third, and so forward in each file, are called Sidemen in respect of the same numbers in the next file. Neither must every souldier onely regard the motions of their Leader, but he must also diligently respect his fidemen, and fuch as shall be placed on his right and left hand called his ranckes: so that both in files and ranckes he may alwaies be found in the fame distance wherein he is commaunded.

The number of Souldiers in a Battallion vacertaine. The length.

It should be impertinent to the purpose to prescribe a certaine nuber of soldiers vnto these Battallions, onely thus much for the proportion: that it ought neuer to exceed so much, but that it may easily vpon any occasio be changed into fuch a forme or fashion to fight, as may be thought fittest for the present.

The length of this Battallion is diverfly tearmed amongst the Latines, as Frons, Facies, Adftructio, Iugum, &c. but in our moderne practife, most familiarly the Front or Rancke.

Bredth or depth.

The breadth of the Battallion, which is from the leader to the bringer vp with the distance between eall the followers, is said to be the length or depth of one file or flancke.

Dignities in places to be obserned.

In the disposing of souldiers into files and ranckes, befides their obseruing a right line in their places and standing, we must likewise especially refpect the different worth and qualitie of the fouldiers, that every one according to his woorth may be futed vnto his proper place, and accordingly receiue aduancement, as the death of his Leaders, and true value of his defert by his Commaunder shall give occasion.

The first rake

First therefore there must be especiall choice made of the leaders of each file, or first front or ranckes of the Battallion, of the most expert, ablest and best armed men: because that as from them the rest are to receive directions of their after motions: so in them the greatest hope of the day doth confist.

The bringers up or Tergiductores or last ranke.

Next vnto the first it must be prouided, that the bringers vp or last rancke called Tergiductores be litle inferiour, well experienced, wife and valiant, that they may both know when to reprehend their former Ranckes, and vrge the forward, if they fee them declining or yeelding vpon false occasions, as also to beable vpon any fudden allarme given in the reare, to turne faces about and make themselues a Front for the best resistance.

Neither

Neither must it be neglected concerning the second and ninth ranckes, The second ed that they also may be furnished with the next most sufficient men, both be- minth rankes. cause of their nearenesse vnto daunger, as also that if their leaders or bringers vp shall either be flaine or disabled by wounds, they may presently succeed in their places and make them good.

There is also a good decoru to be observed in the middlemen, or fift and Thefifth ana fixt ranckes, both for the men themselues and their armes, that in our mar-fixth rankes. ches when the middlemen or fixt ranckes shalbe called vp to front with their leaders, they may in fome fort and proportion answer their places, as also when we double our front by calling vp middlemen to fight in a greater breadth, they may not be vufutable: but especially in marches, that they may beable to make the best resistance, when they shall become the flanckes of the Battallions.

As these respects ought to be observed in ranckes, so the files also are not Files. without their different degrees of dignitie. As the leader of the right hand The right file is accounted to have the first place of honour in the Battallion: for he band file. doth not onely leade the rest in his owne file, but he is the author and beginner of the motions of the whole Battallion.

The leader of the left hand file hath the next place, because that he with $|_{The left hand}$ the leader of the right hand file do alwaies in their marching and imbattel- file. ling rectifie or rancke the whole front of the battallion: & fo confequently all the next of their files as they stand in order, even vntill the middle, who are accounted the last in dignitie.

The Battallion being thus disposed into files and ranckes, and each file Distances beand rancke according to his worth and experience rightly advanced: it fol- tweene files loweth that there should be a just distance proportioned betweene either, that and rankes. at all times vpon all occasions, they might be found readie, and in comeliest fashion, either to offend their enemie, or defend themselues. These distances which every follower must observe in respect of his leadet: and every leader and follower in respect of the sidemen, may be reduced vnto three seuerall Orders, as followeth.

The first is called open Order; the distance whereof is twelve feete be- open order. tweene euery follower and his leader, or betweene euery ranke; and fixe feete betweene them and the fidemen, or betweene enery file. This order is commonly vsed vpon marches when the enemy is knowne to be farre off, as also in private exercising of souldiers for their severall managing of their armes. It differeth fornewhat from the Ordinatus Miles amongst the Romaines, who alwayes observed but foure cubits in files and rankes.

The second distance is called Order, when we contract the battallion both order. in length and breadth, and gather the fouldiers within a nearer feantling both in files and rankes, that is, by obseruing fixe feete in their files betweene the follower and leader, and three feete betweene the ranks or fidemen. This distance is vsed when we march toward an enemie neare at hand, or in marches by reason of the oportunitie of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunitie of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunitie of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunitie of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunitie of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by reason of the oportunities of the place suspitions by the operations by the operations by the operations between the operations between the operations between the operations by the operations between the neare vnto Denfatus ordo, but onely that that was but two cubits in both files

Close order. nouldren to pouldron.

The maner

charging wi

fine rankes.

The third & last order, is when either we attend the enemy his present assault, or that we intend to charge him yoon our securest and best distance; when euery follower standeth three feete or his rapier length behind his leader, and a foote and a halfe from the fidemen or files; or when every fouldier occupieth but one foot and a halfe for his owne station, joyning pouldron to pouldron, or target to target. This differeth from Constipatus ordo, because that alloweth but one cubit for files and rankes, and this close order alloweth one cubite in the file, but two in the rankes.

This diftance doth agree also best with the length of our pikes of 15 or 16 feet long. For it is thought fit oftentimes that the battallion confifting of ten ranks, there should not charge more at one time then the 5 formost, so that the pikes of the fift ranke might be three feete over the formost shoulder, and the other flue ranks should in this close order or nester if it be possible, follow the other charging with their pikes aduanced, untill some occasion should require their chrage. In the meane time they should performe their dutie in keeping the fiue formost ranks from retiring, and besides adde strength vnto the charge

or shocke.

The maner of exercifing of composed Battaliions with their different motions.



HE files and rankes being thus vnderstood, disposed and ordered, and an parametric in their infl proportion and diffance, and in their infl proportion and diffance, who any fodaine occasion (as if it were but one entire body, into feuerall and diffures postures, and to make refishance with the standard proportion of the exact, which is the standard proportion of the exact, which is the standard proportion of the exact, which is the standard proportion of the exact proportion and different proportion and diffarct pr

what forces focuer shall oppugne the same: it might be thought needlesse to haue made the disposition of the members so exact, vnlesse by continual practife and exercife they might be made nimble and ready, not only to defend themselues and their whole body on all sides, but also to be able to offend whenfoeuer they shall espie the least occasion of aduantage.

The termes of direction or commaund, which are commonly vied in this moderne discipline of martiall exercise, as they are not many, onely answering to the different postures which are required in the Battallion, so they are and must be short and perspicuously plaine, that by this meanes being sodainly vttered, eafily apprehended and understood, they may as speedily be put in execution by those which shall be commaunded.

In arecto stare.

First therefore that the Battallion may be commaunded into some one fashion or posture, from whenceit shall be fit to conuert it selfe into all other, the Captaine or Officer shall bid them stand in front. When every particular fouldier composing himselfe after his foremost leader, standeth comely in file and rancke, fronting vnto some certaine place, or to the Captaine, as shall be thought best for the present.

MODERNE TRAINING.

In this and all other directions what focuer, it shall be especially observed. that every follower attending what is commanded, marke his next leader, and accordingly moue himselfe, as he shall see him moue first.

The Battallion therefore thus fronting, if the enemie should suddenly ei- Faces to the ther affault the right or left flancke, it shall be commaunded to turne faces to right or left the right or left hand, when enery fouldier observing his leader shall turne his face and make his flanke his front according to the direction.

There is also a doubled motion or declination to the right or left hand, tum. when every fouldier observing his leadershall turne their bodies twife to the Faces about right or left hand, and by that meanes become turned with their faces where left hand, their backes were, as if they expected an enemy in the rere, or being to performe some other motion that may be offered: beginning this alteration from patio or mutatio the right or left hand as shall be commaunded.

As enery particular fouldier in the troope is thus commanded at fometimes to turne his face to the right or lefthand, or about, the Battalion flanding in order, that is, according to the distance before named; so the whole Battallion being reduced into their close order, is commaunded to turne as one Wheeletathe body to the right or left hand. It is performed thus : imagine the Battallion right or left ftand first in order, it shall be commaunded that they close their files to the band. right hand, when the right file standing still, the rest turning their faces to the right hand, march into their close order & returne as they were: next that they close their rankes from behind, when every follower marcheth forward to his leader vnto his rapiers point as is faid before. This done, (the leader of the Conversio in right file standing immoueable) all the rest (as the body of a ship or a great hastem vel seugate) turne about that leader, as about the hinge or center, every one keeping the same distance and order wherein they were first placed, as if they were but one entire body.

When the same Battallion is to be restored into the same station wherein it Asyou were. was first, it is commaunded; Faces about to the left hand, and march into your order from whence you were closed. Then let your leaders or first ranks stand ftil, and the rest turning faces about, march ranks in order as before: then turn Repuersio. as you were, and you are restored.

When the whole Battallion being in their close order should turne about Wheele about & make the Rere the Front, it is done by a double turning or declination, and commaunded to wheele about, which is answerable to the former faces about Inflexio militu. or mutation.

There is also another wheeling in this fort, when the front changeth the afpect thrile; for as wheeling about maketh the Front the Rere, fo this wheeleth from the right hand to the left, or contrariwfe: which fashion is so seldome v. Reflexio. fed that we scarce affoord it a name.

In all fuch motions and alterations, it is most fit that all men performe their directions with their pikes advanced, being in that fort most easie to be commaunded, as also lesse troublesome to their followers and leaders.

Declinate in ha

tam vel in feu

Files.

Fro the rere

Euolutio Ma-

Fro the from

Laconica euo-

and stand.

through.

cedonica.

through.

Countermarching Files and Rankes.

Here is also another meanes to preuent the enemy his assaulting vs in the I reare or flanke, left he should find our worst men least able to make resiflance: and this is performed by countermarching both files and rankes three diuers wayes apeece.

The first was vsed by the Macedonians, after this fashion: First the leader turneth his face about towards the right or left hand, and fo the next follower marching behind his leader turneth also, and so the third and fourth, vntill the bringer vp haue caried himselfe out into a new place in the rere further from the enemy, as he was before next vnto him. But this neither was nor is accounted fafeor fecure, because it doth somewhat resemble a flying or running away from the enemy, which might give him no finall incouragement, and therefore it is not much in practife.

Only at some times, the bringers vp marching throughout beyond the leaders, vntill they possesse the fame space before them which they did behind them, all turning their faces about, make their leaders to affront the enemie, who were before farthest from them.

The Lacedæmonians vsed the contrarie, as it were pursuing the enemy: the bringer vp first being turned face about, and so the next marching before him, and fo the third, untill the leader himfelfe became also turned, and in the foremost front vnto the enemie. Which with vs is somewhat otherwise, but yet both affronting, and as it were pursuing the enemie: because our leaders first begin this motion, and so countermarching through on the right or left hand, become in the front in a new space of ground, who were before in the rere.

The third and last was invented by the Persians, whom when the place or neare approach of the enemy would not fuffer to change their ground, they Fröthe fron were wont to countermarch the front to the right or left hand: & being come vnto the depth of the bringers vp, to stand still vntill the other halfe file had likewise marched forth, and fallen upon their leaders in euery file. In all these it is especially commaunded, to march still in the same distance, and by whole rankes, to preuent confusion, which (especially the enemy at hand) must Chorica euolu needes be most dangerous, and therefore carefully to be avoided.

In like fort the rankes may countermarch, when either the right wing wold be stregthened by the left, or the left by the right, alwayes marching by whole files towards the right or left hand, according as they thall have the direction, either changing the ground, or vpon the fame ground, as in the former countermarches.

There is vied also another kinde of strengthening both the front and flanke when occasion shall be offered, vz. by doubling either files or rankes. And this, either by doubling the number of fouldiers in the fame files or ranks, keeping still the same bredth and depth of ground, or else by doubling the ground keeping the same number of souldiers. The files are doubled, when the second file shall insert it selfe into the first, the leader thereof putting him-

The doubling of files to the right or left

MODERNE TRAINING.

felfe a follower vnto the leader of the first, and the next follower the next in the first file, and so forwards. And likewise the fourth file inserting it selfe into the third, and the fixth into the fifth. And this is to be performed judinem. when the Battallion standeth in his order.

To double the place or depth, is when the same number of men shall put Byground. themselues out of their order into their open order, either by aduancing forward, or by falling backwards, as they shall be commaunded.

The rankes are doubled two manner of wayes, either by inferting the fecond into the first to the right or left hand, as before in the files; or else (the e- ferting, or ad nemie being at hand) by ioyning whole troopes together to the right or left ding neme wing, according as occasion shall be offered: and this is held to be the safest proopes. when the enemy is neare, to avoid confusio. It is performed either in the fame Duplicare longround, or by doubling the ground, when either we defire to exceede the gindinem. front of our enemie his battallion, or to preuent left we our felues be included. The termes to both are, Double your files or rankes to the right or left hand: and when you would have them returne againe into their proper places, it is commaunded : As you were.

The ordinarie directions which are especially given in these martial exercifes are, first that no man in the time of exercifing or marshalling shalbe lowder then his Officer: but every one attending to his place, when he is commaun-Silence to be ded, shall diligently hearken to fuch directions as shall be given. The Captaine kept. in the front shal speake, and the Sergeants in each flanke shal give the word ynto the Lieutenant or Enfigne in the rere: who as in his proper place, feeth all things executed accordingly as the Captaine shall commaund. It shall be vnpossible to performe any thing herein, vnlesse first enery one do exactly obferue his leader and his fideman: and to this purpose it is often commaunded. Keepe your files, Keepe your rankes.

of Marches.

N champions there needs no great labour to marshall particular troopes for I their after marches: because they may march either by whole divisions, obferuing onely their course of indifferencie, that every division may every third In a champio. day have the vantgard; or elle in fuch forme and fashion as the Generall hath proposed for a day of battell, according as the danger of an expected enemy shall give occasion. But because all countries will not affoord a champion for the marching of an armie, and therefore not possible to march farre with many troopes in front, nor many files of any one troope or division, by reason of often straights, and passages betwix hilles, woods, or waters. It is prouided, though by long induction, the wholearmie shall be extended into a thinne In freights or length and few files, yet the fouldiers well disposed shalbe as readily able to parrow passadefend them selues and offend the enemy on their flankes (from whence only gesin such streights the daunger is eminent) as if they were to affront an enemie with an entire battallion in a champion country.

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terefore a division or Battallion being ordred and drawne before the Quarter, into one euen front of iust files, ten in depth; the musketters equally divided on the right and left flankes of the pikes, all standing in their order, that is to fay, fixe feete distant in files and rankes; the Captaine carefully prouideth, that the first, fifth, fixth and tenth rankes be alwayes well filled and furnished with his most able and best armed souldiers. Which done, he commaundeth first the middlemen or halfe files to come a front with their leaders; fo that the division becommeth but five in depth. Next he commaundeth to turne faces to the right or left hand, as direction shall be to march from that quarter: and so the whole division resteth readie in his fashion to march five in front, the one halfe of the musketters in the vantguard & the other in the rere. the pikes in the battell, and both flankes well furnished with the ablest and best men to offend or defend as there shalbe occasion: that is to say, the right slanks with the first and fifth rankes, and the left with the fixth and tenth rankes. If occasion afterwards shall be given of a halt in a champion or before the quartering, the Captaine commaundeth first vnto all, (they being first closed into their order) Faces as you were; next vnto the halfe files, Faces about, & march out, and fall againe vpon your files. By which meanes the division becometh againe reduced into the same front and fashion from whence it was first trans-

formed, readie to encounter an enemy, or to be drawne into the Quarter. When pikes are to charge pikes in a champion, it vieth to be performed two feueral wayes: first the whole division being commanded into their close order, the fine first rankes charging their pikes, enery follower over his leaders shoulder directeth his pike as equally as he can, and the first ranke shall have three feet of his pike ouer the formost shoulder. The other five ranks with their pikes aduanced follow close vp in the rere, either readie to second the formost, or to be employed in the rere as occasion shall be offered. Otherwise and most vfuall, when the whole depth of the files throughout the division shall charge By the whole together, all fast locked and united together, and therefore most able to make the strongest shocke offensive or defensive: provided alwayes that none mingle their pikes in others files, but the whole file one in anothers shoulder.

In charging with musketters, it is observed no way convenient that there should be too many in a ranke, or that the rankes should be too long. For the first ranke is commanded to advance ten paces before the second, and then to discharge, and wheeling either to the right or left hand, falleth into the rere; and so the second advancing to the same distance, dischargeth and wheeleth as before; and likewise the third, and so forward as long as the Officer shall be commaunded. Which shal not so well be performed the rankes being extraordinary long, because it will require so long a time to wheele from the front that the second may succeed, vnlesse by direction the ranke may divide it selfe the one halfe to the right hand and the other to the left in wheeling to the rere.

In the retrait the whole rankes having turned their faces about are to march three or foure paces forward, their chiefe officer comming in the rere, first commaundeth the last ranke to make readie and then to turne faces about and discharge, and wheele about to the head or front of the division: and being clearely passed the next ranke to performe as much: and so the rest in order.

Where the passages are narrow, and the division can not come to charge in front, as betweene two waters or woods, the manner of charging is different, charging by for there being fine or ten files led in the induction, that file which flanketh files in marthe enemie dischargeth first onely, & the rest marching continually forwards, prop passages, it standeth firme vntill the last ranke be passed, and then sleeueth it selfe on the left flanke and makes readie; and fo the fecond file and the third, folong as the enemy shall continue, there being a continual discharging by files as before by ranks. Vnleffe it be in the pases of Irelad, meeting with an irregular enemy, In the pases where they vie to intermingle their files of shot with pikes, that the one may of Ireland. be a defence for the other, when the enemy shal come vp to the sword, as they vse there verie often.

How directions are delivered in the warres.

ALL directions in the warres have ever bene delivered either by fignes fubice to the eye, by word of mouth, or the found of a drumme, or fome fuch warlike instrument. Concerning those visible signes displayed vnto the By signes. fouldiers, the falling of mifts, the raifing of dust, showers of raine and snowe, the beames of the Sunne, hillie, vneuen and crooked passages, by long experience have found them to be most doubtfull and vncertaine; as also because as it was a matter of great difficultie to inuent different fignes vpon all sodaine occasions, so it is almost an impossibilitie, that the common souldier (who oftentimes is found scarce capable of the vinderstanding of plaine words distinctly pronounced) should both apprehend and understand sodainly, and execute

directly the true fense and meaning of his Commanders fignes. The Drumme & Trumpet are very fed, but because many different sounds By drumme are not eafily diffinguished in fouldiers understanding without some daunger or trumpet. of confusion, we onely commaund by the inarticulate soundes, to arme, to march, to troope, to charge, and to retreate: with all which seuerall notes the fouldier is fo familiarly to be acquainted, that fo foone as he heares them beaten he may be readie fodainly to put them in execution, as if he heard his

Captaine pronouncing as much.

The directions by word of mouth are infinite, according to the different By word of occasions which shall be offered; yet alwayes with this caucat, that they be month. fhort, yet perspicuous, without all ambiguitie, and plainly pronounced, first by the Captaine, then deriued by the Sergeants through the division or Battallion. Though infinite, yet the most vsuall are these: To your armes: Keepe your files, keepe your rankes: Follow your leader: Leaders looke to your files: Keepe your distance: Faces to your right hand: Faces to your left hand: Close The most vyour files : Close your rankes : Stand as you are : As you were : Faces about | funl directing to the right hand: Wheele about to the right or left hand: Double your termes in exrankes: Double your files: Leaders countermarch through to the right or left tatio or dissipations. hand: Leaders countermarch to the right or left hand and fland: Middlemen

There must ny in a ranke.

come foorth and fall vpon your leaders. Befides many fit termes commanded in managing particular armes, as pikes and muskets, which are omitted.

And this much touching the Tacticke practife of our moderne warres, which I have the rather added in regard that diverse souldiers, as vnacquainted both with the manner and the value thereof, do thinke a heape of people vn-martialled, to be as available for a great dessigne, as any other number distinguished in files and parts, and disposed for facile and easie motions, according to the powerfull circumstances of time and place. Wherein, howsoever the practise of the Turke and the Hungarian may seeme to give warrant to that opinion, yet the vse of Armes amongst the Gracians and the Romaines, whose conquering armies are pregnant winnesses of the excellencie of their middless of the state of the stat

litarie dicipline, shall speake sufficiently for order and Tacticke motion as most necessarie partes in a well ordered warre.

There are diverse faults escaped in printing, as it often falleth out in such works, which the Reader may be pleased to amend.

FINIS.

